

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. email	Mary Peters to Jane Baker, et al., re: [Points to make] (2 pages)	11/17/1995	P1/b(1)
002. email	Mary Peters to Jane Baker, et al., re: Revised Talkers for Meeting with Adams (2 pages)	11/17/1995	P1/b(1)
003. email	Alexander Vershbow to Mary Peters, re: memo to NES (3 pages)	11/17/1995	P1/b(1)
004. email	Mary Peters to Jane Baker, et al., re: Trip Issues (3 pages)	11/17/1995	P1/b(1)
005. email	Sitroom to [List], re: WHSR LOG 19 NOVEMBER 1995 (7 pages)	11/20/1995	P1/b(1)
006. email	Fred Dohse to Jane Baker, et al., re: Ireland/London/Madrid Trip [partial] (2 pages)	11/20/1993	b(7)(E)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Emails
 MSMail - Record (Sept 94 - Sept 97) ([Ireland and trip...])
 OA/Box Number: 590000

FOLDER TITLE:

[11/06/1995 - 11/20/1995]

2017-0759-F
 ke5224

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]

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 06 November 95 16:20
FROM Peters, Mary A.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT DC [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Gardner, Anthony
CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE
TEXT_BODY Can't believe this but the speech meeting for the UK-Ireland trip is now scheduled for 11:00 Weds. I'll have to miss the DC.

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 07 November 95 15:47
FROM Dohse, Fred J.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT RE: Ireland trip [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Peters, Mary A.
CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE
TEXT_BODY

Please check the spelling on the third paragraph. Your fingers were off on the key board and I can't figure out the last several words.

From: Peters, Mary A.
To: Dohse, Fred J.; Soderberg, Nancy E.
CC: /R, Record at A1
Subject: Ireland trip [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Tuesday, November 07, 1995 03:10 PM

Some answers re trip events: (Fred, would you pass to Lucie? Thanks)

Re:Dublin-- DCM Dennis Sandberg assures me that all visiting heads of state lay wreaths in the garden of remembrance. It commemorates those who died in the 1916 uprising as well as all Ireland's war dead. The move to the next event, the rally, will take the President along O Connell street as the crowds are gathering. Dennis thinks it will have a very exciting feel to it.

FYI: There is no famine remembrance site in Dublin yet. The government is going to build one next year but as of now there is no place the President could commemorate the famine. Amb JKS really wants the First Lady to do the Strokestown event -- she will NOT have to spend 4 hours in a car since there is an airport nearby

Also re the First Lady's schedule, President Robinson's husband, Nick Robinson, normally is involved in head of state visits. He will be at the airport and they will expect the First Lady at their residence, I have informed Sara Grote.rist ripothe iridaylad.4e ce cthlwrThe Embassy, ise snoe Iti ought to be a the war deadsng a

Re: London -- Brits are anxious for a response to Major's invitation to Sunset Boulevard and dinner with theater celebs afterwards. It is Budget Day and Major is expected at Chancellor of the Exchequer's dinner if POTUS declines invitation.

RE: Madrid -- DCM Larry Rossin says he checked with one of Aznar's

staffers and Aznar will not be at all insulted to meet the President at the airport.

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 08 November 95 10:49

FROM Sens, Andrew D.

CLASSIFICATION ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT RE: First Lady's Schedule and Papers ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~

TO Peters, Mary A.

CARBON_COPY Dohse, Fred J.

TEXT_BODY

Nancy Soderberg says she doesn't care where the party stays, as FLOTUS staff did raise this with me in Jerusalem. Up to Fred to work out with schedulers. I would not provide a copy of trip briefer to FLOTUS' staff--they are mostly not cleared. Just give them the background papers raw, they'll write their own stuff.

From: Peters, Mary A.

To: Sens, Andrew D.

CC: /R, Record at A1

Subject: First Lady's Schedule and Papers [UNCLASSIFIED]

Date: Tuesday, November 07, 1995 03:14 PM

Two questions re Ireland- UK - Spain trip.

Sara Grote of FLOTUS office wants to know whether the Clintons MUST stay at the palace in the Madrid or whether they could consider staying at the ambassador's residence instead. Sara thinks FLOTUS may have raised directly with you. Should I pursue the question with embassy or are you way ahead?

What is usual drill on background papers etc for FLOTUS? Can she use same briefing book?

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017

By V. NARA, Date 05/09/19

2017-0759-F

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 09 November 95 16:45
FROM Peters, Mary A.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT RE: [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Verville, Elizabeth G.
CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE
TEXT_BODY

Thanks , Liz. I already figured out from talking to him on the phone that he is nice AND that he knows alot about legal issues in Northern Ireland -- which we could use help on for the trip. I am meeting with him on Tues.

I would LOVE to have lunch but would enjoy it more after Dec 3. I will put on my schedule to call you.

From: Verville, Elizabeth G.
To: Peters, Mary A.
CC: /N, NonRecord at A1
Subject: [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Thursday, November 09, 1995 02:11 PM

Jim Eisenhower told me he spoke to you about his interest and experience in Northern Ireland. As he probably told you, he's a Phil lawyer/White House Fellow, former prosecutor and Justice Dept. What I'm sure he didn't tell you is that he is very nice, does great work and works very hard! It would be great if in addition to the drugs/crime/war crimes portfolio here, he could do something with you on N Ireland. I'm sure you be pleased with his contribution!

Do you ever have time to have lunch?

Liz

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 11 November 95 17:45
FROM Kessinger, Jodi
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT NES corrections to Saturday Summary[UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Naplan, Steven J.
CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE
TEXT_BODY [[SUMM1111.DOC : 4383 in SUMM1111.DOC]] Steve, NES made a few changes.

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE** 11 November 95 17:45
**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME** SUMM1111.DOC

Memorandum

To: Tony Lake, Sandy Berger
Through: Nancy Soderberg
From: Jill A. Schuker
Date: November 11, 1995
Subject: Communications Meeting

The following is a summary of conversation at the Saturday morning communications group meeting:

On APEC-Japan:

Depending on developments in Dayton, Christopher may depart for Osaka later than planned., perhaps with POTUS

Mondale adamant about need for Japanese troops to participate in USS Independence event, and Japanese military leadership enthusiastic, but approval not yet forthcoming from top...DOS to check with US Embassy for Foreign Ministry contact/closure

POTUS dominant visuals expected to be:
APEC leaders "family photo"
any POTUS unilateral media avail on budget developments
Pomp and circumstance at palace
POTUS on USS Independence with U.S. & Japanese troops
NHK picture
University speech picture

POTUS message on APEC: U.S. export prospects improved and domestic economy solid.

POTUS message on Japan: a once troubled security relationship is again on solid footing; bilateral relationship strong.

Pre-trip NYT David Sanger piece skeptical of claims of solid relationship.
Christoper Sanger will try reach-out to Mondale to contact this weekend.

Definite POTUS departure statement unsettled.

If trip moved back, POTUS may do roundtable with Japanese media in advance of departure

Lake expected to interview with Yomiuri Shimbun this week.

WH briefing scheduled for Tuesday: Lake, Tyson, Perry/White/Nye, Brown (?), Spero/Lord (?)

State and NSC regional /radio tours to West Coast in advance of trip.

Agreed on need to encourage attention to CEA report.

Talking points on APEC-Japan ready Monday.

Further discussion planned for NHK interview, pre-POTUS briefing.

Agencies continue media outreach plans.

On Ireland:

Pushing to get time for POTUS media roundtable with UK/Irish/Northern Irish/EU/Spanish media in advance of

departure. Johnson/Glynn focusing on participants.

Media outreach plans include Op/eds focusing on peace theme and POTUS leadership.

Also working ed/bds and radio tours.

Looking for venues for "childrens' letters" (Parade, People....) Ann Edwards.

Time magazine considering Ireland/POTUS cover

Push on friendly columns.

Possible abbreviation of trip discussed; Ann Edwards stressed need to get preliminary schedule to press.

On Bosnia:

Monday POTUS DLC remarks will include Bosnia insert; all remarks, as appropriate, geared to Bosnia comments

Tuesday POTUS Congressional meeting(s)....difficulties with timing discussed re: press advantage.

Necessity for VP to speak out publicly as well as continued congressional focus

Metcalf and Hefley legislative actions to block deployment of US forces in IFOR anticipated this week.

Wednesday HNSC hears testimony from Kirkpatrick, Krauthammer, and Ron Steele. Considering pro-IFOR testimony from Zumwalt, others.

Christopher visits Dayton Monday/Tuesday. Three likely options:

- . remain in Dayton, close the deal, initial end of week. POTUS remains in D.C.
- . suspend Dayton, brief POTUS on accomplishments, shuttle talks continue in Europe
- . brief POTUS on status of talks, attend APEC-Japan, return to Dayton to close the deal.

Tribunal's Goldstone in D.C. November 15. Admin reps will reach-out. Press

plan need
ed.

Comprehensive communications/media plan coordinated by NSC on outreach
actions un
derway/needed in
support of POTUS Bosnia pledge/IFOR participation, including talking points to
under
score our focus, vision and
headway

State's press kit will be revised and updated for further distribution.

CC:Baer, McCurry, Stephanopoulos, Emanuel, Donilon, Steinberg, Sullivan,
Schuker, Jo
hnson, Danvers, Blinken,
Bass

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 13 November 95 18:21

FROM Wozniak, Natalie S.

CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED

SUBJECT November 13 McCurry Press Briefing [UNCLASSIFIED]

TO

Alijanil, Leyla
Andreasen, Steven P.
Andricos, George M.
Appel, Edward J.
Argarin, Jocelyn D.
Armstrong, Fulton T.
Atlas, Edwin L.
Baker, Jane E.
Baker, James E.
Bakke, Kyle D.
Baldwin, Kenneth
Bassett, Leslie A.
Bass, Peter E.
Battenfield, Pat
Beardsley, Tyler S.
Beers, Rand R.
Behring, Deanna M.
Bellamy, Ralph C.
Bell, Robert G.
Bendick, Gordon L.
Benjamin, Daniel
Birkland, Andrea L.
Blacker, Coit D.
Blieberger, Marion H.
Blinken, Antony J.
Bolinski, Charlene C.
Bradley, Amelia J.
Bresnahan, Gary E.
Broadway, Jamuna
Brown, Dallas
Brown, Nancy E.
Bruton, Robert G.
Bryan, Lloyd D.
Burrell, Christina L.
Kevin J. Cadieux
Canty, Mary T.
Carter, Michael E.
Cicio, Kristen K.
Clark, Bronya

Clarke, Richard A.
Claussen, Eileen B.
Cooper, Kathleen H.
Crispell, Thomas G.
Cullin, Brian P.
Daadler, Ivo H.
Daniel, Patty A.
Danvers, William C.
Dames, Victoria J.
Deshazer, Macarthur X.
Dimel, Marsha L.
Dohse, Fred J.
Dragone, Karen D.
Dupuy, Shawn L.
Dymersky, Debra L.
Eddy, Randolph P.
Edwards, Joan
Eisenhower, James J.
Emery, Mary C.
Fairfax, Kenneth J.
Feeley, John F.
Feinberg, Richard E.
Fetig, James L.
Ficklin, John W.
Flanagan, Stephen J.
Flessas, Daniel
Frias, Angela M.
Fried, Daniel
Friedrich, M. K.
Froman, Michael B.
Fuerth, Leon S.
Fuhrman, Thomas A.
Gardner, Anthony
Gates, Brian K.
George, Christopher
Gerstner, Christina L.
Gladbach, Damon J.
Glinski, David L.
Gorsuch, Robert P.
Gragg, Mark A.
Gray, Wendy
Grimes, Richard J.
Grummon, Stephen R.
Guekel, Kathi A.
Haines, Mary A.
Hale, John E.
Hall, Wilma G.
Halperin, Morton H.
Hamilton, Roy A.
Harmon, Joyce A.

Harris, Elisa D.
Harrison, Lyle M.
Hawes, David J.
Hawkins, Ardenia R.
Heslin, Sheila N.
Hilliard, Brenda I.
Hill, Roseanne M.
Hilty, JoAnne M.
Hofmann, Stephan D.
Houck, Baerbel K.
Hunerwadel, Joan S.
Jensen, Noelle B.
Johnson, David T.
Jordan, Donald L.
Joshi, M. Kay
Kammerer, Kelly C.
Kelly, Sandra L.
Kerr, Andrew S.
Kessinger, Jodi
Kreczko, Alan J.
Kyle, Robert D.
Leary, William H.
Letts, Kelly J.
Lindsey, Wanda
Litwak, Robert C.
Lorin, Matthew E.
Lowry, Jay E.
Malley, Robert
Marmol, Madelyn P.
Marshall, Betty A.
Martinez, Alejandro
Mauzy, Stefan T.
Maxfield, Nancy H.
Mazzuchi, Anthony D.
McCormick, Shawn H.
McIntyre, Stuart H.
Merchant, Brian
Miller, Matthew E.
Millison, Cathy L.
Miscik, Judith A.
Mitsler, Elaine M.
Miyaoka, Lester H.
Moody, Angelyn D.
Moore, Lori A.
Naplan, Steven J.
Neil, M. Elise
Noetzel, Jon C.
Norman, Marcia G.
Norris, John J.
Nuccio, Richard A.

O'loughlin, Kathrine
Parco, Jim E.
Gwyn M. Parker
Parramore, Carl W.
Parris, Mark R.
Pascual, Carlos E.
Pease, Bruce E.
Peggins, John W.
Peters, Mary A.
Pifer, Steven K.
Kenneth M. Pollack
Poneman, Daniel B.
Porter, Gidell
Quinn, Mary E.
Ramsay, Martha S.
Reade, Evan G.
Realuyo, Celina
Reed, George
Reznik, Victoria (NMI)
Rice, Susan E.
Roth, Stanley O.
Roundtree, Beverly J.
Salvetti, Lisa M.
Samore, Gary S.
Sanborn, Daniel R. K.
Satterfield, David M.
Saunders, John W.
Saunders, Richard M.
Schifter, Richard
Schmidt, John R.
Schmidt, Sandra E.
Schuker, Jill A.
Schwartz, Eric P.
Sculimbrene, Thomas A.
Seaton, James B.
Seeley, Charlotte P.
Sens, Andrew D.
Sestak, Joseph A.
Sevigny, Theodore T.
Sheehan, Michael A.
Showalter, Victoria A.
Sigler, Ralph
Simon, Steven N.
Simons, James R.
Stauffer, Helen L.
Suettinger, Robert L.
Sulser, Jack A.
Tarullo, Daniel K.
Marcel T. Thomas
Turner, Joe T.

Tyler, John T.
Unrue, Michael M.
Van DeCar, Karen J.
Van Tassel, David S.
Veit, Katherine M.
Vershbow, Alexander R.
Verville, Elizabeth G.
Wadsworth, Valon J.
Wales, Jane
Walsh, Helen C.
Ward, JoAnn X.
Weber, Paul A.
Whitworth, Frank D.
Wilhelm, Richard J.
Willis, Robin M.
Wilson, Marilyn E.
Wise, William M.
Witkowski, Anne A.
Woolston, Ann E.
Wooton, Kevin B.
Wozniak, Natalie S.
Wright, Allison M.
Yorkdale, Glenn H.

CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE

TEXT_BODY [[1113MCBF.DOC : 4610 in 1113MCBF.DOC]]

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE** 13 November 95 18:20

**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME** 1113MCBF.DOC

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release November 13, 1995

PRESS BRIEFING
BY MIKE MCCURRY

The Briefing Room

2:26 P.M. EST

MR. MCCURRY: Good afternoon, everyone. Let me start with an announcement concerning the President's very important trip to Japan for the meeting of the Asian Pacific Economic Cooperation leaders summit and a very important state visit, bilateral visit, with the Japanese government.

First, as is obvious, the President has to tighten his schedule in order to take the very important work that he needs to do on this trip and fit it in to what will amount to a weekend trip to Japan. The President will depart 11:00 p.m. Friday evening from Andrews Air Force Base and will return Tuesday morning at approximately 2:00 a.m. to Andrews Air Force Base. So, in other words, very late Monday night.

That will allow him to participate fully in the APEC leaders meeting that will occur on Sunday. It will also allow him to accept the gracious invitation of the Emperor and Empress for a state visit to Japan and conduct important bilateral meetings with Prime Minister Murayama.

The United States appreciates the courtesy of the Emperor and Empress in allowing this schedule adjustment to occur. Obviously, we also appreciate the cooperation of the Japanese government and the Japanese people as we make these necessary adjustments to the President's schedule. The President is confident that this schedule will allow him to do the very important work of advancing U.S. economic interests as we participate in these important discussion with the other Asian economies, and as we deal at a very important point with the very important bilateral relationship we have with the government of Japan.

Q Do you revert to the --

Q Is that locked in now, or can you expand it back up --

can you expand it again if you get a deal, or is this locked in?

MR. MCCURRY: This is -- we are making all the adjustments

necessary to follow this schedule, so this will be the schedule.

Q You mean even if you get a deal it will be the schedule?

MR. MCCURRY: There's nothing to indicate that that's going to happen in a time that would allow us to open the trip back up accordion style.

Q Let's just suppose that you don't get a deal --

MR. MCCURRY: I'm not going to do a suppose. The schedule --

Q No, don't you expect that there is going to be a shutdown?

MR. MCCURRY: We're announcing a schedule, announcing the schedule as it's now announced.

Q Mike, how long will the state visit be then?

MR. MCCURRY: One day. It will be -- the President will fly from Osaka down to Tokyo on Sunday night. He will have sessions beginning at 9:00 a.m. in the morning Monday. He will conclude with a state dinner at the Imperial Palace at the end of the day on Monday and will depart for home at the conclusion of the state dinner.

Q How's his health?

Q In his remarks to the DLC, the President said something like he hopes to be able to make this trip to Ireland. Did he use that language because that trip could also be in some danger because of the government shutdown?

MR. MCCURRY: Well, the President still is keeping to his planned schedule. It's impossible for us now to predict what will happen between now and the end of this month. It's a rather fluid situation, as you have gathered.

Q Is Mrs. Clinton going?

MR. MCCURRY: Mrs. Clinton does plan to attend, yes.

Q Since we're talking about scheduling, if the CR comes down here, and now it looks like they're going to vote about 5:30 p.m., what time do you think the President will take action on the --

MR. MCCURRY: He will exercise his veto as soon as he receives the measure from the Hill. As you know, final passage in Congress has very little to do with what time Congress actually sends the measure to the White House. We had final passage on the debt ceiling measure Friday that did not arrive here until Sunday. So it's impossible for us to predict to you now what time that measure will arrive from the Congress.

Q Will he do it in a public way this time again?

MR. MCCURRY: I expect that he's -- since you all know that he fully intends to veto this measure, we will issue a written

statement setting forth the President's reasons for a veto if it occurs late in the evening as we all suspect it will.

Q Now that the Senate Republicans at least have agreed to freeze or drop the Medicare provision, will you -- was the President willing to meet with at least that half of Congress? That was your --

MR. MCCURRY: I'm not aware that -- you've got more information than I do. I'm not aware that the Senate has now dropped the Medicare premium increase. I've heard one or two members suggest that, but we don't have anything authoritative from the Republican leadership indicating that they are now dropping the Medicare premium increase from the continuing resolution.

Q What do you have from Domenici?

MR. MCCURRY: We have what we've seen him say on CNN.

Q -- conversations with Panetta.

Q Are you saying he hasn't talked to Panetta?

MR. MCCURRY: His conversations with Mr. Panetta -- the idea that he discussed is very much the same one that he's discussed publicly now on television.

Q So what's your reaction to it?

MR. MCCURRY: It's an interesting idea, but it's got nothing to do with resolving the current crisis. The President, as he's made clear, needs for them to drop the Medicare premium increase from the continuing resolution so that we can then get down to a serious discussion about what will be in a continuing resolution that's appropriate and acceptable to the President.

Q In other words --

Q Are you saying a freeze is not good enough?

MR. MCCURRY: A freeze has to -- a willingness on the part of Congress to drop the Medicare premium increase can open the way to further discussions. That's the most you can say at this point because the President has substantive objections to other aspects of the continuing, especially the level of funding cuts.

Q Can you explain what's wrong with a freeze?
Explain what's wrong with the freeze.

MR. MCCURRY: Well, because the President prefers current law. Current law is very clear on what premium increases should be.

Q Mike, following up, when you say the objections to other aspects of the CR are the funding levels, plus assuming the Senate even takes up Mr. Domenici's proposal, which it isn't at all clear that it's been embraced by Senator Dole or the leadership, and they send him down a bill with 46-10 frozen in there or whatever, are you saying he could still veto because of the 60 percent funding level?

MR. MCCURRY: The President -- look, nothing has changed from the viewpoint of the White House. The President is willing to sit down with the bipartisan leadership of Congress to discuss how we are going to avert this crisis, a shutdown in our government,

and the only condition he attaches to that is some measure of good faith on the part of the leadership by dropping the proposed Medicare premium increase that is in the current version of the continuing resolution. If they drop that, there is a basis upon which to have discussions about how we move forward from here, even though the President still has substantive objections to the continuing resolution now pending in the Senate.

Q He would leave the government closed and talk? Is that, in effect, what would happen?

MR. MCCURRY: Well, if there's no action by the Congress or if there's no action on a measure that the President signs, then the shutdown proceeds.

Q But, Mike, suppose they send him the thing with the Medicare premium dropped, would he sign that -- a CR with the Medicare premium dropped? Would he sign that?

MR. MCCURRY: The President has made it clear he would sign a clean extension, clean continuing resolution, one that follows the formula that was developed in September. I can tell you what the President has said he will sign. I can't speculate for you what the President will do on something hypothetical that we don't have any indication at all is the viewpoint of Congress. Is Congress going to pass any of these things that you are suggesting and send it to the President tonight? That's a different question. There's no indication that that's going to happen at this point.

Q Michael, there's nothing on this CR that they are looking at except Medicare and the funding level. The funding level is the CR. There are no other things on it. So the only issue if they drop Medicare is the 60 percent.

MR. MCCURRY: If they drop the Medicare premium increase, there's a basis then to have discussions about how we resolve the President's objections. The funding level is clearly our concern, and we want --

Q Is that also a basis for keeping the government open?

Q There's only one objection, it spends too little.

MR. MCCURRY: We would like the September formula which was again, remember, a neutral position that didn't favor either the congressional viewpoint -- it didn't favor the President's viewpoint. It was a neutral way for us to extend the amount of time available to Congress and the President to resolve their overall differences on the budget. That's what should happen. That's what needs to happen. They ought to do it sooner rather than later.

Q Are you saying then that if it comes down here with the 60-percent funding level, regardless of the Medicare provision, that's veto bait by itself?

MR. MCCURRY: The President is very concerned about the 60-percent funding level. He has made that clear repeatedly in the statements he's made in the last two days, and that just is an unacceptable continuing.

Q So that means a veto, correct?

MR. MCCURRY: It's unacceptable.

MR. MCCURRY: On the Medicare provision, obviously, the

amount that the CR would raise it would be more or less detrimental to a family, depending on their needs. Would he accept some kind of means testing on what he describes as an increase?

MR. MCCURRY: Our view on that is well-known. Let's remember -- see, you're asking me now about issues that the President believes ought properly to be discussed in the context of a budget reconciliation measure. The whole point here is that none of these discussions ought to occur in the context of a continuing resolution that simply extends funding for government while Congress and the President resolve their differences on overall issues. That's the whole point of a stop-gap funding measure, like a continuing resolution, is to just sort of extend the length of time that the government is functioning, usually under neutral terms, while other larger issues are debated.

Q So he just wants Medicare out of it, period?

MR. MCCURRY: He wants no Medicare premium increase on this nation's elderly. He doesn't want them to do that back-door in some continuing resolution. Medicare should not even -- changes in Medicare ought not to be addressed in this type of continuing resolution, the President believes.

Q Can you describe what contacts there have been between the Hill leadership and the White House today?

MR. MCCURRY: Between leadership we have been in close contact with the Democratic leadership in both the House and the Senate. I believe you all know that Chief of Staff Panetta had a conversation with Chairman Domenici earlier in the day.

Q Who made the call?

MR. MCCURRY: I don't really know. I know that they've touched base just to see where things are, and Mr. Panetta has had additional contacts with a variety of other members of Congress -- I don't believe of the Republican leadership, but it is all in an effort to just keep closely apprised as to what is developing on the Hill.

Q Do you have any reason to believe that there is any kind of offer coming from Republicans or the Senate Republicans --

MR. MCCURRY: We have heard nothing and seen nothing

publicly reported that indicates that this discussion of a Medicare premium freeze is the position being advanced by the Republican congressional leadership.

Q And would the President still want Democrats to be at this meeting, or would he be willing to meet with the Republican leadership without them?

MR. MCCURRY: It's more and more clear now that there can only be a bipartisan solution to this current crisis; therefore, they will need bipartisan authorship of the eventual solution.

Q Mike, what lesson is the President trying to teach House Republicans?

MR. MCCURRY: What lesson? There's no lesson -- I mean, the lesson to be learned here is that there's a right way and a wrong way to run our government. And the right way is to come forward as the President did in June with a detailed proposal that would balance this budget and do so in a way that the President believes reflects the principles that he thinks are important to the American people. They would do business in a timely way and not do it in this type of crisis atmosphere.

Q Are you going to give us a list of people who would be staying on at work?

MR. MCCURRY: I can tell you a -- you mean here at the White House? I can tell you here at the White House, of the 430 full-time equivalents that we've got -- that includes about 30 detailees from other agencies -- roughly, 21 percent will be on board if we shut down tomorrow. That's approximately 90 individuals who would be excepted. They range from telephone operators who will be able to answer calls from the public, although a reduced number of telephone operators; to folks who will handle inquiries from the media, although in every case I think the size of staffing is being reduced; to those who are necessary to conduct any discussions that pertain to items under consideration on Capitol Hill; to a small number of people in the Oval Office retinue that will help the President take and place phone calls. That's the kind of staffing pattern that we're looking --

Q That number does not include security, correct?

MR. MCCURRY: That does not include Secret Service personnel which are responsible to the Department of Treasury. Roughly, 90 people, around 21 percent of the 430 full-timers.

Q Do you have anything on like chefs and gardeners and valets? Personal staff?

MR. MCCURRY: I know most of those -- a lot of those

people are handled under other budgets. But a lot of them will be -

- as you move through, for example, the management and administration side of the White House staff will be reduced to 16 from 51. Just about all areas are taking cuts of anywhere from 75 percent to two-thirds.

Q Do you send these people home, or can they work if they want to without pay? I mean, what is --

MR. MCCURRY: No, folks who are on salary cannot, by law, volunteer for the positions that they currently hold. So they have to go home.

Q What is the sanction if they do? What's the sanction if you work?

MR. MCCURRY: I don't know. You'd have to ask the Justice Department.

Q This 430 is the Executive Office of the President, that doesn't include OMB --

MR. MCCURRY: That doesn't include OMB or NSC, for example. NSC has got a lot of folks who are detailed here from the military; they're covered separately under the statute. So the NSC will be up and running. Those individuals that are critical to emergency, to security, to national preparedness obviously will be on duty, as is consistent with the briefing you got from Dr. Rivlin on Saturday.

Q I understand that you are one of the essential people and will work, but how does it --

MR. MCCURRY: I have never felt essential before in my life, but --

Q How does it feel to be essential and work and not get paid?

MR. MCCURRY: I think that keeping the public informed on what the President is doing in the midst of this crisis is rather important. And I think the public has a right to know, and so I'll be here.

Q Can you just clarify about the Panetta and Domenici conversation? You said you have no indication that this freeze proposal is what the Senate leadership is proposing. But did Domenici talk about it with Panetta, and what was Panetta's --

MR. MCCURRY: Senator Domenici had some ideas. I would prefer that you learn from him what those ideas are. But as I say, we have not heard anything that would indicate to us that the authoritative position of the Republican leadership in Congress is that they plan to drop the planned Medicare premium increase in favor of a freeze or in favor of current law.

Q As I understand your position from you, you're

saying it's unacceptable to have the 60-percent level. The Clinton administration is willing to shut down the government because they want it to -- simply over spending, they just want to spend more?

MR. MCCURRY: The only -- the issues we are facing right now are proposed premium increase in Medicare, which is in the version of the continuing resolution that the Senate will vote on this afternoon, and a proposed level of funding that would represent a significant cutback in the ability of this administration to protect the environment, to protect the health and safety of the American people.

Q For 12 days? As I understand it, it's \$13 million, maybe, between theirs and yours, and it would cost several million to pay for this shutdown.

MR. MCCURRY: In the atmosphere we're in now, it's hard to know, once accepted, whether or not those levels become a benchmark for future continuing. For example, we're already talking about -- we're talking about continuing the current formula in the continuing resolution, which is only 90 percent funding. So where do you stop this? We believe the best way to do that is to continue --

Q Do you want 100 percent funding?

MR. MCCURRY: We would have preferred that in the original continuing, but we weren't able to negotiate that with the Congress. We ended up with 90 percent --

Q I thought you wanted to spend less anyway.

MR. MCCURRY: -- and as a concern here -- accept these lower levels, and then you de facto accomplish what the Republicans seem to want to accomplish, which is to effectively end the federal involvement in a lot of things that the President believes are necessary when it comes to protecting the American people.

Q Are you saying that 60 percent is unacceptable, but between 60 and 90 percent is negotiable?

MR. MCCURRY: Look, I don't want to get into what's

unacceptable. I'll tell you what is acceptable, and the President's made it very clear. He want the continuing resolution adopted in September by the Congress extended so that we can then get down to resolving these larger budget issues, which are really at the heart of this debate. That's what's acceptable. I'm not going to speculate about what's unacceptable because what's unacceptable is the measure that is currently pending in the Senate, and the one that we expect to get tonight and the one that, clearly, the President will veto.

Q Senator Dole said yesterday that nobody wins if the government shuts down. Does the President share that sentiment of the Senator?

MR. MCCURRY: Yes.

Q Mike, you guys have been saying recently quite a

lot that no deal is better than a bad deal. Aren't you setting up a situation where in a game of budget chicken you've decided not to blink at all and that no deal is actually better for the President?

MR. MCCURRY: No.

Q Has the White House taken any view on the legal viability of some of the debt management strategies that are on the way?

MR. MCCURRY: That's the province of the Secretary of the Treasury. He has to make a legal judgment at the time that he employs any extraordinary measures to avoid a default. But those are very tough decisions.

Q And have you analyzed --

MR. MCCURRY: Not to my knowledge has the Office of Legal Counsel examined that because we -- the Secretary of the Treasury has made very clear to the White House that he takes that legal responsibility very, very seriously and has to examine the legal facts at the time he would take any such action.

Now, the Treasury has now announced today that they are on the verge of having to do that. But I am confident, and the White House is confident, that the Secretary of the Treasury will have very carefully looked at the legal issues involved prior to making any actions like that. In any event, the Secretary of the Treasury said it's no way to run this country. He should not be a position where he has to shuffle accounts in order to keep the full faith and credit of the United States government valid. And there's a much better way to do this business and it's to pass a

clean debt ceiling extension such as the one the President recommended today when he, of necessity, had to veto the measure passed by Congress.

Q What happens after the veto? Will the President make any new steps to start negotiations once he --

MR. MCCURRY: As he did today in vetoing the debt ceiling measure, he sent right back to Congress exactly the measure that would be acceptable so we could avert this crisis. He will do that this evening as well. Upon vetoing this continuing resolution he'll send right back to them the type of continuing resolution that would allow this government to stay open to continue to provide services to the American people.

Q Have you picked a date on that?

MR. MCCURRY: I think it's going to be December 15th.

Q Mike, one of the things that the government can do in addition to the movement of money from other accounts to avert a shut down or, more to the point, a default, is to adjust the spend-

out rate in a huge array of government accounts simply to slow the spending down and conserve funds. Has the administration started that process and if not, is it planning to?

MR. MCCURRY: Brit, because we are now in a new fiscal year with no legally-authorized appropriations except in two cases, I don't know what flexibility OMB has. I'd ask that you put that question into Larry Hoss at OMB and see.

Now, in the past, as we approached the end of the last fiscal year, the Director of OMB indicated to Cabinet agencies that they could not adjust their payout rates as a way of circumventing congressional intent or spending all the money in advance. So she gave very clear directive to agencies that they had to continue to do business according to their legal appropriation and authorization at the time.

Now that we're in a continuing environment I don't know how that is affected. I think that's all governed by the formula that exists in the continuing.

Q How late or you staying on tonight?

Q Just to follow that up, if I could. To your knowledge, over the previous months since the possibility of such a confrontation has been talked about and warned about, were any steps taken at the direction of OMB or the White House to try to

conserve funds by adjusting the spend out rate?

MR. MCCURRY: I believe it's accurate to say the instructions were given to Cabinet agencies to follow the letter of the law when it came to matching their actions with congressional authorizations and appropriations. In other words, that they were required to follow the letter of the law as it was written by Congress.

Q That's a no, isn't it?

MR. MCCURRY: Well, I don't -- I'm telling you what the directive was that was sent by the OMB Director to the agencies. If there's been any practical impact of that, I'm sure the staff over there will be able to help you out.

Q Are you going to be on all night?

Q The debt ceiling alternative that you sent up to the Hill today, as I understand it, has enough sufficient spending whatever it's called --

MR. MCCURRY: Borrowing authority.

Q -- borrowing authority to take you until 1997, right, through the whole next political year?

MR. MCCURRY: Through 1996 and well into 1997, into the fall of 1997.

Q Should we take from that, that your preferred solution to all of this might be a continuing resolution and a borrowing authority that would take you through the election and to make the case that let's fight this as '96, not as in '95?

MR. MCCURRY: No, Ann, that would be an incorrect interpretation. We simply took the debt level that is currently in the House-passed and Senate-passed budget resolutions -- the congressional budget resolution calls for the \$5.5-trillion figure that we recommended today, so we actually got that figure from the Congress. It turns out to work out to, I guess, third quarter '97 in terms of how much borrowing authority would exist for the federal government.

Q Mike, if the shutdown is still in effect when the President leaves for Japan, how will he answer the inevitable criticism that with a government in crisis, he ought to stay in the United States and try and work it out?

MR. MCCURRY: The President will say, I'm not going to allow the crisis that we are in at that point to hold me hostage when it comes to fulfilling my constitutional duties as the Commander-In-Chief and as the person responsible for this nation's foreign policy. There are literally millions of jobs in our economy that depend on our exports to Asia. There are hundreds of thousands of American families that will wonder what we're going to do to make sure that we continue to remain active in leading the Asian economy.

In the case of our relationship with Japan, there are enormous security interests at stake and we are at a point in our relationship where it's very important for this President to reaffirm our security alliance with Japan and to make clear at a time in which there is a growing chorus of isolationist voices in this Congress to rebut, that we will continue to exert leadership in the Asian region.

All of those things, I think, make it important for the President to make this journey. It's a trip that he would have liked to have kept the original schedule. He believes he can do the very important national security and economic business that he needs to do in the course of a schedule that's now been tightened. But this trip is in the interest of the American people, and the President has to make good his promise, as he swore in his oath of office, to protect and defend the American people.

Q Would you expect the Chief of Staff to stay behind to handle the budget matters, or would he designate the Vice President to do that?

Q And how would the whole trip affect the traveling?

MR. MCCURRY: We will, of necessity, adjust the delegation to include only those accepted individuals who are critical either to the trip or to the work that's being done at APEC, and there will be some significant adjustments to the delegation.

Q Well, who will the President leave behind or designate here to handle the negotiations with Congress in his absence?

MR. MCCURRY: He will be a phone call away, so that's not really an issue. If there is a need to have him in contact with the congressional leadership, he can do so at any point.

Q Mike, in his speech this morning, the President, in almost so many words, accused the Congress of perverting the

Constitution and the correct balance of power. Why, given that all revenue measures are basically -- to the Congress and the Constitution does he feel that? What does he feel is perverted about their approach --

MR. MCCURRY: Because the President still, ultimately, through the veto in the Constitution, has the responsibility to protect the American people. And there is a clear attempt, by forcing the President to accept measures that are clearly unacceptable, to circumvent the effect of the veto. The basis of that argument is one that goes to the constitutional role that the veto plays in the balance of powers and the separation of powers enshrined in the Constitution.

Q Do you mean by that, Mike, that Congress should never include elements in a bill to make it more difficult for a president to veto them?

MR. MCCURRY: No, but --

Q Well, then why not these elements in this bill?

MR. MCCURRY: That's not the issue here. They are tampering with the full faith and credit of the United States government, which is a very risky thing to do under any circumstances, in a way to force the President to accept something that otherwise he would use his veto to stop. And the President is making the point that that is a clear attempt to tamper with the constitutional balance of powers.

Q Wait a minute. Tampering with the full faith and credit of the United States is one thing, isn't it, but what is constitutionally wrong with -- I mean, I can see why -- the complaint about the full faith and credit of the --

MR. MCCURRY: Because the founders put the veto in the Constitution for a reason, so that the President could exercise his judgment in protecting the American people from measures coming from the Legislative Branch that he feels are unwarranted. This is -

- by attaching unacceptable veto-oriented measures on to something that is necessary, that has to be done, which is essentially the debt ceiling, the Congress is making a very bold attempt to extend or to rejigger that balance of powers enshrined in the Constitution. That's the argument the President made.

Q Excuse me, let me follow up. Does it trouble the President that this has been done and enshrined and practiced for decades by Congresses under the Democrats?

MR. MCCURRY: Not once in our 200 years has the United States defaulted. And that's what we'll be on the verge of as a result of Congress's attempt to attach these types of measures to a debt ceiling measure.

Q We're about six hours away now from the end of the continuing resolution. Given that they're not even going to vote until 5:30 p.m., that the Domenici thing is seen by you guys as just a starting point, and that you're not even sure the leadership will accept it, is a shutdown now inevitable?

MR. MCCURRY: Yes. I personally feel that it's very hard to imagine any way, given the Senate's schedule for votes today, and given the fact there's been no authoritative communication from the Republican leadership that they wish to meet with the President on the terms the President has suggested, no conceivable way to me that they will meet the deadline by midnight tonight. We'll see where we are as we go into tomorrow.

As Dr. Rivlin briefed you, they clearly have the ability tomorrow to adjust their shutdown plans if there's something pending in Congress that looks like it might proceed to final passage. But there certainly is not much reason for anyone to have much hope of that at this point.

Q What has he done all day -- I mean, after the two speeches, this afternoon? Is he in contact at all, or is he talking to agency heads?

MR. MCCURRY: He's been discussing these measures with his senior staff here. He's been working through, obviously, some of the aspects of his foreign travels, as I've just mentioned. He has been getting briefed on the talks in Dayton, which had a very significant development over the weekend, as you know. And he has remained available to anyone who has got current intelligence on the thinking of Congress as we prepare for this moment of crisis.

Q Dole made a big show of saying the cell phone is on, why doesn't the President call me? Why doesn't he call? What's the harm in calling?

MR. MCCURRY: Jay, look, we have been abundantly clear what the basis of that conversation would be. They need to drop the Medicare premium increase and then the President is happy to

talk to them and the other members of the bipartisan leadership about how we move on from there.

Q Couldn't he show he's bigger than them by calling?

MR. MCCURRY: The President is waiting to see whether this Congress is big enough to back off the very adamant posture they've taken about the measures they are now trying to force on this President and the American people. They've talked over and over again about how this is the most stunning, unprecedented, sweeping revolutionary change in the last 60 years. And the President thinks it's not a good idea to go back to the years of the Great Depression and try to mimic the federal government that existed at that time.

Q Mike, a couple of questions. One, can you give us two or three examples of fairly or relatively high-level people here in the White House who will be furloughed so we know where approximately the dividing line is?

MR. MCCURRY: One good example, Assistant to the President for Political Affairs Doug Sosnik will be a non-excepted individual tomorrow. (Laughter.) His view is there's not much that he's able to do at this point. The Press Secretary, we'd point out, that he has to function without any of his deputies tomorrow which, those of you who know them and know me will realize is a true handicap.

Q Will Mr. McLarty be working?

MR. MCCURRY: I don't know specifically whether he is excepted or not. The people who have been spared as the White House prepares for this are those that have to deal with necessary communications with Congress, our legislative affairs staff -- actually, that's probably not even accurate to say because about two-thirds of our legislative affairs staff will be furloughed tomorrow. A lot of our National Economic Council folks will be here because what this will do to the national economy and how we prepare for a possible default of the federal government is something the President needs urgent information about. So at that level, most of those folks will be on board.

Q Will the President's photographers, his camera crew, all those people who follow him around?

MR. MCCURRY: Well, the good folks from WHCA, of course, are military, so that they are excepted by statute. The First Lady's staff has been cut by 75 percent. So, essentially, the pattern in most places is that office heads or department heads will be in place usually with one or two people to assist them for the functioning of their offices.

Q What about OMB, Mike -- OMB?

Q The other question I had --

MR. MCCURRY: OMB -- I haven't had a detailed account on the numbers there. Dr. Rivlin will be here, but you might want to check with Larry Hoss.

Q Is the Vice President told to stay in town?

Q What about Dave Leavy? (Laughter.)

MR. MCCURRY: David Leavy, I am happy to report, is an excepted individual, according to the State Department. (Laughter.)

Q Does the President know that?

MR. MCCURRY: The reasons therefore you might inquire at the State Department because I'm at a loss to give them. (Laughter.)

Q Poor David.

Q -- getting back to your earlier --

MR. MCCURRY: I can't hear a word you're saying.

Q Getting back to your earlier point that you want to continue a neutral CR like the one you negotiated in September, but we're now well into the new fiscal year. And with the passage of time, the 90 percent obviously becomes tilted more in your favor and against the Republicans. Are you saying that while you reject the 60 percent, you absolutely want the 90 and don't recognize that the passage of time --

MR. MCCURRY: I think I've answered that already as best I can.

Q Just by way of a bit of tick-tock, who is among the senior advisers the President is meeting with today on this subject? And is the second veto speech or message already written?

MR. MCCURRY: The draft of the second veto message is complete, but it will be adjusted according to any final action or any changes, amendments, considered by the Senate late today. The President has been meeting with the Chief of Staff, the two Deputy Chiefs of Staff, with other senior advisors on the White House staff as they wrestle with the consequences here.

Q Is Dick Morris here?

MR. MCCURRY: Not that I'm aware of, no. I haven't seen him.

Q What's the President and your plan for waiting this out?

MR. MCCURRY: Who plays Monday Night Football tonight?

Q Will you be here all night?

Q Mike, can I ask a question? On the APEC part of

the trip, I could understand that he can't reschedule that because all of these Asian leaders are going to be there already. But on the state visit to Japan part, wouldn't the Japanese understand an economic crisis, and wouldn't they rather have a full-scale state visit than some sort of slipshod, 12-hour state visit? (Laughter.)

MR. MCCURRY: No, and that is not an accurate reflection of their views. I believe if you contact the embassy, they will indicate that the government of Japan is fully sympathetic with the position the President finds them in. They understand the domestic environment in which the President is wrestling with these issues. And as I said earlier, the United States government extends a great deal of gratitude to the government of Japan for being so cooperative in working out these arrangements.

We are able to get the business we need to get done completed, and it is at a moment in which there are very, very important issue within the bilateral relationship that need to be discussed -- the status of our economic and trade issues, following on the work that they will do at the APEC leaders meeting; the status of our security alliance, which, again, enormous work and preparation has gone into this bilateral summit.

As you know, Dr. Perry was just in Japan recently to prepare some of these discussions. There has been extensive prep work done at a variety of diplomatic levels in exchange for the meetings between Prime Minister Murayama and the President. And then, in addition to that, we increasingly, with the Japanese government, have a whole host of other global issues that we discuss, from the Middle East peace process to environmental protection, to a full range of things that I fully expect will be on the bilateral agenda.

Q Thank you, Mike. Good job.

Q That's how you're going to work on this budget deal

--

Q He'll talk to the Republicans.

Q Are you staying here until midnight?

Q That's the question -- logistically, what are you going to do?

MR. MCCURRY: No, I see no reason to do that. I mean, the President is going to veto the continuing resolution. The veto and statement will be available to you. If there is any major change in what we believe is going to happen --

Q How is it going to be available?

Q Are you going to do a call-out or --

MR. MCCURRY: The mystery of that science is left to

those who, as of tomorrow, will no longer be here to serve you.
(Laughter.)

Q That's why we want to know tonight.

Q Has the President received a letter from Dole and Gingrich regarding Bosnia -- troop deployments in Bosnia? And does he agree with their conclusion that the support in Congress is virtually nil?

MR. MCCURRY: I'm not aware of any letter. I'll have to check.

Q When the President this morning said he was willing to fight for a fair budget basically for as long as it takes, even meaning months, does that mean he's willing to have this budget reconciliation process drag on through next year if need be?

MR. MCCURRY: Well, the President's made it very clear what he's fighting for and the type of budget he is fighting for, and if it takes all the way through next year to achieve that, that will be the result. The President has made it more than clear he's willing to stake his presidency on this type of fight rather than accept something he thinks is just wrong for the American people.

Q And rather than just accept solely a four-year CR extension and no budget --

MR. MCCURRY: We are not at that point yet.

Yes, let's wrap up pretty soon.

Q In 1991, President Bush delayed a trip to Japan for

political reasons. It seems to be -- what's often stated as the most important bilateral relationship in the world -- a state visit again as being affected by what seems to be political gamesmanship. What would you say to those in the Japanese public who perceive that this relationship is victimized quite often by political gamesmanship here in the Capital?

MR. MCCURRY: Well, the measure of the seriousness of this relationship is the fact the President, in the midst of what the Japanese people understand is a very delicate and critical moment in our domestic discussions, the President is nonetheless willing to go for these very important meetings in Osaka and Tokyo. Every government has to contend with domestic dynamics that affect sometimes the conduct of its foreign policy, and we believe the cooperation we've received from the government, the graciousness of the Emperor and the Empress and the willingness of the people of Japan to greet the President with a great deal of an open-hearted attitude will reflect very well both on the bilateral relationship and the work that needs to be done. There seems to be a great deal of understanding about the situation the President is in.

Q Mike, did the President call Murayama himself

personally to express his --

MR. MCCURRY: I do not know the answer to that, but someone from the NSC can let you know. We have had good cooperation with the government of Japan in making the adjustments to the President's schedule as I indicated.

Q Do you know if the military personnel who is going to have to work will get paid, or will they also for sure miss paychecks? I thought it was a murky area.

MR. MCCURRY: I don't know. I would ask you that ask at the Pentagon. I don't know whether that covers -- I know excepted individuals here work, they are not paid. They do have then a claim for any restitution of funding once that happens.

Q If there's agreement in Dayton before the end of the week, will the President stop there on his way to Japan?

MR. MCCURRY: I wouldn't want to speculate on that. In any event, those who are serving as spokespeople for the three delegations and the Contact Group and the European Union are in a better position to answer that type of question.

Q Are they excepted staff?

MR. MCCURRY: Yes, they have been specifically excepted

on the State Department's plan so that the conduct of the Bosnia talks can continue.

Q Just to get something straight, the President himself has called over the long-term for \$128 billion of cuts in Medicare. Is he willing to look at the reductions of premiums or what have you, and just doesn't want them in the CR?

MR. MCCURRY: No, no. If you go back, one advantage of the proposal the President put forward in June, as you remember, is that we were able to achieve the savings necessary in Medicare to extend the solvency of the Medicare Trust Fund without raising premiums. Now, importantly, the congressional majority's plan on Medicare and the President's 10-year balanced budget proposal in June extend the solvency of the Medicare Trust Fund exactly the same amount of time. But we do so without increases in premiums. They need the revenue from the increases in premium in order to offset the tax cut, which is one of the large issues that's at work here in this budget controversy.

Q Mike, before you said 21 percent of the White House staff will be on board. The First Lady's staff has been cut 75 percent. Are you suggesting her staff has been cut less than the overall White House staff?

Q No, more.

MR. MCCURRY: No, she's got -- about a quarter of her

folks will be around and -- in different parts of the White House, the numbers work out differently.

Q Mike, also, can you give us some specifics -- back to the question before -- are any of the White House chefs, are any of the gardeners, are any of the valets being furloughed?

MR. MCCURRY: Those folks -- I don't know specifically about those folks. I told you what the administrative and management cuts are, 51 to 16. We'll try to take that question and see what the effect is on the facilities crew here at the White House.

Q Two housekeeping. Do you expect to brief roughly at the usual time tomorrow? Do you have any idea?

MR. MCCURRY: Sure. Roughly the same time.

Q Also, it's my understanding, both USDA and DOE stay open completely because they've got their funding.

MR. MCCURRY: Well, USDA is now covered under our regular appropriations bill. So they have a different situation. The Pentagon, in a continuing situation has -- they, by statute, I believe, have different requirements related to the national security and military preparedness. The Pentagon has been very good and has done a full brief on how their personnel are affected.

Q Mike, the Senate chaplain today offered prayer , calling for Devine intervention in settling this dispute. Do you think it will do any good?

MR. MCCURRY: I think that at serious moments like that, a little prayer is always a pretty good idea.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END 3:05
P.M. EST

#135-11/13

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 14 November 95 13:56
FROM Dohse, Fred J.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT Northern Ireland Schedule for POTUS [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Baldwin, Kenneth
Peters, Mary A.
CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE
TEXT_BODY

KB PLEASE PASS TO NANCY SODERBERG

Blair Hall called me at 1:30 p.m. He and Ambassador Crowe had just completed a meeting with Sir Patrick Mayhew. After reviewing the current status of peace process, Mayhew turned to a discussion of the President's trip and brought up three issues.

1) He continues to advocate that he should be the sole host for the Belfast reception. Mayhew says he will invite anyone we want, but he insists on being the host.

2) PM Major very much wants to join the President in Northern Ireland but will not be able to leave London until late in the afternoon. Consequently, he plans to be at the reception. I believe it then makes perfect sense for the President and PM Major to jointly host the reception.

3) Now the real kicker -- Major wants to take the President out to dinner after the reception and repay him for the hospitality extended by the President in Pittsburgh. Major's thinking, as expressed by Mayhew, is the dinner would take place at Hillsbrough Castle and would be nonpolitical. Mayhew further expressed that the British understand the President's day is very full on Thursday and he may not be able to accept the dinner invitation. That said, they would, however, be insulted if the President chose to do something else. This would force our hand on the the Trimble meeting, and we would need to delay it until the following morning.

Blair closed with saying that Ambassador Crowe plans to call Tony or Nancy this afternoon (our time) to discuss these developments and get our sense on how to reply to Mayhew and the British.

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 14 November 95 16:43
FROM Hall, Wilma G.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT RE: Tony's Press Calls [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Johnson, David T.
CARBON_COPY Baker, Jane E.
Baldwin, Kenneth
Cullin, Brian P.
Fetig, James L.
Gray, Wendy
Joshi, M. Kay
Kessinger, Jodi
Millison, Cathy L.
Naplan, Steven J.
Schuker, Jill A.
Veit, Katherine M.
Wozniak, Natalie S.

TEXT_BODY

Mr. Lake has read E-mail and made following notations:

Mary McGrory - "checkmark" (TL talked with her today)

Ken Walsh - "checkmark" (TL will not be back in town until Thanksgiving Day so Friday was ONLY OPTION)

Briefing - "OK - NES" (Have sent NES copy of E-mail with TL handwritten comments).

Bosnia - "OK" along with "checkmark" at end of paragraph.

CFE - "checkmark" (DAVID: I believe TL has talked with you; if not, pls let me know.).

From: Johnson, David T.
To: @NSA - Nat'l Security Advisor
Cc: /R, Record at A1; @PRESS - Public Affairs
Subject: Tony's Press Calls [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Tuesday, November 14, 1995 11:41AM

Tony: Notwithstanding that press attention is focused on the funding hiatus, we need to do some things this week and early next focused on the Ireland trip and Bosnia that include you.

Mary McGrory (334-7506) wants to talk about Ireland. You need to call her today; she doesn't handle being put off very well.

Ken Walsh (USN&WR) tells us that he approached you at a social gathering, asked you about Ireland, and you suggested he give you a call. The time Wilma provided (the Friday after Thanksgiving at 4:30) is, shall we say, not ideal. On the presumption that your response to him was the functional equivalent of "let's do lunch," I'll ask Nancy to meet with him to bring him up to speed on Ireland.

Briefing: The US press will write their Ireland stories at the end of this week for publication the Sunday after Thanksgiving. Like it or not, they won't wait until we've given them our position if we wait until Thanksgiving week; they don't want to work that week. If we make them, they will either (a) take it out on us in their writing or (b) ignore us and write based on their other sources. To take account of this, I would like your chop on having Nancy and/or you brief the schedule and some general peace process issues on the uk/ireland portion of the trip only on Thursday. Please let me know your feelings on this.

Bosnia: Christopher has taken a bevy of reporters to Dayton with him today, including Elaine Sciolino. When she gets back she says she plans to do a retrospective on how we got where we are and where we're going on Bosnia. She will want to talk to you. Even though you've already had a session with Roger Cohen, who also writes for the NYT, you should also talk to her. Consider it self defense. I'll also put her in touch with Sandy Vershbow.

CFE: I need to talk to you today about how we handle the CFE issue as Nov. 17 approaches.

Thanks.

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 17 November 95 10:13
FROM Gray, Wendy
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT UK/Ireland Trip Briefings [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Peters, Mary A.
CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE
TEXT_BODY

Hi Mary Ann!

As of this hour on this day, NO UK/Ireland Briefings have been scheduled for the President according to his schedule and Mr. Lake's

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. email	Mary Peters to Jane Baker, et al., re: [Points to make] (2 pages)	11/17/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Emails
MSMail - Record (Sept 94 - Sept 97) ([Ireland and trip...])
OA/Box Number: 590000

FOLDER TITLE:

[11/06/1995 - 11/20/1995]

2017-0759-F
ke5224

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]
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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002. email	Mary Peters to Jane Baker, et al., re: Revised Talkers for Meeting with Adams (2 pages)	11/17/1995	P1/b(1)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Emails
MSMail - Record (Sept 94 - Sept 97) ([Ireland and trip...])
OA/Box Number: 590000

FOLDER TITLE:

[11/06/1995 - 11/20/1995]

2017-0759-F

ke5224

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Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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003. email	Alexander Vershbow to Mary Peters, re: memo to NES (3 pages)	11/17/1995	P1/b(1)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Emails
MSMail - Record (Sept 94 - Sept 97) ([Ireland and trip...])
OA/Box Number: 590000

FOLDER TITLE:

[11/06/1995 - 11/20/1995]

2017-0759-F
ke5224

RESTRICTION CODES

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004. email	Mary Peters to Jane Baker, et al., re: Trip Issues (3 pages)	11/17/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Emails
MSMail - Record (Sept 94 - Sept 97) ([Ireland and trip...])
OA/Box Number: 590000

FOLDER TITLE:

[11/06/1995 - 11/20/1995]

2017-0759-F
ke5224

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M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 17 November 95 22:20
FROM Gray, Wendy
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT Pres briefings for Ireland trip [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Peters, Mary A.
CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE
TEXT_BODY

Hi Mary Ann!

Still no times for the UK/Ireland trip briefing but there is a note on Mr. Lake's schedule (no time indicated) on NOV 27 (yes, day of departure) for 2 hours of briefing some time prior to departure.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
005. email	Sitroom to [List], re: WHSR LOG 19 NOVEMBER 1995 (7 pages)	11/20/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Emails
MSMail - Record (Sept 94 - Sept 97) ([Ireland and trip...])
OA/Box Number: 590000

FOLDER TITLE:

[11/06/1995 - 11/20/1995]

2017-0759-F
ke5224

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M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 20 November 95 13:46
FROM Dohse, Fred J.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT Speech Schedule [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Blinken, Antony J.
CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE
TEXT_BODY

Tony, I envision travel for the speechwriters for the UK, Ireland and Spain trip as follows:

You will always travel on AF1 for all legs of the visit. I will try to have the individual who is responsible for the speeches at the next stop also on AF1. I need you to identify who should be on the trip legs listed below.

- U.S. to London

- London to Belfast

- Belfast to Derry, which hopefully will be the same writer for the return trip if possible because limited total seating capacity will not allow us to take more than two maximum speechwriter to Derry. We can take a max of 70 people.

- Belfast to Dublin

- Shannon to Madrid -- POTUS goes straight to golf from Dublin, and there will not be an opportunity for any work on the helicopter ride.

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 20 November 95 13:48
FROM Dohse, Fred J.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT RE: Ireland/London/Madrid Trip [UNCLASSIFIED]

TO Baker, Jane E.
Baldwin, Kenneth
Dohse, Fred J.
Gray, Wendy
Harmon, Joyce A.
Hilliard, Brenda I.
Joshi, M. Kay
Kessinger, Jodi
Millison, Cathy L.
Sens, Andrew D.
Wright, Allison M.

CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE

TEXT_BODY

Tony Lake has OKed the people on the attached list making the trip to Europe.

[[NSCPARTS.DOC : 3341 in NSCPARTS.DOC]]

From: Wright, Allison M.
To: @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary
CC: /N, NonRecord at A1
Subject: Ireland/London/Madrid Trip [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Monday, November 20, 1995 01:22 PM

Schedule and Advance needs visa applications and passports for staff traveling to Madrid at the end of the month. They need to submit for visa applications before Thursday. If I can get a list of those traveling (even a proposed list) I can get the forms filled out and the passports to Scheduel and Advance to meet their deadline. Is it possible to get a preliminary list asap?

Thanks.

Allison

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE** 9 November 95 17:19

**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME** NSCPARTS.DOC

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
006. email	Fred Dohse to Jane Baker, et al., re: Ireland/London/Madrid Trip [partial] (2 pages)	11/20/1993	b(7)(E)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Emails
MSMail - Record (Sept 94 - Sept 97) ([Ireland and trip...])
OA/Box Number: 590000

FOLDER TITLE:

[11/06/1995 - 11/20/1995]

2017-0759-F
ke5224

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cc: Andrew Sens

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: NANCY SODERBERG

FROM: FRED DOHSE

SUBJECT: NSC Staff Participants in the UK, Ireland
and Spain Trip

I recommend the following members of the NSC participate in the
President's trip to the UK, Ireland and Spain from November 27
through December 3.

Senior Staff

ù

(b)(7)e

[006]

Support Staff

(b)(7)e

(b)(7)e

Concurrence by. Sandy Vershbow

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the list of NSC staff participants for the UK, Ireland and Spain trip.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 20 November 95 14:00
FROM Wozniak, Natalie S.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT November 20 Press Guidance [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Cullin, Brian P.
Fetig, James L.
Johnson, David T.
Naplan, Steven J.
Schuker, Jill A.
Wozniak, Natalie S.

CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE

TEXT_BODY

As edited by David Johnson and delivered to Mike McCurry --

[[NOV20GUI.DOC : 3660 in NOV20GUI.DOC]]

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE** 20 November 95 13:44

**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME** NOV20GUI.DOC
NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS GUIDANCE

November 20, 1995

EUROPE
Bosnia/Croatia
Trip to UK, Ireland and Spain
Ireland
NATO Secretary General
Russia
CFE
Poland
Albania

FAR EAST
U.S.-Japan Relations
U.S.-China Relations

MIDDLE EAST

Pakistan

Algeria

Saudi Arabia

CENTRAL AMERICA

Haiti

AFRICA

Nigeria

MISCELLANEOUS

Admiral Macke

Defense Appropriations

Tuna and Dolphins

POW/MIA

BOSNIA/CROATIA

Proximity Talks

Dayton

ù We are at extremely sensitive point in our efforts to negotiate a political settlement to conflict.

ù Talks end today, whatever the outcome.

ù We're keeping the public informed on the talks through a single spokesman at the State Department. For details on the weekend activities, refer to Nick Burns' daily report.

ù Talks in Dayton are at endgame. Some very tough issues were being worked over the weekend, primarily on map (status of Sarajevo, width of corridor to Gorazde, width of Posavina corridor, etc.).

ù Tony Lake and Bill Perry were in Dayton late last week to encourage parties to seize opportunity for peace.

ù Secretary Christopher arrived Friday from Asia to see whether he could push ball over the goal line during weekend. Intensive talks continuing today.

ù Stakes are high: for Bosnia, NATO, and U.S. role in world.

ù Whole world watching how U.S. will deal with biggest security challenge in Europe since WWII. Without American leadership, a peace agreement is sure to fail.

ù Bosnians are counting on U.S. to make settlement work, avoid more human suffering, and prevent a break-up of country that would ratify ethnic cleansing.

ù President said to team on October 31, before the talks began, this is a defining moment for Bosnia.

ù Only the parties to this terrible conflict can end it.

ù In Dayton, our diplomats face a tremendous challenge. There is no guarantee they will succeed. American leadership key to success.

ù Talks co-chaired by Holbrooke/Bildt. Goal to secure final peace agreement that parties will initial in Dayton.

ù Balkan parties: Presidents Izetbegovic, Tudjman, and Milosevic plus Contact Group partners.

ù Through intensive U.S./CG diplomacy, parties agreed Geneva (9/8/95)/New York (9/26/95) to settlement basic principles: Bosnia as single state; 51/49 basis for territorial solution; constitutional structure; democratic elections; and subsequently to cease-fire

ù Most issues now resolved -- constitution, election procedures -- but a few key territorial issues still remain..

ù After Dayton, next steps: implementation conference in London; Paris international

peace conference leading to
ultimate signing of peace agreement.

Sacirbey's Resignation

ù Bosnian Foreign Minister Sacirbey left his post to make room for a broader
representa-
ntation in the Bosnian
government as part of Dayton agreement on Federation. Believe resignation was
an act
of statesmanship on
his part.

Equip and Train

ù Our goal to establish stability on ground by time IFOR completes mission. One
key
is to ensure settlement
does not break down after IFOR leaves.

ù Preference for balance of forces between Federation/Bosnian Serbs through
arms con-
trol measures that
provide for a "build-down."

ù Arms control by itself unlikely to achieve stable balance, will see to it that mul-
tilateral effort to equip/train
Federation forces ensures effective self-defense capability (DoD has details on
cont-
racting).

ù Effort separate from NATO-led implementation force; U.S. role not yet
determined.
First step: lifting of arms
embargo.

House Bill on IFOR

ù Action does not simply threaten the talks, it threatens peace.

ù President asked Congress to hold off passing a resolution until negotiations are
c-
oncluded. There has been
significant progress in Dayton; this resolution could undermine that progress.

ù We are now engaged in intensive consultations with Congress, given prospect
of U.S.
participation in
NATO-led force to implement a peace settlement.

ù It is in our interest to have broadest possible base of public support -- in both parties -- for U.S. role in implementation of settlement if we achieve one.-- I will request expression of Congressional support for U.S. participation in implementation of a settlement following an initial agreement at Dayton.

ù Those on Capitol Hill who supported this resolution need to understand that they will share the responsibility for a failure to put together a peace agreement in Dayton in passing such a resolution.

War Crimes

ù We support the additional indictments against Karadzic and Mladic for crimes against humanity after the fall of Srebrenica. Never advocated clemency for them at Dayton.

ù Continue to condemn these gross violations of human rights.

ù Led vigorous effort to uncover/publicize evidence of war crimes in Balkans.

ù Shattuck three times raised issue with Serbs.

ù War crimes indictments not negotiable.

ù Stopping atrocities one of the main reasons for active U.S. role in the peace negotiations.

ù Actively support investigating international organizations (UNHCR , Red Cross).

Russian IFOR Participation

ù Hope Russians and other Partnership for Peace countries will participate. Any combat forces, however, must

be under NATO command and control.

ù Russia does not have a veto over IFOR operations.

ù In any case, the agreements reached between Perry-Grachev have not been approved by NATO, yet.

ù There have been no decisions made regarding the political relations with NATO.

ù Talks are continuing and Perry will meet Grachev at the end of the month.

ù Perry/Grachev reached agreement on Russian participation of IFOR. Russian forces will come under the operational command of a Russian general officer who will report to General Joulwan as overall commander of IFOR. The Russian Brigade will be folded into an American division which will exercise tactical control. The Russians will retain national command over their forces as other nations that participate in IFOR.

ù Russia and U.S. may also participate in a special force that will deploy 30 days after IFOR. That force will work on transport, logistics.

ù Prefer NATO/Russian forces not separated between Federation and Serb areas.

Agreement on the Region of Eastern Slavonia

ù Transitional period of 12 months which may be extended for 12 months.

ù UN Security Council requested to establish a Transitional Administration.

ù UN Security Council requested to authorize an international force to deploy during the transitional period to maintain peace and security and assist in implementation of this agreement.

ù Transitional Administration shall help establish and train temporary police forces

ù All persons have the right to return freely to their place of residence in the Region and to live in conditions of security.

ù Not later than 30 days before the end of the transitional period, elections for all local government bodies shall

be organized by the Transitional Administration.

ù The Government of Croatia shall cooperate fully with the Transitional Administration and the international force.

If asked whether IFOR is to be the international force
ù The international force and its composition has not been determined. The UN Security Council must first authorize an international force. IFOR does not have a mission to implement an agreement in Eastern Slavonia.

Federation in Dayton

ù Secretary Christopher flew to Dayton November 9 to announce decisions that bring to life the Bosnian/Croat Federation to life.

ù President Tudjman witnessed the signing. Izetbegovic and Zubak signed it. The two mayors of Mostar and Mostar's EU administrator signed it.

ù The U.S. representative to the Federation, Daniel Serwer, played a key role in negotiating this agreement.

Sanctions Relief

ù Izetbegovic and Milosevic requested immediate resumption of natural gas deliveries to both Bosnia and Serbia on humanitarian grounds and as a confidence building measure.

ù Working with Contact group members for action at the UNSC under existing humanitarian exemption.

ù This is a humanitarian gesture to provide heating fuel in response to severe winter conditions.

ù Delivery is for two months.

ù Action is similar to one last year where relief was provided for humanitarian reasons.

ù (If asked about sanctions suspension) This will take a full UNSCR and our position has not changed-we will support suspension when there is a peace agreement.

Intelligence Sharing with the Bosnian War Crimes Tribunal

ù The U.S. intelligence community is not "sitting on" information that may be of use to the Tribunal prosecutor.

ù A coordinated Intelligence Community process in place since spring to manage handling of requests for information/classified responses to requests. We provide available information even in the absence of a specific request.

ù U.S. has not withheld any intelligence with the intent to prevent the prosecution of any war criminals including Mladic and Karadzic.

ù Talks in Dayton have had no bearing whatsoever on our commitment to support and assist the War Crimes Tribunal in every way its efforts to bring war criminals to justice.

ù Reporting such information is time-consuming, but we make a strenuous effort to respond as rapidly as possible.

ù We will find a way to get the Tribunal the information it needs.

Peace Plan Implementation

ù NAC approved concept of ops for IFOR.

ù Detailed planning by NATO Military Authorities proceeding; Joulwan briefed Presid

ent and national security
team on state of NATO'S plans.

ù Number of forces for operation not determined - will depend on peace
agreement mod
alities. Approximate
number would be 20,000 US, 40,000 nonUS.

ù NATO briefed UN, UN Peace Force contributors, and interested PFP countries.
Contr
ibutions by non-NATO
countries would be welcome.

ù Churkin attended "16-plus-one" with NAC to discuss NATO's planning.

ù Concept of ops 5 phases:

- Phase I: Preparation Phase. Presently in this phase now.

- Phase II: Entry. Begin after signing of peace agreement. Military forces would
deploy to area
by sea/land.

- Phase III: Implementation. Deployment of forces in country to secure critical ar
eas and man
outposts.

- Phase IV: Transition to Peace. Initial robust forces slowly drawdown over year
a
s peace
agreement took affect.

- Phase V: Exit. Orderly hand over of commitments to appropriate civilian
organiza
tions and
withdrawal of IFOR and equipment.

War Criminals

ù IFOR mission is to implement the peace agreement.

ù Pursuing war criminals not in mission, but will take into custody if come into
con
tact.

Military Stabilization

ù Our goal to establish stability on ground by time IFOR completes mission. One
key
is to ensure settlement

does not break down after IFOR leaves.

- ù Preference for balance of forces between Federation/Bosnian Serbs through arms control measures that provide for a "build-down."

- ù Arms control by itself unlikely to achieve stable balance, prepared to help, as part of multinational effort, to equip/train Federation forces to ensure effective self-defense capability (DoD has details on contracting).

- ù Effort separate from NATO-led implementation force. U.S. role not yet determined.
First step: lifting of arms embargo.

New Ethnic Cleansing/Reports of Mass Graves

- ù U.S. has/will continue to investigate and provide information to UN/War Crimes Tribunal regarding violations of international human rights and humanitarian law in a timely manner.

- ù Shattuck documented evidence of Bosnian Serb atrocities. Last August, went to Central/Northeastern Bosnia, collected eyewitness accounts of mass executions, beatings, rape and other violations of human rights and international humanitarian law. Shattuck just returned to region to interview refugees in Zenica.

- ù Albright presented to UN Security Council compelling evidence gathered by US. Evidence based on US intelligence and photographic intelligence, strongly suggested mass grave sites in Srebrenica.

- ù Actively support international organizations like UNHCR and Red Cross to document fate and whereabouts of missing persons.

12-Month IFOR Time Limit

- ù U.S. position: IFOR military aspects should have finite duration (NATO/NAC

accept
ed)

ù Believe military aspects accomplished in about one year.

ù Will not make final decision on duration until final peace agreement/completed
OPL
AN.

ù 12 months NATO planning figure not been formally adopted by Alliance.

ù One year sufficient to establish stable ground situation.

ù Desire to create stable balance through arms reductions, but this will also require
some military support for
Federation forces to ensure they have an effective self-defense capability.

Dole and Gingrich Bosnia Letter

ù Administration wants to work with public and Congress so that we can have
bipartis
an consensus if and when
a peace agreement is reached.

ù We are now engaged in intensive consultations with Congress, given prospect
of U.S
participation in
NATO-led force to implement a peace settlement.

ù President will request expression of Congressional support for U.S.
participation
in implementation of a
settlement.

ù At sensitive point in our efforts to negotiate a political settlement to conflict
in Bosnia.

ù We all share an interest in ensuring that settlement is one American people can
su
pport.

ù This is issue of huge consequence -- for Bosnia, for NATO, and for U.S.
leadership

ù Whole world watching not only what parties do at Dayton, but how we, the
U.S., will
deal with biggest
security challenge in Europe since WWII. Without American leadership, a peace
agree

ment is sure to fail.

ù Critically important that members of Congress and public keep an open mind over the next few weeks as peace is negotiated. We won't have a clear picture of the requirements and risks until an agreement is reached. When we do, we will present details of our plan, and President will seek public and Congressional support.

Points We Have Made

ù It is in our interest to have broadest possible based of public support -- in both parties -- for U.S. role in implementation of settlement if we achieve one. Want to hear your views.

ù Despite many hurdles to overcome, believe we have best chance in four years to reach settlement. U.S. leadership, so critical to achieving peace, will be critical to implementation as well.

ù Remain firmly convinced that only NATO can effectively enforce military aspects of settlement. NATO presence is essential to creating secure environment in which political and economic rebuilding can begin.

ù As leader of NATO, U.S. has to be involved. Our interests are very much at stake: Our engagement essential to prevent spread of conflict, achieve lasting peace.

ù First, and most important, there won't be a peace agreement unless NATO enforces it.

ù We believe the parties can reach a mutually acceptable peace settlement. But even if they do, they all recognize the need for an international implementation force to stabilize the situation and build confidence so that peace can take hold.

ù NATO is the only organization capable of playing this role.

ù Second, if NATO takes on the implementation mission but we do not participate, it will be the end of NATO and of U.S. leadership on transatlantic security issues.

ù Some argue that Bosnia is a European problem so the Europeans should take care of it. This may sound attractive, but the reality is that we have a deep interest in European security.

ù The United States was drawn into two world wars and a 50-year Cold War because of threats to security and stability in Europe. The lessons of history are clear -- U.S. leadership is essential for Europe to solve its problems.

ù And third, the risks of participating in the implementation force must be weighed against the risk of an expanded war if the peace process fails.

ù The dangers of spillover are real.

ù The only way to prevent the spread of conflict and future massacres of innocents is to seize this opportunity when all parties may be willing to accept an agreement -- and to recognize that the only way to make the agreement stick is for NATO, with the U.S. in the lead, to provide the stability necessary in the first months after the settlement.

ù We will make sure terms of agreement are enforceable and that parties themselves accept the mission and robust ROE that NATO implementation force (IFOR) must have.

ù Let me emphasize a few key points:

ù IFOR will have carefully defined mission, clear chain of command with no "dual key," and authority to use force against any violation.

ù Forces will not be predominantly American: Europeans and other non-Americans will provide 2/3 of troops.

ù Hope Russians and other Partnership for Peace countries will also participate.

An

y combat forces, however, must
be under NATO operational or tactical control.

ù We will have a clear exit strategy and will be careful to guard against mission

cr

eep.

ù Part of exit strategy to establish stability on ground by time IFOR completes

miss

ion. This will be one of the

keys to ensuring settlement does not break down after IFOR leaves.

- Preference is to establish balance of forces between Federation and Bosnian

Serbs

through arms control

measures that provide for a "build-down."

- Arms control by itself unlikely to achieve stable balance, so we are prepared to

h

elp equip/train Federation

forces to ensure they have effective self-defense capability.

- Effort will be separate from NATO-led implementation force and will need to

carefu

lly managed to avoid

any risks to the IFOR and to avoid stimulating a regional arms race. First step: li
fting of arms embargo.

ù Expect NATO mission can be completed in about a year, but need to see

agreement an

d NATO plan before

making such commitment.

ù International community can create opportunity for parties to make durable

peace,

but ultimate responsibility is

theirs.

UK, NORTHERN IRELAND, IRELAND, EU SUMMIT TRIP

-- We are still planning to make this very important and historic trip.

-- This visit comes at an important time in Europe and we plan to discuss the full

r
ange of
European security and economic issues.

-- In particular, as the first President ever to visit Northern Ireland, President Clinton will have the unique opportunity to celebrate the extraordinary changes in peoples lives and t
he real hope for a
lasting peace and prosperous future that 15 months of cease fire has brought.

Peace Talks

-- Support the twin track proposed by the British and Irish governments.

-- British and Irish governments are working hard to move the twin track forward and
I hope
they will be able to do so in the near future.

IRELAND

U.S. Role

ù We are committed to working with the two governments and the parties to help in th
e search for peace.

ù Thankful there has been a year in which the guns and bombs are silent.

ù First time in a generation there is real hope for a lasting peace and a more prosperous future. People of
Belfast are finally living a normal life.

ù One can literally say that there are individuals walking the streets in Belfast alive today who would not be
had we not gotten involved. American engagement has been an essential ingredient in
the search for
peace.

ù We have had a number of contacts over the last several weeks about how to move the
peace process
forward.

ù We are hopeful a way can be found to move things forward. Contacts with all the parties are continuing. We are not prepared to go into any detail.

Twin Track

ù 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 the paramilitaries' weapons.

ù We will continue to encourage all sides to be flexible and find a way to move the process forward.

British Stalling on Talks?

ù 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.

ù We believe Prime Minister Major is committed to achieving a lasting peace in Northern Ireland.

Position on Decommissioning:

ù On decommissioning of weapons, we have 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.

Senator Mitchell to Chair Commission on Decommissioning?:

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

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

Comments of new UUP leader Trimble on twin track?

ù Trimble's speech of October 21 represented no change in the unionist position of opposition to the twin track approach.

ù Our view is that twin track strategy of the British and Irish Governments offers the best prospect for moving the peace process forward.

ù Looking forward to working with Mr. Trimble as we have with the Unionists over the past year.

Paisley Visit

ù Paisley met with NSA Lake and VP Gore October 27.

Deportations

[Irish groups mounting a campaign against deportation of former IRA members, some who are married to U.S. citizens and/or have U.S. children. U.S. law provides no flexibility in prohibiting permanent residency to those linked to terrorism. We are looking into possible legislative waivers.]

ù Issue recently brought to our attention.

ù Law provides no flexibility on many cases.

ù Staff reviewing issue.

SUCCESSOR TO NATO SYG CLAES

-- Every member of NATO recognizes that the choice of the New Secretary General will

have significant impact on the future of the Alliance at this critical juncture in its history.

-- As you know, it is a decision that requires the consensus among all 16 members of the

alliance. We will continue to consult until we reach agreement with our allies on the

his very important matter.

RUSSIA/NIS

Current Items

Yeltsin Heart Problem

-- President Yeltsin remains in hospital but taking on increasingly active schedule.

Embassy

Moscow in touch with Russian officials; what Embassy has heard from them about Yeltsin in tracks with what Russian officials saying publicly.

Perry-Grachev Talks on Russia and Bosnia IFOR

-- Perry and Grachev agreed on November 8 on military framework under which Russian combat forces will participate in a Bosnia peace implementation operation. Warmly welcome this understanding, as we consider Russian participation in Bosnia peace implementation important and desirable.

(If pressed for details of arrangement, best to defer to Defense)

Chechnya

-- Have seen reports of attacks against Chechen Prime Minister Zavgayev (Moscow-backed) and against Chechen rebel leader Dudayev. Condemn attacks whose purpose is to further setback peace effort in Chechnya.

-- While formal Russian-Chechen talks suspended, sides have held informal meetings, and Moscow had reiterated its commitment to pursue negotiated settlement.

-- Dispute in Chechnya can only be resolved by negotiated settlement. Urge sides

to
work
together to implement military agreement and to find political solution.

General Items

U.S. Stake in Relationship

-- U.S. has vital stake in engaging Russia and supporting reform there. Matters greatly to us if
Russia dictatorship or democracy, centrally planned or market-oriented economy.

-- Long-term strategy. Transformation underway will be complex, protracted.
Struggle going on
between those who support reform and those who oppose or fear change.

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

-- President's productive meeting with Yeltsin at Hyde Park on October 23
underscored
stability,
inner strength of U.S.-Russia partnership.

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. It helps reformers succeed
in building a
democracy and a market economy, and it helps reduce nuclear threat to U.S. Not
in our
interest to cut
this assistance.

Russian Concerns about NATO Enlargement

-- Understand Russia has concerns about NATO enlargement. Intend to manage
enlargement
process in deliberate, transparent manner that threatens no country and
strengthens
security and stability
of Europe as a whole.

-- Russia a key player in building stable, undivided Europe. Our goal is to develop NATO-Russia relationship in parallel with NATO's process of taking in new members. Robust NATO-Russia relationship in interests of U.S., Europe and Russia.

Iran Reactor Sale

-- President has discussed Bushehr reactor sale with Yeltsin. Vice President and Prime Minister Chernomyrdin continuing serious dialogue on issue.

-- Have made clear and continue to stress our opposition to any nuclear cooperation with Iran, given Tehran's ambitions to acquire nuclear weapons capability.

CFE

-- Parties have achieved something thought unattainable a decade ago: over 50,000 pieces of military equipment destroyed to establish a stable balance of forces in Europe - dramatically lower than just a few years ago.

-- Consensus was also reached Friday among the 30 CFE parties on broad outlines of solution to the issue of the flanks, which preserves the integrity of the treaty and will not diminish the security of any state.

-- As part of that decision, parties agreed to work intensively to complete the task of resolving the flank issue as soon as possible.

POLISH ELECTIONS

ù Awaiting final results, though projections suggest that Aleksander Kwasiewski (kva sh-NYEV-skii) has narrowly defeated President Lech Walesa in yesterday's elections.

ù This appears to have been a free and fair elections, Poland's second direct Presidential elections since 1989.

ù Both candidates ran on platforms to maintain Poland's democratic and market reforms and to seek its integration with Western institutions.

ù We hope Poland's next president will carry out his campaign promises and maintain the reforms that have brought Poland so much success since 1989.

ù After a tough campaign, it will be important for Poland's next President to reach out to the whole country to bring people together.

ù Whatever the final outcome, Lech Walesa has a secure place in history as one of the democratic heroes of the 20th century. As leader of Solidarity and Poland's democratically-elected President, Lech Walesa led his nation through a dramatic, unprecedented and largely successful transformation. Poland, Europe, American and the world are better off for it.

ù (If asked re NATO membership) Countries aspiring to NATO membership need to be firmly committed to democracy, market economic reform and responsible foreign and security policies. Poland has made major strides in these areas and we hope its progress continues.

ALBANIA

Q: Any comment on the Washington Post story on U.S. defense cooperation with Albania?
?

A: We believe the current military relationship between the U.S. and Albania is in the interests of both countries.

Albania has been playing a responsible role in a very unstable region.

We hope our military cooperation can continue, but this will depend in great part on continued Albanian progress toward democracy and market economic reforms.

JAPAN

-- U.S. - Japan relations are fundamentally sound in all aspects, including security and trade.

-- We are working closely with the Japanese government to deal with Okinawa base-related problems and resolve them as quickly as possible. Joint Commission to start work tomorrow. Need to work calmly, cooperatively and carefully to deal with these issues.

-- Will reschedule state visit to Japan as soon as we can bring an end. This is a crucial relationship and a very successful one. We will work hard to ensure that it is restored to full vitality.

CHINA

-- Many challenges remain in our bilateral relationship with China, but we have shared recognition that improving relations is in the overall strategic interest of both sides.

ides.

-- We have made important progress recently in dealing with disagreements, especially in handling trade disputes and preparing the way for China's eventual admission to the World Trade Organization.

-- Vice President Gore met with China's President Jiang in Osaka. He renewed the commitment to a policy of comprehensive engagement I had affirmed when President Jiang and I met in New York last month.

PAKISTAN: ISLAMABAD BOMBING

-- The United States strongly condemns the murderous attack on the Egyptian Embassy in Islamabad, Pakistan.

-- I have conveyed my outrage over this terrorist act to President Mubarak and Prime Minister Bhutto. I have offered my condolences for those killed and wounded in the bombing.

-- We are ready to work with the Governments of Pakistan and Egypt to help determine those responsible for this crime and bring them to justice.

ALGERIAN ELECTIONS

ù A large percentage of the eligible Algerian electorate turned out for the presidential vote on November 16. Preliminary results indicate that Liamine Zeroual was chosen to serve as

President f
or a new five-year term.

ù The turnout in these elections offers hope that Algerians who seek a peaceful
end
to Algeria's crisis will
participate in a political process to achieve that goal if given the chance to do so
. President Zeroual's
election is an opportunity to lay the foundation for such a process.

SAUDI ARABIA BOMBING AFTERMATH

Q: Have you identified the perpetrators of the bombing yet?

A: The full resources of the US government are being brought to bear on this
investi
gation and we
are determined to do everything possible to ensure that the perpetrators are identif
ied and brought to justice.

However, the investigation is at a very early stage and we are not going to
specula
te on who may be
responsible.

Q: What do you know about the Islamic Movement for Change, which claimed
responsibil
ity for
the attack?

A: A number of groups have claimed responsibility for the attack. We are
investigat
ing all of these
claims.

We are aware of the IMC and its stated opposition to the US presence in the
Persian
Gulf.

Q: What security measures are being taken to guard US personnel and facilities in
Sa
udi Arabia?

A: The Saudi government and US agencies have responded quickly and
effectively to im

prove
security for US personnel and facilities, both government and private, throughout
th
e Kingdom.

(If pressed:) I don't want to get into the details of the new security arrangement
s. That would be
counterproductive.

Q: What contact has there been between the USG and the Saudi government?

A: Ambassador Mabus and his staff have been in constant contact with Saudi
officials
at all levels,
including King Fahd and Crown Prince Abdullah.

At his meeting with the King, Ambassador Mabus passed on the President's
appreciati
on for the
tremendous effort the Saudis have made in the wake of the bombing.

Although Saudi Ambassador Prince Bandar was not in the US at the time of the
bombin
g, we have been
in contact with him and he has been helping expedite the movement of US
equipment an
d personnel both to
and from the Kingdom.

Q: Do you believe that the security of U.S. facilities in Saudi Arabia was lax
befor
e the bombing?

A: I think we should wait to hear what the experts say before making a judgment
on t
hat.

HAITI

-- We have deplored the recent outbursts of violence in Haiti that followed the
murd
er of two of

Haiti's parliamentary deputies, but calm has returned and President Aristide is continuing the policy of reconciliation he has followed since his election.

-- Haiti has embarked on a democratic transition that has not always been perfect, but its forward movement and democratic course is certain. Several candidates are now running for the up-coming presidential elections following recent successful parliamentary elections.

-- The Haitian police force is in the process of taking full responsibility for law and order when the UN mission completes its work in February. We will continue to train and assist them under a five-year training agreement that is currently in force.

-- Representatives of our government have been working closely with President Aristide and his government to encourage and assist their economic transition and I expect President Aristide to move forward on privatization of state-owned industries as he has promised.

NIGERIA

-- The United States is outraged over the gravely flawed judicial process which led to the execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight others.

-- These executions demonstrate to the world the Abacha regime's contempt for even the most basic international norms and universal standards of human rights.

-- We are working with our allies and partners to find ways to put broad international pressure on Nigeria and to move toward a democratic future and to respect the rights of its

o
wn citizens.

-- In this regard, the President consulted by phone last week with South African President Mandela. Although no concrete measures emerged from the discussion, both leaders agreed to pursue a multilateral approach in applying pressure on Nigeria.

-- We are ruling nothing in and nothing out. But any sanction must have broad international support to be effective.

MACKE

-- The President was shocked when he first heard of Admiral Macke's remarks. But he also noted that Macke had enjoyed a long career, serving his country with distinction.

-- They were unacceptably insensitive toward women and the victims of rape and brutal assault.

-- The President strongly support Secretary Perry's leadership in this matter, and the decision by Admiral Macke to retire immediately.

-- With our close ally we will move beyond this to build upon our 50 years of partnership that has given both our peoples great opportunity for peace and prosperity.

CONGRESSIONAL CONFERENCE REPORT ON DEFENSE APPROPRIATIONS BILL

Background: On November 17, the House and Senate reached agreement on a \$243 billion defense budget for next year which is \$6.9 billion more than requested by the Administration. It added fund

ing for additional B-2 Stealth bombers and National Missile Defense, as well as accelerated procurement of warships, aircraft and other weapons systems not requested by the Administration. Congress sent the bill to the White House over the weekend; a statement regarding it has not yet been signed by the President.

The bill (H.R. 2126) also included language prohibiting privately funded abortions at U.S. military hospitals overseas, except in the case of rape, incest or if the mother's life was endangered if carried to term. (Prior to this, privately funded abortions were permitted at U.S. military hospitals overseas for rape, incest, or elective abortions; government funded abortions have always been permitted when the mother's life was endangered if carried to term -- and continue to be permitted under the new bill.)

Points

- ù Committed to maintaining best trained, best equipped, most ready armed forces in the world.

- ù Administration budget protects readiness and ensures we are prepared to defend American interests.

- ù Concerned by inclusion of almost \$7 billion we did not request, mostly for procurement and R&D programs, and with the bill's unfair treatment of overseas military personnel and their dependents with regard to the availability of safe abortion services.

- ù The President has previously said that absent a broader agreement with Congress that adequately funds crucial domestic programs in other appropriations bills, he will veto any defense appropriations bill that adds extra billions for defense programs not in his request. Therefore, because there is no such agreement, the President will veto the Defense Appropriations Bill.

TUNA AND DOLPHINS

Q: What is the Administration's position on the Stevens-Breaux Bill, "The International Dolphin Conservation Program Act?"

A: "The International Dolphin Conservation Program Act," which was introduced by Senator Stevens (R-Alaska) and Senator Breaux (D-LA) implements the Panama Declaration signed by the United States and 11 other countries on October 4. This declaration strengthens the current international efforts to protect dolphins and the ecosystem as a whole in the Eastern Pacific Ocean. Other goals are to minimize the incidental catch of other species taken during tuna fishing operations, and to sustain fishery catches. Five major environmental groups have endorsed this landmark agreement. They are Greenpeace, the Center for Marine Conservation, the Environmental Defense Fund, the National Wildlife Federation, and the World Wildlife Fund.

The Administration supports the Panama Declaration and this bi-partisan legislative effort to secure long term protection of dolphins.

POW/MIA

Background: Defense DPMO (Defense POW/MIA Office) has a new work plan that sets new

priorities for resolving cases. 567 have been declared "unrecoverable." The Hill is being briefed today. CNN and Washington Times have reported this.

ù This is in no way a legal finding nor is it a final declaration. Most cases remain open.

ù Is an evaluation based on review of and nature of the evidence. Most lost at sea or in way that suggests little or no chance of ever recovering remains.

ù A special panel must review this finding and make a final decision. That panel not yet formed. Refer to DPMO.

ù All USG efforts continue to repatriate remains and resolve discrepancies with the Vietnamese. This includes a trilateral commission with Laos to resolve cases there.