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**ATTACHMENT
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FILE NAME** SEP11GUI.DOC
FOREIGN AFFAIRS GUIDANCE

September 7, 1995

Bosnia/Croatia (UPDATED)

Cuba -- New Foreign Investment Law

French Nuclear Test

Senate ABM Compromise (UPDATED)

Senate Endorsement of START II and CWC Ratification (UPDATED)

Jerusalem 3000

Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process

Iraq

Kashmir

China

Ireland (UPDATED)

Russia (UPDATED)

BOSNIA/CROATIA

Response to Sarajevo Market Bombing

-- The NATO/UN air campaign has resumed because of Bosnian Serb refusal to agree to

conditions laid down over the weekend by the UN Commander Janvier and the NAC. The conditions include:

-- a beginning of withdrawal of heavy weapons from the 20-kilometer exclusion zone around Sarajevo;

-- cessation of all attacks on Sarajevo and other safe areas;

-- complete freedom of movement for the UN and NGOs, including the opening of ground routes and the Sarajevo airport.

-- Despite pledges by Bosnian Serb political leaders during the day Monday that they accepted the three conditions, military commanders failed to carry out the promises. Only a handful of heavy weapons were moved.

-- The resumption of the NATO/UN campaign was a necessary step in view of the failure of the Bosnian Serbs to comply with the conditions, as conveyed to them by the NATO Council and UN commander General Janvier.

-- The NATO/UN action, which began in response to the August 28 attack on the Sarajevo

marketplace, should leave the Bosnian Serbs in no doubt about the determination of t

he Alliance and the

UN to follow through on their commitments to protect safe areas.

-- The response is in full conformity with NATO decisions and UN Security

Council re

solutions

on protection of Bosnian safe areas, and is taking place under rules established at the July 21 London

Conference and subsequent NATO meetings.

Objective:

-- NATO and the UN have called upon the Bosnian Serbs to comply with demands of the

international community and to make a decisive turn toward negotiations on a politic

al settlement to

the conflict.

-- The action demonstrates our resolve to uphold NATO and UN commitments and to show

that

further attacks on civilians will have consequences.

(If asked about Russian criticism of the NATO air campaign)

-- Like the rest of the international community, the Russians were very critical of the Serb attack

on the Sarajevo market that precipitated the UN/NATO response.

-- They have also been supportive of the UN Security Council resolutions that NATO a

nd

UNPROFOR are upholding.

-- The U.S. and NATO differ with Russia over air strikes, which are firmly grounded

in UN

resolutions. But we agree on the importance of negotiated settlement and are workin

g closely within

the Contact Group to that end.

-- Russia has a unique contribution to make to European security. We believe a soli

d

NATO-Russia relationship is in the interest of the U.S., Europe and Russia; thus we are pressing to develop that relationship.

(If asked how long the response will last)

-- NATO will continue its campaign until the conditions laid down by General Janvier and the NAC are met.

(If pressed for other details of the response)

-- For details, I refer you to NATO and the UN, which are carrying out the retaliation.

(If asked whether the strikes are making the Bosnian Serbs more obdurate)

-- The international community and parties to the conflict with the exception of the Bosnian Serbs have accepted UN resolutions and NAC decisions establishing safe areas in Bosnia. NATO and the UN will not abandon previous commitments.

-- Mechanisms have been established by the UN Security Council and NATO commanders to step up the pressure of the air campaign should the Bosnian Serbs continue to refuse to meet international conditions.

(If asked about coordination between NATO and the UN)

-- NATO and the UN are conducting the operation together, under rules established in both organizations. They are coordinating all aspects of the campaign, although NATO is technically the organization that will bring the air portion to a halt when the military objectives have been achieved.

(If asked whether the U.S. earlier called for an end to the bombing based on discuss
ions with Milosevic)

-- This is fundamentally and judgment for the military commanders. The operation is
being
conducted by NATO, not the United States, and the NATO commanders, in coordination w
ith the UN
commanders, will decide when the objectives have been accomplished.

Assessment of the Operation:

-- We have sent the Bosnian Serbs a powerful message. The Allies will not permit ba
rbaric
attacks on innocent civilians. We will back up our words with force when necessary.

(If asked why it took so long to respond with significant force.)

-- NATO and the U.S. have long advocated an aggressive response. We will advocate t
he
continuation of appropriate action as long as necessary to convince the Serbs to res
pect the UN safe
areas.

Downed French Pilot:

-- The Allies are in close consultation on all aspects of the NATO operation, includ
ing how best
to respond to the downing of the French Mirage yesterday.

-- We have no confirmation of the Bosnian Serb claim that the pilot is in their cust
ody.

-- As we have reason to believe the pilot and crew of the plane may be alive, it is inappropriate to
comment further.

Holbrooke Mission:

-- Assistant Secretary Holbrooke has had productive meetings with the Bosnians, Croa

tians and Serbians.

-- We are encouraged by Milosevic's announcement that he has obtained Bosnian Serb agreement to represent the Bosnian Serbs in future negotiating sessions as head of a seven-person negotiating team comprised of Bosnian Serbs and Serbians, with Milosevic as tie-breaker.

-- But the ultimate success of the negotiations will depend on the extent to which the Bosnian Serbs are prepared to embrace peace.

-- Holbrooke will remain in the region for the next several days, and will attend a meeting of the foreign ministers of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia, plus the Contact Group and others, in Geneva on Friday.

-- Under Secretary Tarnoff will attend a meeting of Contact Group states and members of the OIC today in Paris. The purpose of this meeting, which was organized by the French, is to allow key Western allies and moderate Islamic states to exchange views.

(If pressed for details of the negotiations)

-- We are not prepared to get into the substance of ongoing, confidential negotiations.

Effect of the NATO bombing on the negotiating process:

-- We are confident that this NATO operation will move the peace process forward. The Bosnian Serbs now know by example that there will be a very real price to pay for hostile action.

This should be a powerful incentive to approach the bargaining table.

-- The Bosnian Serbs must realize that there will not be a military solution to this conflict. Ultimately the conflict must be settled through a negotiated settlement.

Will We Go To Pale?

-- There are no plans for the team to go to Pale, but we expect Bosnian Serb representatives to be present at future meetings with Milosevic as part of the seven-person team.

Russian involvement in the Contact Group

-- We believe that Russia will be key to the success of the Contact Group. We hope that Russia

will continue to maintain its constructive role in the eventual settlement of this conflict.

CORE BOSNIA POINTS

-- From the outset, we have consistently worked to relieve the human suffering in Bosnia, contain the war, and bring about a peaceful settlement. These efforts have saved many lives, brought an end to the fighting between Muslims and Croats through the formation of the Bosnia-Croat Federation, and prevented the war from spreading. However, as we all know, the fighting continues and peace has been tragically elusive in Bosnia.

-- We are now at an important moment in the history of the Bosnian conflict. The events of the last few weeks changed the situation on the ground in Bosnia and presented the sides with opportunities to settle that could disappear in the wake of today's market attack.

-- Unless there is settlement in the next several weeks, the risks will grow of an escalation and spreading of the war, the collapse of the UN operation, and the danger that the United States will be drawn more deeply into the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. This is a path we must try to avoid.

-- There is still the possibility of another path -- toward an end to fighting through a strengthened UN operation on

the ground and aggressive pursuit of a new diplomatic solution. This is an opportunity we continue to try to take advantage of.

-- Over the last few weeks we have worked with our allies to strengthen the United Nations operation by supporting the Rapid Reaction Force and providing for the protection of safe areas by the threat of aggressive use of NATO air power.

-- We are now working closely with our allies on the prospect for a new diplomatic effort. There are no guarantees -- but I am determined to present the parties with a chance to reassess and pursue a peaceful settlement.

What if the Negotiating Process Breaks Down in the Wake of the Serb Attack?

-- We are committed to pursuing multilateral lifting of the arms embargo, and to consulting with Congress on arming and training the Bosnian government, should the Serbs prove unwilling to settle and UNPROFOR withdraws.

Have You Retreated from Troop Commitments Upon Settlement? (Aug. 28 WP p. 24)

-- No.

-- We have long said we would be willing to participate in a NATO-led effort, under

previously-specified conditions, to help implement a viable peace settlement.

Are You Considering Fewer Troops?

-- The number of troops we would consider devoting to settlement implementation would depend on the nature of the settlement package.

Are You Presenting A U.S. Map/Have You Ceded Goradze to Serbs

-- We are discussing a number of ideas, including some notions on territorial issues

-- We are not presenting a U.S. map, nor are we insisting on any particular territorial trades.

Did the Bosnians reject our plan out of hand?

-- No.

Mini Marshall Plan?

-- Certainly, a major reconstruction effort would need to follow any peaceful settlement.

-- Hope the international community would be prepared to assist in that effort.

Haiti or Cyprus Model?

-- Avoid such comparisons.

-- Any plan would be specific to the needs in Balkans.

Hasn't U.S. Leadership in Bosnia Failed?/What is New about the Current Initiative?

-- American diplomacy has had several notable successes: creation of the Federation and ending the fighting in Central Bosnia; stabilizing Macedonia; ending the siege of Sarajevo; containing the conflict.

-- New elements aiding our current efforts: recent developments on the ground, coupled with general war-weariness, have created new opportunities to break long-standing diplomatic logjams.

Give Up on Multi-ethnic Bosnian State?

-- No. Continue to support maintaining Bosnia within internationally recognized borders.

-- Supported Federation, combined Croat-Muslim enterprise.

Croatians Engaged in Ethnic Cleansing?

-- Refugee flow is human tragedy and we are actively supporting efforts of international relief agencies.

-- Have been reports of abuses. We strongly condemn all violations of the rights of civilians, prisoners of war and international personnel.

-- We have repeatedly stressed to the Croatian government its obligation to respect these rights; to investigate allegations of human rights abuses, and to hold accountable those responsible.

-- Also urged government of Croatia to provide assurances to all Serbs in the Krajina, and to those who fled, that they are welcome to stay and return. Importance of allowing international monitors (ICRC) to assure rights of Serbs are respected. Croatian government has agreed.

-- It is not clear whether the Croatian government's actions in Krajina amount to a systematic policy of ethnic cleansing -- a deliberate and organized strategy of force and intimidation to drive all members of an ethnic group from their homes to "purify" the area. But clearly, serious abuses have occurred and we condemn any acts that force anyone to leave because of ethnicity.

-- We will continue to monitor the situation closely and hold the Croatians to the same standards as the Serbs and others in this conflict.

Shattuck Report On Atrocities

[Assistant Secretary of State John Shattuck confirmed reports of egregious human rights violations committed by

Bosnian-Serb forces in the aftermath of their attack on Srebrenica and Zepa..]

-- We continue to condemn the policy of ethnic cleansing. We continue to call for international access to all those detained and displaced, and for a full accounting of the whereabouts of those missing. We will continue to urge all parties in the former Yugoslavia to respect human rights and international humanitarian law.

-- Ambassador Albright presented information we have on atrocities to the U.N. Security Council.

-- At our urging, the U.N. Security Council has adopted resolutions condemning crimes on all sides, highlighting Bosnian Serb atrocities against refugees from Srebrenica and Zepa.

-- There must be justice, and those who have violated international humanitarian law must be held accountable. We will continue to work with the International War Crimes Tribunal and urge that it prosecute those suspected of war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide. Such criminal actions must not and will not remain unpunished.

What About Kosovo?

-- We have told Belgrade we believe major resettlement of Krajina Serbs in Kosovo is potentially very provocative.

-- Before the "FRY" can be integrated into the world community, a solution must be found to the situation in Kosovo.

Second-level Ethnic Cleansing in Sandzak, Vojvodina

-- We have urged Serbian authorities to enforce laws preventing the eviction of

ethn
ic minorities
from their homes in the aim of making room for Krajina refugees.

U.S. Relief to Krajina Serbs

-- We support efforts of international relief agencies, and have called for
comprehe
nsive, direct
relief to all those in need.

Reconstruction Aid

-- The U.S. has consulted with the EU on the size and shape of an economic
reconstru
ction
effort, should a peace settlement be achieved.

-- The Spaniards, in their EU presidency capacity, have agreed to take the lead in
p
lanning for the
effort. We are consulting with Congress on what the U.S. might be prepared to
provi
de.

-- We expect the effort to include reconstruction assistance, IFI debt relief,
human
itarian aid and
encouragement of regional economic interdependence in terms of trade and other
econo
mic activities.

CUBA -- NEW FOREIGN INVESTMENT LAW

-- We have not yet reviewed in detail the text of the new foreign investment law
but
it appears to
offer new opportunities for foreign investors.

-- While this would be a welcome development, it also appears to have serious
limita
tions. Cuban

citizens, for instance, are still barred from investing in property, hiring non-family employees or forming small businesses. In addition, foreign investors are required to contract labor through the Cuban government, thereby preserving the government's strict economic hold on individuals.

-- These continuing restrictions significantly limit the scope of the law and indicate that the Cuban government is not interested in fundamental changes.

-- These changes are necessary to create incentives to raise Cubans' standard of living, improve Cuba's overall investment climate, and allow individuals essential economic freedom.

-- As we have indicated, major reforms of the kind that would bring about fundamental change could merit a carefully calibrated responses from the United States.

-- Finally, we will continue to urge foreign investors to avoid investing in properties on which U.S. citizens have claims.

FRENCH NUCLEAR TEST

Q: What is the U.S. reaction to the September 5 French nuclear test?

A: The United States regrets this action.

We continue to urge all of the nuclear powers, including France, to refrain from further nuclear tests and to join in a global moratorium as we work to complete and sign a CTBT Treaty in 1996.

In this regard, we take note of President Chirac's strong commitment to sign a CTBT Treaty no

later than the fall of 1996, and we will continue to work with France and all other states participating in the CTB negotiations to ensure that a CTB Treaty is ready for signature next year.

Q: Is the French decision to resume testing a set-back for the CTB negotiations?

A: Although we regret continued testing, we continue to believe we can conclude and sign a CTB Treaty next year.

Q: Has President Clinton discussed this issue with President Chirac? Has Chirac responded?

A: Yes, the President has made clear to President Chirac U.S. support for a global moratorium on testing as we work to complete the CTB.

President Chirac himself has described his decision to conduct a final series of tests as "irrevocable."

Q: Has the United States offered to assist France in simulating nuclear tests so that France might forgo further testing?

A: We have had a cooperation program with France in the nuclear area and we will continue to work with France to ensure the safety and reliability of existing nuclear weapons under a true zero yield CTB Treaty.

Q: Do you think Russia will now resume nuclear testing?

A: Russia will have to speak for itself on this issue.

We would, however, urge all nuclear powers, including Russia, to respond with restraint to the French test.

Q: Will the U.S. resume testing in response to French tests?

A: No.

Q: Does the United States have any reaction to the French boarding and seizure of two Greenpeace vessels last week in the South Pacific?

A: We view the incident as unfortunate.

In Western democracies, the right of individuals and groups to express their views about government policies is assured. We believe this should be accomplished through non-violent and peaceful means.

We call on all those involved to show restraint.

SENATE ABM COMPROMISE

-- The Administration welcomes the compromise on ABM and theater missile defense (TMD) issues in the FY 1996 defense authorization bill adopted 85-13 by the Senate and commends Senators Nunn, Levin, Warner and Cohen for their bipartisan effort in crafting this amendment.

-- The compromise is a significant improvement over the original ABM/TMD provisions in the bill that had been approved in the Armed Services Committee on a straight party-line vote this summer and which had threatened not only the ABM Treaty but also the START I and START II treaties. The compromise makes clear that U.S. missile defense programs will go forward in a manner consistent with the ABM Treaty.

-- Nevertheless, the Administration continues to have concerns about a number of policy statements in the amendment with which we do not agree and which we consider as non-binding and advisory. The Administration will make clear its disagreement with these provisions to ensure they are not misunderstood by foreign governments.

[IF ASKED DOES THIS REMOVE VETO THREAT?]

-- In his August 4th letter to the Minority Leader, the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs made clear that the veto threat on this bill stemmed not only from the unacceptable missile defense provisions originally contained in the bill but also other provisions, which includes overall funding [the bill is \$7 billion above the President's request].

-- As the bill now goes to conference, the Administration will be in touch with Congress to make sure it understands what kind of FY 1996 defense authorization bill the President will and will not sign.

SENATE ENDORSEMENT OF START II & CWC RATIFICATION

-- The President applauds the Senate for its vote on September 5 calling for prompt ratification of the pending START II and Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) treaties and urges it to provide its advice and consent to both treaties before this session is over.

-- As the President said in his May 31 commencement address at the Air Force Academy, "Both START II and the Chemical Weapons Convention will make every American safer, and we need them now."

[IF ASKED IF THIS IS A SLAP AT SENATOR HELMS FOR HOLDING THE TWO TREATIES HOSTAGE TO HIS BILL ON STATE REORGANIZATION]:

-- Our dialogue with Senator Helms on that issue is continuing. Meanwhile, we had made clear before this vote and will continue to make clear that the President believes that it is crucial that the Senate complete its action on these two treaties this year.

JERUSALEM 3000

Q: Why didn't Ambassador Indyk attend the opening ceremonies for the Jerusalem 3000

celebrations? Was there any official USG representation?

A: Jerusalem 3000 is a year-long series of cultural events commemorating Jerusalem's culture and history. The U.S. will be represented during the course of Jerusalem 3000 events as appropriate at times, this may involve the Ambassador.

The U.S. was represented at the opening ceremony by our senior Cultural Affairs officer in Tel Aviv.

Ambassador Indyk had prior commitments and could not attend.

Given the cultural nature of the event, it was appropriate to send our senior Cultural Affairs officer.

Q: Does this represent a change in U.S. policy? Does the U.S. recognize Israeli annexation of Jerusalem?

A: Our policy on Jerusalem has not changed. It remains a matter for permanent-

status
s talks
between Israel and the Palestinians.

ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN PEACE PROCESS

Q: What is the status of the Israeli-Palestinian peace talks?

A: Both the Israelis and the Palestinians continue to work hard to bridge their differences and have made progress.

We understand that both sides believe they are fairly close to an agreement.

Q: Will there be a ceremony for the parties to sign their agreement in Washington so on?

A: The parties have expressed their desire for a signing ceremony in Washington. As we have said, we are prepared to host a ceremony, once agreement has been reached.

IRAQ

If asked:

Q: Does the United States want to see Saddam Hussein replaced?

A: The Iraqis themselves should decide who leads Iraq. We want to see a stable Iraq that does not represent a threat to its neighbors. We support Iraq's territorial integrity.

As we have said in the past, it is difficult to foresee Saddam remaining in power where Iraq to comply fully with all the resolutions, which he is obliged to do.

Recent events, including the Hussein Kamal defection, tend to reinforce this

impres
sion.

But I don't want to speculate on possible succession scenarios. It is up to the Iraqis themselves to determine who should lead them.

KASHMIR

Background: The situation remains unclear and extremely fluid. Contact between the Al-Faran group holding the hostages and the Indian authorities continues to be intermittent and the crisis appears to be building toward a conclusion. Tension in the area continues to mount following a bomb blast in Srinagar this past weekend and troop movements by both India and Pakistan along the line of control (border) that separates them.

Points

- We are encouraged by reports that the hostages are well.
- We continue to work closely with the Indian authorities and hope for the speedy and safe release of the hostages.
- We urge all involved to continue to work cooperatively to secure the release of these innocent men.

CHINA

UN WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN

Q: Does

Mrs. Clinton's speech represent an escalation of pressure on China's human rights record?

A: Mrs.

Clinton's intent was to underscore in the strongest terms that women's rights are human rights and that their abuse is wrong where ever in the world it occurs.

We have

made no secret of China's need to improve its human rights record. We will continue to engage the Chinese on these issues.

Conference is addressing serious problems that continue to be faced by women worldwide.

For

example, domestic violence is the leading cause of death worldwide among women between 14 and 44.

Around

the world, two-thirds of the world's illiterate adults are women, and two-thirds of the 130 million children without access to primary education are girls.

Some 80 percent of the world's more than 20 million refugees are women.

Q: Will the

First Lady be meeting with any Chinese officials?

A: There are

no plans to do so at this point, although her schedule is still somewhat flexible. She will be meeting with individuals and institutions associated with the Conference itself.

Q: What are

the most important issues at the conference, if China is not the focus?

A:

Conference is addressing serious problems that continue to be faced by women worldwide.

For example, domestic violence is the leading cause of death worldwide among women between 14 and 44.

In the United States, nearly one in five households is headed by a single parent and more than one-third of the single families headed by women live in poverty.

Worse still, two-fifths of divorced fathers do not pay court-ordered child support.

Around the world, two-thirds of the world's illiterate adults are women, and two-thirds of the 130 million children without access to primary education are girls.

Some 80 percent of the world's more than 20 million refugees are women.

Q: What about charges that this Conference is pro-abortion and anti-family?

A: Nonsense.

The Conference will reaffirm that in no case should abortion be promoted as a method of family planning.

The Platform will condemn forced abortion, female infanticide and prenatal sex selection, and call for an end to child labor.

It will even urge that governments make it easier for women to choose to bring pregnancies to term by ending discrimination against pregnant women in employment and education.

Motherhood and families: The Platform supports mothers and families -- families are the basic unit of society and, if realized, the Conference goals will help to strengthen families.

The Platform recognizes that women have various roles in modern society and that these roles impose difficult choices, and recommends ways to enhance support for women so that they can better balance family and work.

The document also discusses violence and other human rights abuses against women and identifies approaches to correct these problems and, in turn, create stronger and more stable families.

Religion:
The Platform supports religious freedom by calling on governments to give priority to protecting and promoting human rights and fundamental freedoms without regard to religion. We favor more mention of religion and spirituality in the Platform of Action at the Conference.

Gender:
Neither the United States nor any other country or the UN itself is seeking to redefine the word gender (or to indicate that it encompasses five genders, as opponents suggest). In May, a broadly representative group of UN members reached near unanimous agreement on this issue, and noted that the term reflects "common academic usage" -- that is, gender means two sexes, male and female.

Q: Harry Wu said over the weekend that he assumed there was an agreement that facilitated his release. Was there a deal -- Harry Wu's freedom for Mrs. Clinton's participation?

A: No. We have always made it clear that Harry Wu's release was of the highest priority to the Clinton Administration, but there were no deals whatsoever.

Q: Aren't

you concerned that Mrs. Clinton's participation will send the wrong message to the Chinese on human rights?

A: No.

In fact, human rights issues will play a major role at the Conference.

Mrs. Clinton's participation will help to ensure that the Conference's Platform for Action reaffirms -- and does not undermine -- the existing international agreements on human rights and, in particular, the human rights achievements of the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights (which reaffirmed the universality of human rights).

The way to help women and the cause of human rights is to be fully engaged in this Conference -- to debate the differences of philosophy and ideology that exist, and to lay out before the world the abuses we want to halt and the obstacles to progress we want to remove.

Q: Will Mrs. Clinton be meeting with dissidents?

A: We expect she will be meeting with a wide variety of individuals and institutions, both governmental and non-governmental. Her meetings will involve individuals and organizations associated with the Conference.

Q: Do you have any comment on the Chinese Government's efforts to restrict demonstrations and ban criticism of the government or its leaders at the Women's Conference?

A: We believe any effort to prohibit or control freedom of speech at the Women's Conference would be a mistake that would only bring discredit on the Chinese government.

Mrs. Clinton made that point quite clear in her remarks.

MONGOLIA TRIP

Q: Why is the First Lady going to Mongolia?

A: The First Lady had decided to visit Mongolia in order to symbolize the growing friendship between our two countries.

Formerly a Soviet satellite and wedged between two very powerful states, Mongolia has embarked on a bold course of democratic transformation and economic reform.

With little more than a firm belief that free market reforms and democracy were essential to Mongolia's future, President Ochirbat and his government have endeavored to bring about rapid change in a country that traces its heritage to Genghis Khan.

That is a formidable task, and we admire the courage of the Mongolian people for undertaking it.

As she will be in Beijing for the Fourth World Conference on Women, the First Lady considered it would be worth a brief trip to show our support for democratic and free market reforms ongoing in Mongolia.

Q: What will she do there?

A: The First Lady's plans have not yet been finalized.

It will involve a brief visit to Ulaan Baatar, the capital of Mongolia, where she will meet with senior government officials and participate in several events relevant to her abiding interests in children, family and health issues.

Q: Why isn't she visiting other countries in the region?

A: A combination of scheduling difficulties on short notice and other logistical considerations made it impractical to arrange visits elsewhere in Asia at this time.

IRELAND

Status of the Peace Process/Cancellation of the Anglo-Irish Summit?

-- As you know, the British and the Irish Governments decided it would be premature to go ahead with the summit of the two prime ministers planned for September 6. We know the two governments are continuing their efforts to find a way forward.

-- As we have been all along, we remain in contact with the two governments and with

representatives of different viewpoints in Northern Ireland. We will continue to encourage all sides to be flexible and creative in the search for peace.

Adams Visit to Washington

-- Adams was granted a visa waiver in June, but did not travel to the U.S. at that time. He received a visa on September 6 in Dublin..

-- Adams will be in Washington September 12-14 for meetings with National Security Adviser Tony Lake and State Department officials.

(If asked)

-- His meeting with Mr. Lake is on Thursday afternoon.

If pressed]

-- No, we have not requested a meeting with the President for Adams.

White House Meeting for Ian Paisley?

-- We understand Dr. Paisley is in town and would be prepared to schedule a meeting for him at the White House, if he wishes.

President's Trip Affected?

-- No, the President's plans to travel to Northern Ireland in late November are not affected by the delay moving ahead with the peace process..

British Stalling on Talks?

-- We hope that talks will be underway by the time the President visits Northern Ireland at the end of November.

Position on Decommissioning:

-- On decommissioning of weapons, the President has said that parties observing the cease-fire "must take the next step and begin to discuss serious decommissioning." We have made clear to Sinn Fein and loyalists that we expect movement on this issue.

Decommissioning a Precondition to Talks:

-- It is up to the parties to resolve the remaining obstacles.

-- We continue to urge all parties to address outstanding issues seriously and move to talks that will lead to a lasting settlement.

[If asked]

-- The President has not said that he favors discussing decommissioning of IRA weapons at new, all-party talks rather than before them. He has said that decommissioning remains an essential element of the peace process, and he has urged the IRA and loyalist paramilitaries to begin to

discuss
decommissioning seriously.

Background: USA Today of August 28 in its World Roundup says "Clinton, who has thrown his weight behind

efforts to end one of Europe's longest guerrilla wars, said in a letter that he favors discussing the decommissioning of IRA arms at new, all-party talks rather than before them." The letter is one the President wrote to former congressman Bruce Morrison in July in which he said "To help heal the wounds of an entire generation of people in Northern Ireland and as part of the peace process, all the parties should have the opportunity to raise issues of concern to them. Thus, I would expect all-party talks to address policing, prisoner issues, decommissioning of weapons and other issues of particular concern to communities and families."

Senator Mitchell to Chair Commission on Decommissioning?:

-- The two governments and parties are discussing the proposal. Have not yet made a decision.

-- It's premature to discuss any U.S. Government or private citizen role until there is a formal decision.

Resignation of Ulster Unionist Party Chairman Jim Molyneux

-- Jim Molyneux has been the leader of the Ulster Unionist Party, the largest party in Northern Ireland, since 1979. During his tenure as leader, he broadened the base of his party and was the first unionist leader to hold direct discussions with officials of the Irish Government on the future of Northern Ireland. Mr. Molyneux has taken courageous steps in support of peace in Northern Ireland and his quiet, strong leadership will be missed.

-- We understand a new UUP leader will be chosen September 8. We look

forward to a
fruitful
contacts with him, as we have had with Mr. Molyneux.

RUSSIA

Current Items

Yeltsin on Bosnia Air Strikes, Impact on NATO-Russia Relations

-- We (U.S./NATO) and Russia differ over air strikes, which are firmly grounded in U
N Security
Council resolutions. But we agree on importance of negotiated settlement and are w
orking closely within
Contact Group toward that end,

-- Russia has unique contribution to make to European security. Believe robust NATO

-Russia
relationship is in interests of U.S., Europe and Russia, and thus are pressing to d
evelop that
relationship.

General Items

Yeltsin's Health

-- Yeltsin has resumed light work schedule, including at Kremlin. Expect Yeltsin
wi
ll return to full
schedule shortly.

U.S. Stake in Relationship

-- U.S. has vital stake in engaging Russia and supporting political, economic
reform
there. It
matters greatly to us if Russia, other NIS are dictatorships or democracies, central
ly planned or
market-oriented economies.

-- Long-term strategy. Understand transformation underway will be complex,
protract

ed.

-- Struggle going on between those who support reform and those who oppose or fear change.

Will be setbacks, like Chechnya. Have to work to make progress on these.

-- But engagement also producing important successes: reducing nuclear threat, over

50% of

Russian GDP now from private sector, no Russian troops in Central Europe or Baltics.

Bomb Attack on Georgian Leader Shevardnadze

-- In aftermath of August 29 bomb attack on Chairman Shevardnadze, understand situation in

Georgia is calm, intense investigation is proceeding, and some arrests have been made.

-- Strongly condemn this act of terrorism. Continue to applaud and support Shevardnadze's

efforts to advance political and economic reform in Georgia.

Fred Cuny

-- Engaged Yeltsin, Russian officials to secure cooperation on Cuny case. Doing all

we can to

find out what happened, e.g., sent FBI team. Investigation ongoing.

-- Sympathize with Cuny family's deep sense of frustration. Share Cuny family's commitment to

thorough and honest investigation.

-- No confirmed reports on fate of Cuny or the Russians traveling with him.

Chechnya

-- Russians and Chechens signed military agreement on July 30 that inter alia provides for

cessation of hostilities, disarmament and stage-by-stage withdrawal of Russian

force
s.

-- Clashes continue. Implementation of agreement proceeding slowly -- complex and h
its frequent
snags. Situation changing daily.

-- Dispute can only be resolved by negotiated settlement. Urge sides quickly to res
olve these
issues and move toward political agreement.

Iran Reactor Sale

-- President has discussed Bushehr reactor sale with Yeltsin. Vice President and Pr
ime Minister
Chernomyrdin have begun serious dialogue that will continue.

-- We are making clear that we remain opposed to any nuclear cooperation with Iran,
given
Tehran's ambitions to acquire nuclear weapons capability.

Cuts in/Conditions on Bilateral Aid

-- Have differences with Russians on important areas. Working hard to resolve these

-- But our assistance advances critical U.S. interests, by helping reformers succeed
in building
democracy and market economy, and by helping to reduce nuclear threat to U.S.
Not i
n our interest to
cut this assistance.

Russia, European Security and NATO

-- Russia a key player in building stable, undivided Europe. Want to work actively
with Russia
toward this end and to develop NATO-Russia relationship.

-- Understand Russia has concerns about NATO enlargement. We intend to manage enlar
gement
process in manner that undercuts no country's security.

-- Process will be deliberate, gradual, transparent. No surprises.

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 14 September 95 14:20
FROM Peters, Mary A.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT ireland/adams [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Cullin, Brian P.
Fetig, James L.
Johnson, David T.
Mitchell, Calvin A.
Schuker, Jill A.
Wozniak, Natalie S.

CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE

TEXT_BODY

IMPORTANT -- PLS NOTE THAT I HAVE CHANGED THE RESPONSE ON
A FOLLOW UP ADAMS
MEETING THERE WILL BE NONE. [[SEP13GUI.DOC : 3604 in
SEP13GUI.DOC]]

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE** 14 September 95 14:19

**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME** SEP13GUI.DOC
FOREIGN AFFAIRS GUIDANCE

September 13, 1995

Bosnia/Croatia

Russia

China/Tibet

Ireland

Liberia: Peace Process

Burundi: Departure of Ambassador

Cuba -- New Foreign Investment Law

Senate Endorsement of START II and CWC Ratification

Jerusalem 3000

Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process

Iraq

Kashmir

BOSNIA/CROATIA

Geneva Meetings

-- Important progress was made at Friday's Geneva meeting between the foreign ministers of Bosnia, Serbia and Croatia, and Contact Group representatives. Ambassador Holbrooke and EU negotiator Carl Bildt co-chaired the meeting.

-- In specific, the three foreign ministers announced they had agreed to basic principles for further negotiations toward final settlement. The principles are the following:

-- For the first time, all agreed that Bosnia-Herzegovina will continue as a single state, with its present borders, and with continuing international recognition.

-- Consistent with the Contact Group plan, all three agreed that under the terms of a settlement, Bosnia-Herzegovina will consist of two entities: the Federation established under last year's Washington Agreements, and a Bosnian Serb republic.

-- The 51-49 parameter of the Contact Group's territorial proposal will be the basis for a settlement, subject to any adjustments the parties make by mutual agreement.

-- The two entities will have the right to establish relationships with neighboring states, but new relationships must be consistent with the sovereignty and territorial

integr
ity of
Bosnia-Herzegovina.

-- The parties have pledged to adhere to human rights standards, to ensure freedom of movement and the right of the displaced to return to their homes, and to collaborate on joint economic projects that will promote transportation links and communications among all of Bosnia's peoples.

-- As the President said, this is an important milestone on the path to peace.

-- The President was briefed yesterday by Ambassador Holbrooke and his team on next steps. He instructed the Holbrooke delegation to return to Europe tonight for further negotiations with the parties and consultations with the Contact Group and our other European partners.

If asked whether the new diplomatic effort divides Bosnia)

-- We have not partitioned Bosnia, nor do we intend to.

-- It cannot be emphasized too strongly that according to the Geneva agreements, Bosnia-Herzegovina remains a single state, retaining its seat in international organizations and its bilateral diplomatic relations with other countries in the world, including the U.S.

-- I would note President Izetbegovic's statement earlier this week that the Serbs compromised by accepting the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the Bosnians compromised by accepting a Serb republic.

Izetbegovic further noted that the reason for the compromises was to end the war.

According to Izetbegovic, "the world has made clear its support for peace but not for war."

NATO/UN Air Campaign

-- The NATO/UN air campaign is continuing because of Bosnian Serb refusal to agree to

conditions laid down by UN Commander Janvier and the NAC.

-- Last Sunday NATO used cruise missiles against Bosnian Serb air defense sites in Banja Luka.

-- This is not an escalation, but reflects a tactical judgment on how best to continue the current mission while minimizing the risks to NATO pilots.

-- The NATO and UN commanders will make tactical judgments on next steps if the Serbs continue to reject the UN/NATO conditions.

-- We regret that the recent meeting between Janvier and Mladic was unsuccessful. Despite repeated claims to the contrary, the Bosnian Serbs have still not complied with the three conditions:

-- a beginning of withdrawal of heavy weapons from the 20-kilometer exclusion zone around Sarajevo;

-- cessation of all attacks on Sarajevo and other safe areas;

-- complete freedom of movement for the UN and NGOs, including the opening of ground routes and the Sarajevo airport.

-- We note Bosnian government assurances that it will not take military advantage of a Serb withdrawal of heavy weapons from around Sarajevo.

-- The NATO/UN action, which began in response to the August 28 attack on the Sarajevo marketplace, should leave the Bosnian Serbs in no doubt about the determination of the Alliance and the UN to follow through on their commitments to protect safe areas.

-- The response is in full conformity with NATO decisions and UN Security Council resolutions.

solutions
on protection of Bosnian safe areas, and is taking place under rules established at
the July 21 London
Conference and subsequent NATO meetings.

(If asked what the objective of the campaign is)

-- The action demonstrates our resolve to uphold NATO and UN commitments
and to show
that
further attacks on civilians will have consequences.

(If asked about Russian criticism of the NATO air campaign)

-- Like the rest of the international community, the Russians were very critical of
the Serb attack
on the Sarajevo market that precipitated the UN/NATO response.

-- The U.S. and NATO differ with Russia over air strikes, which are firmly
grounded
in UN
resolutions. We discussed our different approaches yesterday at the UN and
NATO, wh
ere Russian
Ambassadors made presentations.

-- We have made clear to the Russians that the air strikes will end when the
Bosnian
Serbs comply
with NATO/UN conditions, and we have pointed out that we are urging Bosnian
governme
nt restraint. (IF
PRESSED: The President wrote to Yeltsin on this Saturday.)

-- Russia is a key contact Group member, has made important contributions to the
Bos
nian peace
effort, and shares our objective of a negotiated settlement. We are working
closely
with the Russians and
will continue to do so. Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott is traveling to
Mo
scow today to discuss
next steps.

-- As for Russia's relations with NATO, Russia has a unique contribution to make
to
European

security and will play a critical role in building a stable, undivided Europe. Thus we support a robust NATO-Russia relationship, which is in our interest, Russia's, and NATO's.

(If asked how long the response will last)

-- Ending the bombing is in the hands of General Mladic. He knows what he has to do to get the bombing stopped.

(If pressed for other details of the response)

-- For details, I refer you to NATO and the UN, which are carrying out the retaliation.

(If asked whether the strikes are making the Bosnian Serbs more obdurate)

-- The international community and parties to the conflict with the exception of the Bosnian Serbs have accepted UN resolutions and NAC decisions establishing safe areas in Bosnia. NATO and the UN will not abandon previous commitments.

-- Mechanisms have been established by the UN Security Council and NATO commanders to step up the pressure of the air campaign should the Bosnian Serbs continue to refuse to meet international conditions.

(If asked whether use of cruise missiles will destroy the peace process)

-- This is not an escalation. We are using the appropriate measures to let the Bosnian Serbs know they must adhere to UN resolutions.

-- In addition, we would underscore that the Bosnian government has given clear, public assurances that GoBH forces will not take advantage of the current situation to gain ground around Sarajevo.

-- Ultimately, the end of the NATO campaign depends on Bosnian Serb behavior.

Downed French Pilots

-- The Allies are in close consultation on all aspects of the NATO operation, including how best to respond to the downing of the French Mirage last week.

-- We have no confirmation of the Bosnian Serb claim that the pilots are in their custody.

-- As we have reason to believe the pilots of the plane may be alive, it is inappropriate to comment

further.

Granic Visit

-- Croatian Foreign Minister Granic is in Washington for meetings with various Administration officials.

-- Tony Lake met with him yesterday to discuss our goal of a political solution to the Serb-held area of Croatia known as Eastern Slavonia or UN Sector East. Among the other subjects on the agenda was the ongoing Croatian offensive inland from the Dalmatian coast, and human rights violations in Krajina.

Italian Exclusion from CG

-- On several occasions in recent weeks, Italy and other states have attended Contact Group events.

-- As a member of the EU Troika, as a member of the UN Security Council, in its capacity as one of the principal staging areas for NATO efforts in ex-Yugoslavia and as an important NATO ally, Italy has

an important role to play in the international response to the crisis. We take its views of the negotiations, NATO and UN activities, and other aspects of the peace process very seriously.

-- Friday's Geneva meeting is to be limited in participation so as to establish elements of the original five-nation Contact Group plan as the basis for further negotiations with the parties to the conflict.

-- The EU was represented at the Geneva meeting by its Balkan negotiator Carl Bildt, as well as by European states that are part of the Contact Group.

-- We are aware that subsequent to the Geneva meeting, Italy raised some concerns with aspects of the NATO/UN air campaign. All states participating in the effort are closely monitoring the effect of the campaign on Bosnian Serb behavior, and all are in close contact with one another at the UN and NATO.

-- We do not believe Italy's questions about the campaign stem from pique over perceived exclusion from the Contact Group.

-- We intend to continue to consult closely with Italy as our diplomatic efforts continue.

-- Following the Contact Group meetings in Geneva and Moscow, Italy will host a meeting in Rome with a broad range of allies and partners to consult fully on the peace process. We plan to continue this broad consultation process with our Allies and partners in future meetings wherever we consider ways to move the peace process forward.

CORE BOSNIA POINTS

-- From the outset, we have consistently worked to relieve the human suffering in Bosnia, contain the war, and bring about a peaceful settlement. These efforts have saved many lives, brought an end to the fighting between Muslims and Croats through the formation of the Bosnia-Croat Federation, and prevented the war from spreading. However, as we all know, the fighting continues and peace has been tragically elusive in Bosnia.

-- We are now at an important moment in the history of the Bosnian conflict. The events of the last few weeks changed the situation on the ground in Bosnia and presented the sides with opportunities to settle that could disappear in the wake of today's market attack.

-- Unless there is settlement in the next several weeks, the risks will grow of an escalation and spreading of the war, the collapse of the UN operation, and the danger that the United States will be drawn more deeply into the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. This is a path we must try to avoid.

-- There is still the possibility of another path -- toward an end to fighting through a strengthened UN operation on the ground and aggressive pursuit of a new diplomatic solution. This is an opportunity we continue to try to take advantage of.

-- Over the last few weeks we have worked with our allies to strengthen the United Nations operation by supporting the Rapid Reaction Force and providing for the protection of safe areas by the threat of aggressive use of NATO air power.

-- We are now working closely with our allies on the prospect for a new diplomatic effort. There are no guarantees -- but I am determined to present the parties with a chance to reassess and pursue a peaceful settlement.

What if the negotiating process breaks down in the wake of the NATO strikes?

-- We are committed to pursuing multilateral lifting of the arms embargo, and to consulting with Congress on arming and training the Bosnian government, should the Serbs prove unwilling to settle and UNPROFOR withdraws.

Have you retreated from troop commitments upon settlement? (Aug. 28 WP p. 24)

-- No.

-- We have long said we would be willing to participate in a NATO-led effort, under

previously-specified conditions, to help implement a viable peace settlement.

Are You considering fewer troops?

-- The number of troops we would consider devoting to settlement implementation would depend on the nature of the settlement package.

Are you presenting a U.S. map/Have you ceded Goradze to the Serbs

-- We are discussing a number of ideas, including some notions on territorial issues

-- We are not presenting a U.S. map, nor are we insisting on any particular territorial trades.

Did the Bosnians reject our plan out of hand?

-- No.

Mini Marshall Plan?

-- Certainly, a major reconstruction effort would need to follow any peace settlement.

-- Hope the international community would be prepared to assist in that effort.

Haiti or Cyprus Model?

- Avoid such comparisons.
- Any plan would be specific to the needs in Balkans.

Hasn't U.S. leadership in Bosnia failed?/What is new about the current initiative?

-- American diplomacy has had several notable successes: creation of the Federation and ending the fighting in Central Bosnia; stabilizing Macedonia; ending the siege of Sarajevo; containing the conflict.

-- New elements aiding our current efforts: recent developments on the ground, coup led with general war-weariness, have created new opportunities to break long-standing diplomatic logjams.

Give up on multi-ethnic Bosnian state?

-- No. Continue to support maintaining Bosnia within internationally recognized borders.

-- Supported Federation, combined Croat-Muslim enterprise.

Croatians engaged in ethnic cleansing?

-- Refugee flow is human tragedy and we are actively supporting efforts of international relief agencies.

-- Have been reports of abuses. We strongly condemn all violations of the rights of civilians, prisoners of war and international personnel.

-- We have repeatedly stressed to the Croatian government its obligation to respect these rights; to investigate allegations of human rights abuses, and to hold accountable those responsible.

-- Also urged government of Croatia to provide assurances to all Serbs in the Krajina

a, and to those
 who fled, that they are welcome to stay and return. Importance of allowing
 interna
 tional monitors (ICRC)
 to assure rights of Serbs are respected. Croatian government has agreed.

-- It is not clear whether the Croatian government's actions in Krajina amount to a
 systematic
 policy of ethnic cleansing -- a deliberate and organized strategy of force and
 intim
 idation to drive all
 members of an ethnic group from their homes to "purify" the area. But clearly,
 seri
 ous abuses have
 occurred and we condemn any acts that force anyone to leave because of ethnic
 ident
 ity.

-- We will continue to monitor the situation closely and hold the Croatians to the
 s
 ame standards
 as the Serbs and others in this conflict.

Shattuck report on atrocities

[Assistant Secretary of State John Shattuck confirmed reports of egregious
 human rig
 hts violations committed by
 Bosnian-Serb forces in the aftermath of their attack on Srebrenica and Zepa..]

-- We continue to condemn the policy of ethnic cleansing. We continue to call for
 i
 nternational
 access to all those detained and displaced, and for a full accounting of the
 whereab
 outs of those missing.
 We will continue to urge all parties in the former Yugoslavia to respect human
 right
 s and international
 humanitarian law.

-- Ambassador Albright presented information we have on atrocities to the U.N.
 Secur
 ity Council.

-- At our urging, the U.N. Security Council has adopted resolutions condemning
 crime

s on all
sides, highlighting Bosnian Serb atrocities against refugees from Srebrenica and
Zep
a.

-- There must be justice, and those who have violated international humanitarian
law
must be held
accountable. We will continue to work with the International War Crimes
Tribunal an
d urge that it
prosecute those suspected of war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide.
Such
criminal actions
must not and will not remain unpunished.

What about Kosovo?

-- We have told Belgrade we believe major resettlement of Krajina Serbs in
Kosovo is
potentially
very provocative.

-- Before the "FRY" can be integrated into the world community, a solution must
be f
ound to the
situation in Kosovo.

Second-level ethnic cleansing in Sandzak, Vojvodina

-- We have urged Serbian authorities to enforce laws preventing the eviction of
ethn
ic minorities
from their homes in the aim of making room for Krajina refugees.

U.S. relief to Krajina Serbs

-- We support efforts of international relief agencies, and have called for
comprehe
nsive, direct
relief to all those in need.

Reconstruction aid

-- The U.S. has consulted with the EU on the size and shape of an economic
reconstru
ction
effort, should a peace settlement be achieved.

-- The Spaniards, in their EU presidency capacity, have agreed to take the lead in planning for the effort. We are consulting with Congress on what the U.S. might be prepared to provide.

-- We expect the effort to include reconstruction assistance, IFI debt relief, humanitarian aid and encouragement of regional economic interdependence in terms of trade and other economic activities.

RUSSIA

Current Items

Grenade Hits Embassy Moscow

-- Rocket propelled grenade hit Embassy Moscow about 8:30 a.m. EST. No injuries reported.

Did not penetrate building. Some office windows blown in.

-- No threats or advance warnings. No claims of responsibility for action.

-- Russian authorities fully engaged. Embassy compound secured. Pursuing vigorous

investigation.

U.S. Citizens Killed in Belarus

-- Understand two U.S. citizens killed when hot air balloon was shot down in southwestern

Belarus after Belarusian air force unable to make contact after repeated attempts. Two other American citizens in good condition. Cannot release names until families notified.

-- Embassy Minsk assisting survivors and actively engaging Belarus Government to confirm details. Balloon reportedly drifted over military and strategic missile base. Gov

ernment of Belarus

providing full consular access and formed high-level commission to investigate.

-- Embassy reports that President Lukashenko's staff conveyed, at his instruction, s
adness and
deep regret.

-- Americans were participating in a race which started September 9 in Switzerland.

Flight plans

had been filed and clearance received from Belarusian air traffic control.

-- We are talking to the government of Belarus about how this incident occurred. Th

ey are setting

up a group to investigate the incident.

Yeltsin's Warning Against NATO Enlargement

-- Understand Russia has concerns about NATO enlargement. We intend to manage enlar

gement

process in deliberate and transparent manner that threatens no country and strengthe

ns security and

stability of Europe as a whole.

-- Want to engage Russia closely in developing Europe's security structure.

Russia

a key player in

building stable, undivided Europe.

-- Want to work actively with Russia toward this end. Our goal is to develop NATO-R

ussia

relationship in parallel with NATO's process of taking in new members. Robust

NATO-

Russia

relationship in interests of U.S., Europe and Russia.

Iranian Oil Swaps

-- As part of our policy of supporting the independence and stability of Caucasus an

d Central Asia

states, USG willing to consider allowing American companies to swap Caspian oil with

Iran in short-term

while alternative reliable export pipelines are developed.

-- Long-term independence of these states depends on ability to export energy resources.

-- Bottlenecks in Russian pipeline system severely limit ability of Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan to export oil and gas. No other pipelines currently available.

-- We are actively encouraging U.S. companies in region to develop alternative non-Iranian options for oil export, including pipelines through Caucasus to Turkey. That will take time

Chevron Swap Deal with Iran

-- Chevron has not yet presented license application. We will review all applications on case-by-case basis.

General Items

U.S. Stake in Relationship

-- U.S. has vital stake in engaging Russia and supporting political, economic reform there. It matters greatly to us if Russia, other NIS are dictatorships or democracies, centrally planned or market-oriented economies.

-- Long-term strategy. Understand transformation underway will be complex, protracted.

-- Struggle going on between those who support reform and those who oppose or fear change. Will be setbacks, like Chechnya. Have to work to make progress on these.

-- But engagement also producing important successes: reducing nuclear threat, over 50% of Russian GDP now from private sector, no Russian troops in Central Europe or Baltics.

Russian Banking Crisis

-- Good news is that Russian government and Central Bank effectively managed complex

short-term problems. Financial markets have stabilized.

-- After markets originally froze, government injected judicious amounts of capital to unblock freeze while minimizing inflationary pressures. No general run on deposits, and August monthly inflation rate of 4.6% lowest since 1992.

-- Expect additional bank closures and consolidations as weaker banks fold. If prudently managed, will strengthen banking system. We encourage Russian to keep working with IMF and World Bank on bank reform, as it is already doing.

Fred Cuny

-- Engaged Yeltsin, Russian officials to secure cooperation on Cuny case. Doing all we can to find out what happened, e.g., sent FBI team. Investigation ongoing.

-- Sympathize with Cuny family's deep sense of frustration. Share Cuny family's commitment to thorough and honest investigation.

-- No confirmed reports on fate of Cuny or the Russians traveling with him.

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-- Russians and Chechens signed military agreement on July 30 that inter alia provides for cessation of hostilities, disarmament and stage-by-stage withdrawal of Russian forces.

-- Clashes continue. Implementation of agreement proceeding slowly -- complex and h
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-- President has discussed Bushehr reactor sale with Yeltsin. Vice President and Pr
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-- Have made clear and continue to stress our opposition to any nuclear
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given Tehran's ambitions to acquire nuclear weapons capability.

Cuts in/Conditions on Bilateral Aid

-- Have differences with Russians on important areas. Working hard to resolve these

-- But our assistance advances critical U.S. interests, by helping reformers
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in building
democracy and market economy, and by helping to reduce nuclear threat to U.S.
Not i
n our interest to
cut this assistance.

CHINA/TIBET

DALAI LAMA VISIT

Q: Is the President meeting with the Dalai Lama?

A: The Dalai Lama is coming to the White House this afternoon to meet with Vice Pres

ident Gore.

They have met many times before. The VP is meeting the Dalai Lama as a respected religious figure.

Although the Dalai Lama does not have an appointment to see President Clinton, he will drop by the Vice President's office to pay his respects, as he did last year and in 1993. The President admires the Dalai Lama and his commitment to his people.

Q: Did the President refuse to meet with the Dalai Lama out of concern about offending the Chinese, as the New York Times charged?

A: No. The Administration decided in 1993 that it would be appropriate for the Vice President to meet with the Dalai Lama in his capacity as a well-known religious leader he has known for many years.

This is the formula under which the meetings were held for the last two years. There are no changes.

IF ASKED:

Q: What is U.S. policy toward Tibet?

The United States recognizes Tibet as a part of China, under Chinese sovereignty.

The President has a deep concern for human rights in China, including freedom of religious practice and the preservation of the unique religion and culture of the Tibetan people.

We have raised this concern with the Chinese government, and have advocated the re-opening of discussions between the government and the Dalai Lama or his representatives.

We continue to believe the Dalai Lama has a unique standing and perspective that

e Chinese

Government should take into account in dealing with Tibetan issues.

IRELAND

Status of the Peace Process/U.S. Role

-- We see a basis for progress in the "twin-track" proposal to begin inclusive talks between the British and Irish Governments and the Northern Ireland political parties and to establish an international body to address the issue of decommissioning of paramilitaries' weapons.

-- As we have been all along, we remain in contact with the two governments and with

representatives of different viewpoints in Northern Ireland. We will continue to encourage all sides to be flexible and find a way to move the process forward.

Adams Meeting at the White House

-- Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams met with National Security Advisor Anthony Lake yesterday for over an hour. The Vice President joined them for part of the meeting.

-- They discussed the status of the peace process and the need to re-establish its momentum.

If asked

-- No, there will be no meeting with Adams today..

Comment on Paisley Press Conference

-- Dr. Paisley is incorrect to say that the President's visit to Northern Ireland is in serious doubt. There has been no change in his plans, and in fact he is very much looking forward to the trip.

-- As for the possibility that there could be "serious trouble" during the President's visit, we sincerely hope that he will be welcome in Northern Ireland, where he will be bringing a message of peace and reconciliation.

-- We regret that Dr. Paisley did not accept Mr. Lake's invitation to discuss the situation in Northern Ireland face-to-face.

British Stalling on Talks?

-- As we have said, we hope that momentum will have been restored to the process by the time the President visits Northern Ireland at the end of November.

Position on Decommissioning:

-- On decommissioning of weapons, the President has said that parties observing the cease-fire "must take the next step and begin to discuss serious decommissioning." We have made clear to Sinn Féin and loyalists that we expect movement on this issue.

Decommissioning a Precondition to Talks:

-- It is up to the parties to resolve the remaining obstacles.

-- We continue to urge all parties to address outstanding issues seriously and flexibly and move to talks that will lead to a lasting settlement.

(If asked)

-- The President has not said that he favors discussing decommissioning of IRA weapons at new, all-party talks rather than before them. He has said that decommissioning remains an essential element of the peace process, and he has urged the IRA and loyalist paramilitaries to begin to

discuss
decommissioning seriously.

Background: USA Today of August 28 in its World Roundup says "Clinton, who has thrown his weight behind efforts to end one of Europe's longest guerrilla wars, said in a letter that he favors discussing the decommissioning of IRA arms at new, all-party talks rather than before them."

The letter is one the President wrote to former congressman Bruce Morrison in July in which he said "To help heal the wounds of an entire generation of people in Northern Ireland and as part of the peace process, all the parties should have the opportunity to raise issues of concern to them. Thus, I would expect all-party talks to address policing, prisoner issues, decommissioning of weapons and other issues of particular concern to communities and families."

Senator Mitchell to Chair Commission on Decommissioning?:

-- The two governments and parties are discussing the proposal. Have not yet made a decision.

-- It's premature to discuss any U.S. Government or private citizen role until there is a formal decision.

Election of new Ulster Unionist Party Chairman

-- David Trimble was elected UUP chairman on September 8.

-- Tony Lake called to congratulate him and to express our hope that he will visit Washington soon.

-- We hope to continue to build on the good relations with the UUP that we enjoyed during Mr. Molyneaux's tenure as party leader.

LIBERIA: PEACE PROCESS

Q: Do we believe that the war is now over?

A: We are pleased that Liberian faction leaders signed a new peace agreement in Abuja, Nigeria, on August 19.

We believe the chances for success of this accord are better than previous ones, given the participation of faction leaders on the new Council of State, and given the apparently helpful atmosphere resulting from NPFL leader Charles Taylor's meetings with Nigerian Head of State Abacha.

A good start has been made in implementing the new accord. A cease-fire which went into effect August 26 is generally holding, and a new Council of State was sworn in September 1.

We urge all parties to work together to implement all provisions of the Abuja Accord, especially disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants.

Given the length of the conflict and the suffering of the Liberian people, we hope that faction leaders will remain committed to the peace process.

Q: What is the USG attitude towards NPFL leader Charles Taylor?

A: The participation and cooperation of all faction leaders, including Charles Taylor, is essential to the peace process.

Those faction leaders who aspire to national leadership have a special responsibility to ensure that the provisions of the new Abuja accord are implemented swiftly and smoothly.

We hope that all parties will now begin a process of national reconciliation and healing.

Q: Did U.S. Special Envoy Dane Smith travel to Liberia?

A: Special Presidential Envoy to Liberia Ambassador Dane Smith and NSC Director MacA

rthur

DeShazer have just been in West Africa for discussions about next steps in the peace process following the signing of a new agreement in Abuja, Nigeria, August 19 by Liberia's faction leaders.

They were in Monrovia for the September 1 installation of the new Council of State.

Q: How much aid have we given to Liberia?

Since the war began in 1989, the United States has provided over \$60 million for conflict resolution and over \$380 million for humanitarian assistance.

Q: What types of assistance is the USG prepared to provide, and how does the USG intend to fund such assistance?

A: The United States is encouraged by the new agreement among Liberia's faction leaders, the swearing in of the Council of State as scheduled on September 1, and by the fact that the cease-fire that took effect August 26 is generally holding.

If the cease-fire holds and implementation of the peace process begins in earnest, Liberia will need assistance to successfully carry out disarmament, demobilization, reintegration of faction soldiers, and for reconstruction of the country.

(If asked): The issue of "child soldiers" is but one of the challenges to successful disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of fighters.

The United States is exploring ways in which we can help.

(If pressed): No decisions have been made on the nature and amount of U.S. assistance.

Q: Who is the U.S. Ambassador in Monrovia?

A: We do not have an Ambassador in Monrovia, as we have not recognized the interim governments which have been in place since the war began in 1989. The U.S. Embassy in Monrovia is headed by a Chief of Mission, John Fuhrer.

(FYI TO BRIEFER: John Fuhrer is DCM, currently acting as COM, pending arrival of a new COM.)

Q: Will we recognize the new government?

A: It is premature to consider the question of recognition.

Our Embassy officers in Monrovia will certainly be in close contact with the new government and political actors. We will continue to monitor developments closely and work with Liberians and the international community to ensure that the peace process continues to move forward, and the suffering of the Liberian people comes to an end.

BURUNDI: DEPARTURE OF AMBASSADOR

(IF ASKED):

Q: What can you tell us about U.S. Ambassador Robert Krueger's departure from Burund

i?

A: (If asked) The State Department has asked Ambassador Robert Krueger to return (a
t our
request) to discuss a number of issues concerning Burundi, specifically including
th
e human rights
situation.

(FYI: Ambassador Krueger departed Bujumbura Sunday, September 10, and has
now retu
med
to the U.S.)

We are deeply concerned about the human rights situation in Burundi. The
continuin
g
assassinations, attacks by Hutu Bandes-Armee and the Tutsi militias, combined
with i
ncreasing civilian
casualties resulting from clashing between guerrillas and the army, do not augur
we
ll for the future of
peace and democracy in Burundi.

The United States continues to work with other members of the international
communi
ty to
pursue the goals of reconciliation, peace and democracy.

(IF ASKED):

Q: What about the safety of Americans?

A: (If asked) All Americans are reported safe. The Embassy is in contact with the
A
merican
community and other members of the international community.

(IF ASKED):

Q: What about reported threats against Ambassador Krueger?

A: In a country such as Burundi which is experiencing high levels of instability,
we
are always
concerned about the safety of all Americans.

A travel warning for Americans considering travel to Burundi, with restrictions

on
travel for
USG personnel, remains in effect for Burundi (effective June 16, 1995).

The authorized departure for dependents of USG personnel in Burundi remains in
effe
ct
(authorized March 25, 1995).

(FYI: All USG dependents departed Burundi on March 29, 1995.)

(IF ASKED):

Q: How many Americans are in Burundi?

A: (If asked): There are approximately 100 Americans in Burundi, mostly
missionarie
s. There are
approximately 20 official Americans in country.

Q: Has the President lost confidence in Ambassador Krueger?

A: Absolutely not. Ambassador Krueger continues to have the full confidence of
the
President.
Krueger has been an exemplary representative of the U.S. -- taking brave actions
to
ensure that
widespread human rights abuses are brought to light and to end the cycle of
impunity

CUBA -- NEW FOREIGN INVESTMENT LAW

-- We have not yet reviewed in detail the text of the new foreign investment law
but
it appears to
offer new opportunities for foreign investors.

-- While this would be a welcome development, it also appears to have serious
limita
tions. Cuban
citizens, for instance, are still barred from investing in property, hiring non-fami

ly employees or forming small businesses. In addition, foreign investors are required to contract labor through the Cuban government, thereby preserving the government's strict economic hold on individuals.

-- These continuing restrictions significantly limit the scope of the law and indicate that the Cuban government is not interested in fundamental changes.

-- These changes are necessary to create incentives to raise Cubans' standard of living, improve Cuba's overall investment climate, and allow individuals essential economic freedom.

-- As we have indicated, major reforms of the kind that would bring about fundamental change could merit a carefully calibrated responses from the United States.

-- Finally, we will continue to urge foreign investors to avoid investing in properties on which U.S. citizens have claims.

SENATE ENDORSEMENT OF START II & CWC RATIFICATION

-- The President applauds the Senate for its vote on September 5 calling for prompt ratification of the pending START II and Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) treaties and urges it to provide its advice and consent to both treaties before this session is over.

-- As the President said in his May 31 commencement address at the Air Force Academy, "Both START II and the Chemical Weapons Convention will make every American safer, and we need them now."

[IF ASKED IF THIS IS A SLAP AT SENATOR HELMS FOR HOLDING THE TWO TREATIES HOSTAGE T
O
HIS BILL ON STATE REORGANIZATION]:

-- Our dialogue with Senator Helms on that issue is continuing. Meanwhile, we had made clear before this vote and will continue to make clear that the President believes that it is crucial that the Senate complete its action on these two treaties this year.

JERUSALEM 3000

Q: Why didn't Ambassador Indyk attend the opening ceremonies for the Jerusalem 3000

celebrations? Was there any official USG representation?

A: Jerusalem 3000 is a year-long series of cultural events commemorating Jerusalem's culture and history. The U.S. will be represented during the course of Jerusalem 3000 events as appropriate at times, this may involve the Ambassador.

The U.S. was represented at the opening ceremony by our senior Cultural Affairs officer in Tel Aviv.

Ambassador Indyk had prior commitments and could not attend.

Given the cultural nature of the event, it was appropriate to send our senior Cultural Affairs officer.

Q: Does this represent a change in U.S. policy? Does the U.S. recognize Israeli annexation of Jerusalem?

A: Our policy on Jerusalem has not changed. It remains a matter for permanent-status talks between Israel and the Palestinians.

ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN PEACE PROCESS

Q: What is the status of the Israeli-Palestinian peace talks?

A: Both the Israelis and the Palestinians continue to work hard to bridge their differences and have made progress.

We understand that both sides believe they are fairly close to an agreement.

Q: Will there be a ceremony for the parties to sign their agreement in Washington so on?

A: The parties have expressed their desire for a signing ceremony in Washington. As we have said, we are prepared to host a ceremony, once agreement has been reached.

IRAQ

If asked:

Q: Does the United States want to see Saddam Hussein replaced?

A: The Iraqis themselves should decide who leads Iraq. We want to see a stable Iraq that does not represent a threat to its neighbors. We support Iraq's territorial integrity.

As we have said in the past, it is difficult to foresee Saddam remaining in power where Iraq to comply fully with all the resolutions, which he is obliged to do.

Recent events, including the Hussein Kamal defection, tend to reinforce this impression.

But I don't want to speculate on possible succession scenarios. It is up to the Iraqis themselves to determine who should lead them.

KASHMIR

Background: The situation remains unclear and extremely fluid. Contact between the Al-Faran group holding the hostages and the Indian authorities continues to be intermittent and the crisis appears to be building toward a conclusion. Tension in the area continues to mount following a bomb blast in Srinagar this past weekend and troop movements by both India and Pakistan along the line of control (border) that separates them.

Points

- We are encouraged by reports that the hostages are well.
- We continue to work closely with the Indian authorities and hope for the speedy and safe release of the hostages.
- We urge all involved to continue to work cooperatively to secure the release of these innocent men.

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 16 September 95 09:05
FROM Dohse, Fred J.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT RE: more on trip [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Peters, Mary A.
CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE
TEXT_BODY

I have them. I can give you copies on Monday, Sept 18, when we talk about the President's trip.

From: Peters, Mary A.
To: Dohse, Fred J.
CC: /R, Record at A1
Subject: more on trip [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Monday, September 11, 1995 07:51 PM

Do you have copies of the schedules for the REagan and Kennedy visits to Ireland ? thanks

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 16 September 95 13:12
FROM Dohse, Fred J.
CLASSIFICATION CONFIDENTIAL
SUBJECT RE: UK/Ireland Trip ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~
TO Peters, Mary A.
CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE
TEXT_BODY

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By ~~W~~ NARA, Date 04/04/16
2017-0189-F

OK -- we can settle on a specific time on Monday morning.

From: Peters, Mary A.
To: Dohse, Fred J.
CC: /R, Record at A1
Subject: RE: UK/Ireland Trip [CONFIDENTIAL]
Date: Saturday, September 16, 1995 10:50 AM

Great idea. Afternoon would be better for me. How about 2:00?

From: Dohse, Fred J.
To: Peters, Mary A.
CC: /R, Record at A1; Millison, Cathy L.
Subject: RE: UK/Ireland Trip ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~
Date: Saturday, September 16, 1995 09:03 AM

Now that the dust has settled would you mind meeting with me Monday around 11:00 a.m. so we can discuss UK & Ireland. I would greatly appreciate you views, and I can give you a debrief on where things stand from my perspective. I have nothing on my schedule in the afternoon if that fits your schedule better.

From: Peters, Mary A.
To: Dohse, Fred J.
CC: /R, Record at A1
Subject: UK/Ireland Trip [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Monday, September 11, 1995 07:48 PM

Fred, could you give a readout on what happened at last Friday's trip meeting, either orally (I'll come over) or in an e-mail message?. thanks alot.