

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 24 November 95 15:08
FROM Sens, Andrew D.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT RE: Ireland Trip Press [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Naplan, Steven J.
CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE
TEXT_BODY

Steve, many thanks. Nancy asked us to pursue it too. Big question is whether we can do all the good things we need to do on Monday.

From: Naplan, Steven J.
To: Sens, Andrew D.
CC: /N, NonRecord at A1
Subject: FW: Ireland Trip Press [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Friday, November 24, 1995 03:01 PM

Andy- FYI.

From: Fetig, James L.
To: @NSA - Nat'l Security Advisor
CC: /R, Record at A1; @PRESS - Public Affairs
Subject: Ireland Trip Press [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Friday, November 24, 1995 01:58 PM

Tony: Spoke to Nancy a short while ago. She asked me to ask you to weigh in with Leon to back putting on the President's schedule the print roundtable and TV roundrobin you and Mike submitted Tuesday.

Either Monday or Tuesday morning would be acceptable times from our viewpoint.

If done on Tuesday morning, the press is willing to catch up with the President via commercial flight if necessary.

Thanks.

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 27 November 95 09:42

FROM Hilliard, Brenda I.

CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED

SUBJECT FW: Monday's Briefing with POTUS [UNCLASSIFIED]

TO Albers, Paul J.
Baker, Jane E.
Baldwin, Kenneth
Benjamin, Daniel
Blinken, Antony J.
Cullin, Brian P.
Daniel, Patty A.
Dohse, Fred J.
Feeley, John F.
Fetig, James L.
Flanagan, Stephen J.
Froman, Michael B.
Gardner, Anthony
Gray, Wendy
Harmon, Joyce A.
Hilliard, Brenda I.
Johnson, David T.
Joshi, M. Kay
Kessinger, Jodi
Kyle, Robert D.
Marshall, Betty A.
Maxfield, Nancy H.
Millison, Cathy L.
Mitsler, Elaine M.
Munson, Robert A.
Naplan, Steven J.
Peters, Mary A.
Schmidt, John R.
Schuker, Jill A.
Sens, Andrew D.
Showalter, Victoria A.
Tarullo, Daniel K.
Vershbow, Alexander R.
Walsh, Helen C.
Wilson, Marilyn E.
Wozniak, Natalie S.

CARBON_COPY Bass, Peter E.
Cicio, Kristen K.
Hall, Wilma G.

Veit, Katherine M.
Wiley, Mary C.

TEXT_BODY

FYI, due to a change in the President's schedule, there WILL ONLY BE TIME for the Phase I portion this morning (speech prep for the President's upcoming trip) . The speech prep portion, as Andrew stated in a separate E-Mail, is 10:30-11:00 a.m. in the Oval Office. Those already listed in Fred's attached note are invited.

Andrew is working with Scheduling to get time on the President's schedule tomorrow to review the overall trip schedule and prebriefs for the meeting with PM Major and the U.S.-EU Summit. Those of you who should attend this session will be notified as soon as the time has been determined.

Thanks very much.

From: Dohse, Fred J.
To: @EUROPE - European Affairs; @PRESS - Public Affairs; @SPEECH - NSC
Speechwriters
CC: /R, Record at A1; @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary
Subject: Monday's Briefing with POTUS [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Friday, November 24, 1995 05:11 PM

[[POTUSSPH.DOC : 2350 in POTUSSPH.DOC]]

We have an additional one hour scheduled on Monday for briefing the President on the trip to Europe. I've attached a scenario that TL has approved.

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE**

24 November 95 15:56

**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME**

POTUSSPH.DOC
POTUS Briefing for UK, Ireland and Spain Trip

ù Briefing scheduled for 10:30-11:30 on Monday, November 27, and will be conducted i

n two
phases.

ù Participants for Phase I (speech prep and review) are Tony Lake, Nancy Soderberg,
Don Baer,

Sandy Vershbow, Tony Blinken, Danny Benjamin and Vinca Showalter. This meeting will
be

held in the Oval Office.

ù Participants for Phase II (schedule review and prebriefs for meeting with PM Major

and
U.S.-EU Summit) are Tony Lake, Nancy Soderberg, Andrew Sens, Sandy
Vershbow,
David Johnson, Tony Blinken, Mary Ann Peters, Tony Gardner and Mike
Froman. This
phase will be held in the Cabinet Room.
ù The Vice President and Leon Panetta will be invited to both sessions.

Total Time
(minutes)

Briefer

Subject

35

Tony Lake, Don Baer &

Tony Blinken

Speech preparation

5

Andrew Sens

Schedule -- specifically

Germany

10

Sandy Vershbow

Meeting with Prime

Minister Major

10

Sandy Vershbow and

Mike Froman

U.S.-EU Summit

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 27 November 95 14:33
FROM Hilliard, Brenda I.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT [UNCLASSIFIED]Trip Briefing Time
TO Sens, Andrew D.
CARBON_COPY Baker, Jane E.
Baldwin, Kenneth
Gray, Wendy
Hilliard, Brenda I.
Joshi, M. Kay
Kessinger, Jodi
Millison, Cathy L.
TEXT_BODY [[POTUSSPH.DOC : 3599 in POTUSSPH.DOC]]
(CATHY - WILL YOU PLEASE PRINT THIS NOTE AND ATTACHED
SCHEDULE FOR
ANDREW. THANKS)

Andrew -

For the trip briefing time tomorrow morning (10:45-11:30 a.m.) will the agenda and participants be the same as Fred listed in the attached outline for Phase II? Once this is confirmed I will notify everyone. Thanks.

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE** 24 November 95 19:53

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Meeting with Prime

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Sandy Vershbow and

Mike Froman

U.S.-EU Summit

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 27 November 95 16:07

FROM Hilliard, Brenda I.

CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED

SUBJECT FW:Tuesday's Trip Briefing with POTUS [UNCLASSIFIED]

TO Benjamin, Daniel
Blinken, Antony J.
Showalter, Victoria A.

CARBON_COPY Baker, Jane E.
Baldwin, Kenneth
Gray, Wendy
Hilliard, Brenda I.
Joshi, M. Kay
Kessinger, Jodi
Millison, Cathy L.

TEXT_BODY

Tony - Sorry, didn't mean to leave you off. You are also invited to attend the briefing in the Cabinet Room tomorrow. Thanks.

From: Hilliard, Brenda I.

To: @EUROPE - European Affairs; @PRESS - Public Affairs; @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary; @INTECON - Economic Affairs

CC: /R, Record at A1; @UP - APNSA Special Assistants

Subject: FW:Tuesday's Trip Briefing with POTUS [UNCLASSIFIED]

Date: Monday, November 27, 1995 03:53 PM

[[POTUSSPH.DOC : 4147 in POTUSSPH.DOC]]

The time for the Phase II portion of the President's briefings for the European trip is scheduled tomorrow (Tuesday), 10:45-11:30 a.m. in the Cabinet Room. Participants are as indicated on the attached document. Thanks very much.

From: Hilliard, Brenda I.

To: @EUROPE - European Affairs; @PRESS - Public Affairs; @SPEECH - NSC

Speechwriters; @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary; @INTECON - Economic Affairs

CC: /R, Record at A1; @UP - APNSA Special Assistants

Subject: FW: Monday's Briefing with POTUS [UNCLASSIFIED]

Date: Monday, November 27, 1995 09:42 AM

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Date: Friday, November 24, 1995 05:11 PM

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Schedule -- specifically

Germany

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Meeting with Prime

Minister Major

10

Sandy Vershbow and

Mike Froman

U.S.-EU Summit

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 27 November 95 22:40
FROM Veit, Katherine M.
CLASSIFICATION ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
SUBJECT W-16 schedule for TL for trip ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~

TO Bass, Peter E.
Cicio, Kristen K.
Hall, Wilma G.
Veit, Katherine M.
Wiley, Mary C.

CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE

TEXT_BODY

This is what I am providing W-16 tonight. I'm sure we will need to update it Tuesday.

[[DOC2.DOC : 5721 in DOC2.DOC]]

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE**

27 November 95 22:39

**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME**

DOC2.DOC

Calendar for: Anthony Lake
Date: 11/28/95 Tuesday

BEGIN END DESCRIPTION

7:00AM Depart residence enroute office
7:30AM 8:00AM Chief of Staff Meeting - CofS's Ofc
8:15AM 8:30AM In house meeting
8:30AM In house meeting - Situation Room
10:15AM 10:45AM POTUS meeting - Oval
10:45AM 11:30AM POTUS meeting - Cabinet Room
11:45AM In house meeting
NOON In house meeting
1:30PM 2:30PM POTUS meeting - Oval
2:30PM 3:15PM POTUS meeting - Oval
3:45PM 4:45PM POTUS meeting - State Dining Room
7:20PM 7:30PM P/Marine One dpts WH enroute Andrews AFB w/T.Lake
7:40PM P/AF-1 dpts Andrews AFB enroute London, England
(flight time 6 Hrs 30 mins; time Chg: +5 Hrs)

WEDNESDAY 11/29/95

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By ~~NO~~ NARA, Date 02/13/19
2017-0189-F

7:10AM P/Arrive Heathrow Airport, London, England
 7:15AM 7:30AM P/Arrival Ceremony - Tarmac/Royal Suite, Heathrow Airport
 7:30AM 7:50AM P/Motorcade dpts airport enroute Amb's Residence
 7:55AM 8:00PM P/Tree Planting Ceremony - The Lawn, Amb's Residence
 8:20AM 8:30AM P/Motorcade dpts Amb's Res enroute Westminster Abbey
 8:35AM 8:50AM P/Wreath Laying Ceremony & Short Tour - Westminster Abbey
 8:55AM 9:10AM P/PM Major dpt ON FOOT enroute #10 Downing Street
 9:15AM 10:30AM P/Meeting with PM Major - Cabinet Room
 10:30AM 11:00AM P/Debrief - The White Drawing Room
 11:00AM 11:30AM P/Press Statement - The Front Door, #10 Downing Street
 11:30AM P/Dpts ON FOOT enroute Foreign Commonwealth Office
 11:35AM 12:20PM P/Parliament Speech Prep - Room K 129
 12:20PM 12:30PM P/Motorcade dpts enroute Palace of Westminster
 12:30PM 1:15PM P/Address - The Royal Gallery, House of Lords
 1:20PM 2:25PM (P/HOLD - The Queen's Robing Room)
 2:30PM 2:45PM P/Motorcade dpts enroute Buckingham Palace
 2:45PM 2:55PM P/Arrival Ceremony - The Courtyard
 2:55PM 3:25PM P/First Lady-Audience w/Her Majesty, The Queen of England
 - The Queen's Private Quarters, 2nd Flr
 3:30PM 3:45PM P/Motorcade dpts enroute Ambassador's Residence
 3:50PM 3:55PM (P/Police Photos)
 4:00PM 4:30PM P/Mtg w/Labour Leader Tony Blair - The Gold Room
 4:35PM 5:55PM (P/DOWN TIME - Ambassador's Residence)
 6:00PM 6:50PM P/Reception hosted by Amb & Mrs. Crowe - Ground Floor
 6:55PM 7:05PM P/Motorcade dpts Amb's Residence enroute #10 Downing
 7:10PM 9:00PM P/Dinner hosted by PM John Major
 9:15PM 11:00PM P/Reception hosted by PM John Major
 11:05PM 11:15PM P/Motorcade dpts #10 Downing St enroute Amb's Res
 (TL/RON WINSTON CHURCHILL HOTEL 44 171 486 5800)

THURSDAY 11/30/95

7:30AM 7:50AM P/Marine One dpts Amb's Res enroute Heathrow Airport
 8:05AM 9:10AM P/AF One dpts London enroute Belfast, Northern Ireland
 9:25AM 9:55AM P/Motorcade dpts Aldergrove Airport enroute Mackie Plant
 10:00AM 10:45AM (P/HOLD - The Plant Manager's Ofc)
 10:45AM 11:30AM P/SPEECH - The Factory Floor
 11:40AM 11:50AM P/Motorcade dpts enroute East Belfast Enterprise Park
 11:55AM NOON P/Photo w/Board of International Fund for Ireland
 NOON P/Proceeds ON FOOT to Holly Homemades
 12:05PM 12:15PM P/Visit 2 Businesses at East Belfast Enterprise Park
 12:20PM 1:00PM P/Round Table Discussion - Vacant Workshops
 1:05PM 1:15PM P/Motorcade dpts enroute City of Derry Airport LZ
 1:25PM 2:05PM P/Marine One dpts LZ enroute Londonderry, N Ireland
 2:15PM 2:35PM P/Motorcade dpts enroute Londonderry Guild Hall
 2:40PM 3:35PM P/Remarks to Citizens of Londonderry - Guild Hall Square
 8:00PM 8:20PM P/Receiving Line - Rotunda
 8:25PM 8:30PM P/Motorcade dpts Belfast City Hall enroute Queens Univ
 8:30PM 8:40PM (P/HOLD - Vice Chancellor's Dining Room)

8:40PM 9:45PM P/Reception hosted by Sir Patrick & Mrs. Mayhew
9:45PM 9:55PM (P/HOLD - Vice Chancellor's Dining Room)
9:55PM 10:00PM P/Scroll Signing
10:00PM 10:05PM P/Motorcade dpts Queens University enroute Europa Hotel
(TL/RON EUROPA HOTEL 44 1 232 327 000)

FRIDAY 12/1/95

8:15AM 8:45AM P/Motorcade dpts enroute Aldergrove Airport, Belfast
9:00AM 10:00AM P/AF One dpts Belfast enroute Dublin, Ireland
10:05AM 10:20AM P/Arrival Ceremony - The Tarmac
10:25AM 10:40AM P/Motorcade dpts enroute Aras An Uachtarian
(Residence of President Mary Robinson)
10:50AM 11:20AM P/Mtg w/President Mary Robinson & Mr. Robinson
11:20AM 11:30AM P/Tree Planting - Lawn of Aras An Uachtarian
11:35AM 11:50AM P/Motorcade dpts enroute Government Buildings
11:55AM 12:05PM P/One-on-One Mtg w/PM John Bruton - PM's Ofc
12:10PM 12:20PM P/Expanded Mtg w/PM John Bruton - PM's Ofc
12:20PM 12:35PM P/Debrief - Dining Room
12:35PM 1:00PM P/Press Statement - The Front Steps, Government Bldgs
1:05PM 1:10PM P/Motorcade dpts enroute Bank of Ireland at College Green
1:10PM 1:20PM (P/HOLD - General Manager's Office)
1:20PM 2:05PM P/Remarks to People of Dublin - Outside Bank of Ireland
2:10PM 2:40PM (P/HOLD - General Manager's Office)
2:45PM 2:50PM P/Motorcade dpts enroute Leinster House
2:55PM 3:45PM P/Remarks to Irish Parliament - The Parliament Chamber
3:50PM 4:05PM P/Motorcade dpts Leinster House enroute Cassidy's Pub
4:10PM 5:05PM P/Meet & Greet - Cassidy's Pub
5:10PM 5:25PM P/Motorcade dpts enroute Ambassador's Residence
5:30PM 5:50PM P/Reception
5:50PM 6:00PM P/Meet & Greet - Sitting Rm
6:05PM 7:40PM (P/DOWN TIME - Amb's Residence)
7:45PM 7:55PM P/Motorcade dpts enroute Dublin Castle
8:00PM 10:00PM P/Dinner hosted by Irish Government - Ballroom
10:00PM 10:10PM P/Motorcade dpts enroute Ambassador's Residence
(TL/RON CONRAD HOTEL 353 1 676 5555)

SATURDAY 12/2/95

8:00AM 8:20AM P/Motorcade dpts Amb's Residence enroute Dublin Airport
8:30AM 11:15AM P/AF-1 dpts Dublin enroute Ramstein AFB, Germany
11:25AM 11:55AM P/Marine One dpts enroute Baumholder Army Base
NOON 12:05PM P/dpts ON FOOT enroute Smith Barracks
12:10PM 1:10PM P/Address to Task Force Eagle - Smith Barracks
1:10PM 1:15PM P/Motorcade dpts enroute Iron Inn Mess Hall
1:15PM 2:15PM P/Lunch w/American Troops & Their Families - Mess Hall
2:15PM 2:25PM P/Motorcade dpts Mess Hall enroute Rheinlander Bldg
2:30PM 2:45PM P/Briefing for Radio Address
2:45PM 3:30PM P/Radio Address w/American Troops & Their Families
3:40PM 4:10PM P/Mtg w/Bosnian Refugees - Ballroom
4:15PM 4:30PM P/Motorcade dpts enroute Baumholder Army Base LZ

4:35PM 5:05PM P/Marine One dpts enroute Ramstein AFB
5:15PM 7:30PM P/AF-1 dpts enroute Barajas Airport, Madrid, Spain
7:40PM 7:50PM P/Motorcade dpts airport enroute Prado Museum
7:50PM 8:25PM P/Tour of the Prado Museum
8:25PM 8:30PM P/Motorcade dpts enroute Ambassador's Residence
8:30PM 9:15PM (P/DOWN TIME - Amb's Residence)
9:20PM 9:30PM P/Motorcade dpts enroute the Royal Palace
9:30PM 11:00PM P/Dinner w/King and Queen of Spain
11:10PM 11:25PM P/Motorcade dpts enroute Ambassador's Residence
(TL/RON TO BE PROVIDED)

SUNDAY 12/3/95

8:30AM 8:40AM P/Motorcade dpts Amb's Res enroute Moncloa Palace
8:45AM 9:15AM P/Breakfast Bilateral Mtg w/PM Felipe Gonzalez
9:30AM 10:30AM P/US-European Union Summit Meeting -
10:30AM 11:00AM P/Debrief
11:00AM 11:30AM P/Signing & Press Availability -
11:45AM 12:10PM P/Motorcade dpts Moncloa Palace enroute Airport
12:15PM 12:30PM P/Mtg w/Jose Maria Aznar - SITE TBD - Airport
12:40PM 2:40PM P/AF One dpts Madrid, Spain enroute Andrews AFB
(flight time: 8 hrs; time change: - 6 hrs)
2:50PM 3:00PM P/Marine One dpts Andrews AFB enroute WH

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 28 November 95 10:18

FROM Peters, Mary A.

CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED

SUBJECT [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 [[NOV27GUI.DOC : 2657 in NOV27GUI.DOC]]
See new guidance on Ireland.

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE** 28 November 95 10:17

**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME** NOV27GUI.DOC
NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS GUIDANCE

November 27, 1995

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

FAR EAST
Japan
China

MIDDLE EAST
Israel

CENTRAL AMERICA

Panama
Honduras
Haiti

MISCELLANEOUS

DOD Equal Opportunity
Defense Appropriations

BOSNIA/CROATIA

POTUS Communications with European Leaders

ù POTUS has sent a letter to Major, Kohl, Chirac, and Yeltsin - no phone calls.

Croatian Burning/Looting

ù Deplore recent Croat actions in areas to be turned over to Bosnian Serbs.

Expect
all parties to live up to their
commitments to protect human rights.

ù The peace agreement obligates the parties to cooperate fully with the
investigation
and prosecution of war
crimes and other violations of international humanitarian law. This obligation
binds
each party, including
Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the Serb Republic.

Tudjman and Human Rights Monitors

ù Regret decision not to allow human rights monitors to stay.

ù Erdut agreement commits parties to respect human rights.

IFOR Responsibilities

ù IFOR role in areas destined for turnover:

IFOR will implement the military aspects of the agreement, not the civilian. It will
enforce the cease-fire
and ensure that parties move forces back to agreed line.

IFOR will create a stable and secure environment throughout the country so that rebuilding and other civilian tasks may occur.

The agreement gives IFOR the authority to use military force to prevent interference with the free movement of civilians, refugees, and displaced persons and to respond appropriately to violence against civilians.

Be sure everyone knows that Serb population is not required to leave Sarajevo or anywhere else. But political authority over Serb suburbs reverts to Federation in accordance with map.

Proximity Talks

ù After four years of fighting, this agreement commits the parties to end the war and to start building peace with justice. represents best hope for ending the worst atrocities Europe has seen since the Second World War and best opportunity to prevent a wider and more terrible war in this volatile region.

ù Enables Bosnia and Herzegovina to continue as a single state, with full respect for its sovereignty by its neighbors. constitution creates effective federal institutions, including a Presidency, a bicameral legislature, and Constitutional Court. Country will have a central bank with a single currency.

ù Agreement settles the territorial issues over which the war was fought. The Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina will administer 51% of the country's territory.

ù Sarajevo will be reunified within the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It will be open to all the people of the country. Checkpoints and closed bridges will no longer divide the city and its families. Gorazde will

remain secure, linked to the Federation by a land corridor. The status of Brcko will be determined by arbitration within one year.

Free and democratic elections to be held throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina next year. People displaced by the war will have the right to vote in their original place of residence.

Agreement commits Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina to cooperate fully with the investigation and prosecution of war crimes and violations of international humanitarian law. Bosnia's new constitution specifically obligates its authorities, including the Serb Republic, to comply with the orders of the War Crimes Tribunal. Agreement prohibits indicted war criminals who refuse the Tribunal's orders to hold military

or elected office in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Agreement commits the parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina to respect internationally recognized human rights, grant human rights monitors unrestricted access, cooperate with the ICRC in the search for missing persons, and release all detainees. It creates a Human Rights Commission and a Human Rights Ombudsman with the authority to investigate and to act upon human rights violations.

People will have the right to move freely. Refugees and displaced persons will have the right to return home or to obtain just compensation. Agreement creates a Commission for Refugees and Displaced Persons to adjudicate claims.

The agreement obligates the parties to withdraw their forces behind an agreed ceasefire line within 30 days, establishes demilitarized zones of separation on both sides of the line. It provides for confidence-building measures, including the withdrawal of heavy weapons and forces to barracks and restricted

itions on military
deployments.

ù

ù The agreement provides for the creation of a peace implementation force, or IFOR, under the command of NATO, headed by a U.S. general. IFOR will monitor the cease-fire and separation of forces. IFOR capable of implementing the agreement and defending itself. The agreement commits the parties to cooperate fully with IFOR.

ù The agreement makes possible a comprehensive program of reconstruction assistance. International donors to help Bosnia's people recover their standard of living.

ù The peace agreement will be formally signed in Paris. Shortly thereafter, a conference on civilian implementation will be held in London.

ù Resolution was introduced in the UN Security to lift the arms embargo against all the states of the former Yugoslavia. Trade sanctions against Serbia are suspended, but may be reimposed if Serbia or any other Serbian authorities fail significantly to meet their obligations under the peace agreement.

ù An "outer wall" of sanctions will remain in place until Serbia addresses other concerns, including Kosovo and cooperation with the War Crimes Tribunal. Sanctions on the Bosnian Serbs will not be suspended until they withdraw their forces in accordance with the agreement and free elections are held.

NATO

ù Only NATO can do that job. US role, as leader of NATO, is essential.

ù NATO will rapidly complete plan for implementation force. President will

review f
inal implementation
plan before approving.

ù Force would be approximately one-third US, rest from NATO and some non-NATO countries.

ù Plan calls for international humanitarian effort to provide relief, help rebuild, resettle refugees, monitor free elections.

ù NATO's mission will be clear and limited. Our troops will take orders only from SACEUR.

ù ROE will allow it to respond immediately to threats, violations.

ù There will be a reasonable timetable for withdrawal.

ù the present contingency plan is clear, limited, and achievable. Believes it minimizes risks to US troops and other troops.

ù President will promptly consult Congress after he receives plan. When he approves it, he will ask Congress to support American participation.

ù American leadership made this peace agreement possible; our leadership, together with Allies, is needed to make peace real and enduring.

ù President believes Congress should review agreement and hear assurances from the parties that the plan will be implemented in full and without violence.

ù President will work with Congress on a schedule for consultations after he approves the plan. Has already called Senate and House leaders.

ù Congress should be heard before a full deployment of US troops. But, as we've told Congress, early deployment of a small number of troops will be necessary.

ù Congress will have a period of weeks before agreement is signed, which would

trigg
er deployment of
troops.

ù The Parties have chosen peace, now America must choose peace. Our leadership made peace possible, and is needed now to make the peace real and enduring.

ù After Dayton, next steps: implementation conference in London; Paris international peace conference and signing of peace agreement.

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

If asked about US Citizen killed near Tuzla

ù We understand that an American citizen employed by the UN was found dead on Sunday near Tuzla, in northeastern Bosnia. Our Embassy in Sarajevo is seeking further information.

Sacirbey's Resignation

ù Bosnian Foreign Minister Sacirbey left his post to make room for a broader representation 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 control measures that provide for a "build-down."

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

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

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.

Peace Plan Implementation

ù NAC approved concept of ops for IFOR, and will take up final plan for IFOR this week.

ù Secretary Perry will brief President and national security team on final NATO plan this week.

ù Number of forces for operation not determined - will depend on peace agreement modalities. Approximate number would be 20,000 US, 40,000 non-U.S.

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 areas and man outposts.

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

- Phase V: Exit. Orderly hand over of commitments to appropriate civilian organizations 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 contact.

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.

Congressional Consultations

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.

Why Bosnia

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 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 The parties all recognize the need for an international implementation force to stabilize the situation and build confidence so that peace can take hold.

abilize 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,

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 Terms of agreement will be enforceable and parties themselves will accept the mission and robust ROE that NATO implementation force (IFOR) must have.

ù 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. Any 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 creep.

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 range 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 people's lives and

t
he real hope for a
lasting peace and prosperous future that 15 months of cease fire has brought.

Does Bruce Morrison Speak for Administration on Northern Ireland?

-- USG does not blame British Government for lack of progress in peace process.
On
the
contrary, we believe London and Dublin are making determined efforts to move
forward
with the
peace process.

-- Morrison was speaking in his capacity as a private citizen, not for the U.S.
Gove
mment.

-- Morrison is Chairman of the Federal Housing Finance Board. His
responsibilities
do not
include Northern Ireland.

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.

-- Not seeking to "force" agreement. Up to two governments to decide what is
doable
. (Note: Response to AP
report.)

IRELAND

Invitation to President Robinson to Address Congress?

Background: ("Irish Voice" reports that Gingrich has refused to respond to
request
from members to invite Irish
President Mary Robinson to address a joint session, saying the
President has to make the request.)

-- We think very highly of President Robinson , but it is our understanding that it is Congress that decides whom to invite to address a joint session.

U.S. Role

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

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

-- 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.

-- 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.

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

-- 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.

British Stalling on Talks?

-- Last weekend the British Government presented new proposals to Dublin; we believe the two governments are actively engaged in negotiating a way forward.

-- We believe Prime Minister Major has demonstrated that he is committed to achieving a lasting peace in Northern Ireland.

Position on Decommissioning:

-- 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 Fein and loyalists that we expect movement on this issue.

Senator Mitchell to Chair Commission on Decommissioning?:

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

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

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 and have asked them to explore the possibility of a private relief bill.]

-- Issue recently brought to our attention.

-- Law provides no flexibility on many cases.

-- Staff reviewing issue.

FRENCH NUCLEAR TEST

Q: What is the U.S. reaction to the November 21 French nuclear test?

A: The United States regrets this action.

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

y in 1996.

In this regard, we take note of President Chirac's strong commitment to sign a CTB Treaty no later than the fall of 1996, and we will continue to work with France and all other states participating in the CTB negotiations to ensure that a CTB Treaty is ready for signature next year.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Q: Why isn't the White House releasing a written statement? Are you softening your position on French testing?

A: The French well understand our position on nuclear testing and their test program

SUCCESSOR TO NATO SYG CLAES

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

I 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 this very important matter.

RUSSIA/NIS

Current Items

Graham Article

-- We have received a protest from the Russian government regarding the article.

-- The article represents the personal views of its author, not the U.S. government.

-- In retrospect, the publication of the article was a mistake.

Q: USG Agrees with Graham View?

A: The article that appeared in Nezavisimaya Gazeta represents the personal view of

one analyst in

Moscow.

We believe Russia has made considerable progress in implementing both democratic and market economy reforms.

Yeltsin Heart Problem

-- Understand President Yeltsin has been discharged from hospital and transferred to sanitarium, where he will continue his convalescence. Though still under doctors' care, underst and Yeltsin taking on increasingly active schedule. Embassy Moscow in regular touch with Russian official s; what Embassy has heard from them about Yeltsin tracks with what Russian officials saying publicly

-- Presidents exchanged messages last week on Dayton agreement and on need to continue working closely together to bolster peace in Bosnia.

December 17 Russian Elections to be Postponed?

-- President Yeltsin, Prime Minister Chernomyrdin and other Russian officials have said parliamentary elections will go ahead as scheduled December 17, and we expect elections to be held on that date. Regard these elections as important step in Russia's continuing process of building democracy.

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, some 60% 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.

Perry-Grachev 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.

(Defer to Defense for details)

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.

Chechnya

-- While formal Russian-Chechen talks suspended, sides have held informal working meetings, and Moscow has 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.

POLISH ELECTIONS

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

President Clinton Calls Polish President Lech Walesa and President-elect Aleksander Kwasniewski

President Clinton spoke by phone today with President Walesa to convey his profound respect and admiration for Lech Walesa's accomplishments as President and a leader of Polish democracy. The President stressed that President Walesa leaves a historic legacy of freedom that has changed the face of Poland, Europe and the world. The President expressed his appreciation for the close working relationship he and P

resident Walesa established
and looked forward to working together in support of their shared goals. The
Presid
ent expressed the hope that
Lech Walesa will continue to play a public role in Poland as a force for
democracy,
continued reforms and national
reconciliation.

President Clinton also spoke by phone to President-elect Kwasniewski. The
Presiden
t congratulated Mr.
Kwasniewski on his electoral victory and expressed the expectation that Poland
and t
he United States would be
able to maintain and deepen their close ties, based on shared commitments to
democra
cy, free market reforms
and support of peace and security in Europe. President Clinton welcomed Mr.
Kwasnie
wski's post-electoral calls
for national reconciliation and reaffirmation of support for Poland's historic trans
formation since regaining
democracy in 1989.

TURKEY: HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH REPORT

Q: What is your reaction to the Human Rights Watch Report, which discusses the
Turki
sh
military's use of U.S. weapons in committing human rights abuses and violations
of t
he laws of war
against the Kurds?

A: We have not had a chance to study the report, which was just released today,
and
are therefore
reluctant to comment.

Human rights concerns are an important consideration in all our defense
equipment s
ales
worldwide, including to Turkey.

Last June, the State Department issued a report on alleged human rights abuses by the Turkish military which concluded that U.S.-origin equipment, which accounts for most major items in Turkey's military inventory, has been used against the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), a vicious terrorist organization which threatens Turkey's territorial integrity. Human rights abuses have occurred in those operations.

The report further noted that it was highly likely that such equipment was used in support of the evacuation and/or destruction of villages in southeastern Turkey.

The Turkish state has the right to defend itself against terrorism. The use of U.S.-supplied weapons in an internal struggle against terrorism is legitimate.

We have stated repeatedly -- both publicly and in our dialogue with the Turkish government -- that the conflict in Turkey's southeast cannot be solved solely through military means.

Enhancement of democracy for all Turkey's citizens will significantly improve the human rights situation in Turkey, notably in the southeast. The Turkish government and Parliament have taken important steps in this direction, which should continue.

[IF ASKED ONLY]

Q: Doesn't the report, in citing conversations with USG officials, prove that the U.S. has helped the Turkish security forces to violate human rights in the Southeast -- indeed, U.S.-supplied arms were used to violate the human rights of civilians -- while actually withholding important information on the severity of Turkey's human rights problem?

A: As I have stated, we cannot comment in detail about a report we have not yet seen

Nevertheless, the State Department reports annually and publicly on human rights concerns on all countries worldwide, including Turkey. The Turkey Human Rights Report makes very clear our deep concern about human rights violations there.

I also refer you to the State Department's special Report to Congress of June 1 of this year entitled "Report on Allegations of Human Rights Abuses by the Turkish Military and on the Situation in Cyprus."

Q: Do you agree with the report's recommendation that these abuses should lead to a cut-off of military assistance to Turkey?

A. We disagree emphatically.

Turkey is a long-standing NATO ally whose support is needed to resolve problems in Bosnia and Cyprus, contain Iran, maintain Operation Provide Comfort and the sanctions regime against Iraq, and to monitor the situation in the Caucasus and CFE flank issues with Russia, among others.

Continued American support for Turkey's security, both external and internal, therefore, helps to protect the United States and serves major U.S. interests.

Turkey also faces a major threat to its security from the PKK, whose avowed goal is the creation of a Kurdish state out of southeastern Turkey and portions of neighboring countries with Kurdish populations.

Q: What is your response to the report's charge that U.S. officials downplay human rights

ights

violations which occurred over the past year, as well as those violations committed by the Turkish Army and Air Force, in order to protect their relationship with -- and arms sales to -- those entities?

A: I refer you to the annual human rights report and the special report of last June on Turkey. They provide a wealth of detail -- hardly a "down play" or "cover up."

[If pressed on views attributed to individual officers:]

As I have said, we have not seen the report, and I will not discuss what Human Rights Watch claims are the views of individual U.S. officers.

Q: What is your view of the 29 case studies, particularly the case in which suspected PKK guerrillas were pushed out of a helicopter to their death?

A: Again, we have not seen the report. For information on the specific case studies and the methodology that Human Rights Watch used, we refer you to Human Rights Watch.

That said, our June Report to Congress contained interviews with displaced villagers who recounted similar stories. Residents of southeastern Turkey have experienced, and continue to undergo, hardship and suffering.

We believe that the Turkish government has an obligation to assist displaced persons whose villages have been evacuated and burned, regardless of whether they were obliged to leave their homes by the PKK or government security forces. We understand that, in recent months, some villagers have returned to their villages. This is positive, but is barely a first step to assist the displaced.

FOR THE BRIEFERS INFORMATION ONLY:

The report claims to document some 29 incidents in which U.S.-supplied or co-produced weapons were involved in violations of human rights or of the laws of war during the period 1992-1995. It is based on interviews with eyewitnesses by Joost Hilterman, a HRW staffer. He has advised that he could not gain access to southeastern Turkey, but was able to find eyewitnesses in western Turkey upon which to base the report.

As described, much of the material underscores and adds more detail to what was in our June report. The incidents reportedly document Turkish use of the full range of U.S. hardware: F-16's, attack and transport helicopters, tanks and APCs. It documents the presence of Turkish military with U.S.-supplied small arms, during village evacuations, beatings and torture.

Recommendations from the report include an end to military assistance due to a persistent pattern of human rights abuses (a recommendation HRW has made before), a hold on high profile arms transfers not specifically linked to the southeast [read ATACMs], end-use monitoring of how Turkey employs U.S. weapons, and formation within the Turkish military of an office with authority to investigate and punish abuses.

JAPAN

Rescheduling Visit

Background: We will not get a response from the Japanese Government to our proposal until Friday. In the

meantime, they've asked us to keep the story "as quiet as possible," despite the dis
closure in the Washington Post
style section and the LA Times. That suggests to me we should handle this on an
if-
asked basis only, and
coordinate with State to make sure they do the same:

Points (If asked only)

-- When the budget crisis forced the President to postpone his state visit to Japan,
President
Clinton called Prime Minister Murayama and told him that he'd reschedule the
visit a
s soon as possible
once the crisis was over.

-- Consistent with that commitment, and in recognition of the exceptional
importance
of our
bilateral relationship with Japan, a proposal for an early rescheduling of the trip
has been put forward
to Japan for consideration.

-- We await the Japanese response.

U.S.-Japan Relations

-- 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-rel
ated
problems and resolve them as quickly as possible. Joint Commission began work
Monda
y. 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 c
rucial
relationship and a very successful one. We will work hard to ensure that it is rest
ored to full
vitality.

CHINA

Formal Arrest of Wei Jingsheng

Q: Any additional reaction to reports of the formal arrest of Wei Jingsheng Monday in Beijing?

A: We are deeply concerned with the Chinese government's decision to formally charge Chinese democracy activist Wei Jingsheng after holding him incommunicado for the past 20 months.

President Clinton and other senior U.S. officials have repeatedly raised Wei's case with senior Chinese officials during bilateral talks, calling for Wei's immediate release.

Assistant Secretary of State Winston Lord raised our concerns on November 21 with Chinese Ambassador Li Daoyu. Our Embassy also delivered the same message to the Chinese Foreign Ministry on November 22 in Beijing.

We have maintained consistently that Mr. Wei should not be subject to prosecution for the peaceful expression of his political ideas. We are not aware that Mr. Wei has ever advocated violence.

Freedom of expression is among the rights recognized by such covenants as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Wei Jingsheng is entitled to exercise this internationally-recognized right.

We continue to be concerned about Mr. Wei's condition, since neither his family nor friends have seen him in over a year and a half.

We will continue to monitor Wei Jingsheng's case.

U.S.-China Relations

-- Many challenges remain in our bilateral relationship with China, but we have a

sh
ared
recognition that improving relations is in the overall strategic interest of both sides.

-- 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.

ISRAEL: JONATHAN POLLARD

Background: The Israeli government has now granted Israeli citizenship to Jonathan Pollard. The Israeli press is quoting Prime Minister Peres as stating that he will ask the President to act on the Pollard case when he meets with him December 11.

(If raised)

-- The President has stated previously that he will consider requests for clemency in the case of Jonathan Pollard as they are presented to him.

-- I have no further comment on this issue.

(If legal issues involving Pollard's parole status, etc. are raised)

-- I would refer you to the Department of Justice on such matters.

PANAMA

Exploratory Talks on Bases Postponed

Background: Panama today (Wednesday) requested postponement of the exploratory talks on post-1999 U.S. military presence scheduled for next Thursday and Friday in Panama City. Panamanian officials told Ambassador Hughes that President Perez Balladares needed more time to build a domestic consensus on the issue. The Panamanian Foreign Ministry was scheduled to announce its decision late this (Wednesday) afternoon.]

Points

-- At Panama's request, we have agreed to postpone our informal, exploratory talks on determining the interest in and benefits from a reduced U.S. military presence in Panama after implementation of the Canal Treaties in 1999.

-- The talks were scheduled to be held in Panama City on November 30 and December 1. No new date has yet been chosen, but we expect to settle on one shortly.

-- The talks are intended to give both countries an opportunity to discuss our mutual interests in a continued presence. They are not formal negotiations but informal, exploratory consultations.

-- Our relationship with Panama is the strongest ever. Both countries are committed to approaching the post-1999 basing issue with full respect, freedom from all pressures, and recognition that it must be in both countries' interest.

(If asked why the Panamanians have postponed)

-- I would refer you to the Panamanian government for that.

HONDURAS

Background: In July ten Honduran military officials were accused by judicial author ities of involvement in the 1982 abduction of several students; three were summoned to testify before the court but to date have failed to appear. On November 6 another five military officers (plus a sixth previously accus ed) were charged with committing human rights violations in a separate case. In a separate effort Human R ights Ombudsman Leo Valladares continues to investigate disappearances which took place in the 1980s; St ate Department is reviewing documents for release to Valladares and working with other agencies. On N ovember 20 Honduran government and human rights groups assisted by U.S. experts began efforts to exhume eight bodies which may be the remains of leftists who disappeared.

Points

-- We support the Honduran Government's efforts to investigate past cases of human r ights abuses and believe this process is a necessary step towards national reconciliation, the promotion of human rights and the strengthening of the democratic system in Honduras.

-- We are providing appropriate information requested by Honduran authorities as qui ckly as possible; some documents have already been provided.

HAITI

-- We have deplored the recent outbursts of violence in Haiti that followed the murder 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.

DOD EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

Minority Promotions In Military

Background: A recent GAO report concluded that black service-members were statistically less likely to be promoted than their white peers, and women were more likely to gain promotion. The report reached no conclusions but recommended that DoD improve how it monitors promotions

amongst different minority groups. DoD says it is already attempting to implement the GAO-recommended improvements.

Points

-- Support equal opportunity for all; refer to DoD for more specifics on the report.

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 funding 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

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

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

-- 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.

-- 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 to 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.

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 28 November 95 20:19

FROM Wozniak, Natalie S.

CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED

SUBJECT November 28 McCurry Press Briefing [UNCLASSIFIED]

TO

Albers, Paul J.
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.
Darnes, Victoria J.
Davis, William K.
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.
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.
Munson, Robert 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.
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Showalter, Victoria A.
Sigler, Ralph
Simon, Steven N.
Simons, James R.
Stauffer, Helen L.
Suettinger, Robert L.
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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.
Wiley, Mary C.
Wilhelm, Richard J.
Willis, Robin M.
Wilson, Marilyn E.
Wise, William M.
Witkowsky, Anne A.
Woolston, Ann E.
Wooton, Kevin B.
Wozniak, Natalie S.
Wright, Allison M.
Yorkdale, Glenn H.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

Immediate Release November 28, 1995

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PRESS BRIEFING
BY MIKE MCCURRY

The Briefing Room

12:10 P.M. EST

MR. MCCURRY: Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen. First, the President and some of his meetings this morning on the subject of Bosnia -- he has just concluded a 45-minute briefing with General Shalikashvili on the NATO operational plan, which is now coming together in Brussels. I think, as you know, General Shalikashvili, as our Chiefs of Defense staff person, participated in meetings yesterday in Brussels in which NATO military commanders finalized the plan that will now be presented to the North Atlantic Council in the next several days.

The President was gratified for the briefing, obviously, and impressed by the considerable detail with which NATO military commanders have addressed the issues surrounding the deployment of the implementation force, which will now help keep the peace in Bosnia.

Based on the briefing the President has received today, he will be able to instruct Ambassador Robert Hunter, who will represent the United States at the meetings of the North Atlantic Council we believe Thursday and possibly Friday as to the U.S. position on the integrated NATO operational plan. And I think, as you know, that plan is likely to be adopted sometime by the end of the week.

In addition, the President has been on the telephone in the hour since his radio -- or television address last night; has had contact with various members of Congress, including the leadership; also talked to former President Bush and former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs Colin Powell, among others. And he will depart shortly for Capitol Hill where he will address the Senate Democratic Caucus on the subject of Bosnia, although he will likely also have some conversations related to the budget and the coming budget discussions.

The President will participate in meetings with the congressional leadership this afternoon, and then a larger group of

members of committees that have jurisdiction for armed services issues and national security issues. And the subject there, of

course, will be Bosnia. You will have an opportunity to hear from him at the beginning of that meeting.

And sometime either just prior to those meetings this afternoon, or just after, he is expected to take action on both the Alaska bill and the highway bill. And I think you all got the general drift that he is likely to indicate his approval of both.

That is sort of an update of the President's schedule. He departs this evening for a trip to the United Kingdom, Northern Ireland, a visit with our troops in Germany, and then the US-EU Summit in Madrid, a trip that will be very important both in framing a larger international discussion of the issue of Bosnia. There has been very gratifying response to the President's remarks in European capitals.

In one way or another throughout Europe, European leaders are making it clear that the U.S. participation in this NATO force to implement the peace is an indispensable element of the plans to keep the peace in Bosnia. And literally, as one defense minister said, it would not happen if the United States were not to participate -- a point that the President, of course, made to the nation in his address last night.

So his work on the subject of Bosnia will continue. In the coming days, we'll also be monitoring closely the discussions between the Republic of Ireland and the United Kingdom on the Northern Ireland peace process --

Q Where is that going? Is there any break in that at all, or is it a stalemate?

MR. MCCURRY: That would be up to the parties to report. We have monitored those discussions and attempted to facilitate their direct dialogue, when that was the appropriate role to play -- that it would be up to the parties themselves to indicate the status.

Q You mean, you' going in there, you don't know what the situation is?

MR. MCCURRY: I think we have a very good idea of what the situation is, but as I indicated, it's up to the parties to report publicly how they're making in their -- what kind of progress they're making in their dialogue.

Q Mike, is there any presidential action likely today on the defense appropriations bill?

MR. MCCURRY: There is no action anticipated by the President on that subject. The Chief of Staff is meeting with the

Chair of the Senate Appropriations Committee and the House Appropriations Committee at this hour. And we'll have to -- based

on that conversation, there will then be subsequent conversations here. And I can't predict that the President will take any final action on the DOD appropriations bill today.

Q What was Bush's reaction, Powell's reaction?

MR. MCCURRY: I don't think it would be appropriate for me to characterize their responses --

Q Well, he was soliciting their support. Did he get their support?

MR. MCCURRY: They are public figures and entitled to make their own public statements on this subject.

Q When were they called? Were they last night, today? Which --

MR. MCCURRY: My understanding is that they were during the course of the evening last night.

Q Why did he call them? Was he looking for their support, or did he just want to explain what he was doing?

MR. MCCURRY: I think he felt it important to reach out to those who played important leadership roles in the most recent administration and to leaders on the Hill to both summarize his address, to stress its importance, and in some cases to thank those who had already commented publicly that they would keep an open mind and continue to hear the President as he makes his case to the nation.

Q Who else did he call besides Powell and Bush?

MR. MCCURRY: He called, among others, and this may not be an inclusive list, but I think it is -- represents most of the calls he made last night: Senators Nunn, Robb, Dole, Speaker Gingrich, Senator Daschle and Congressman Gephardt, as well as General Powell and President Bush. He also touched base --

Q What did he say -- how am I doing? They heard the speech. He didn't have to explain the speech to him.

MR. MCCURRY: Helen, as I already indicated, I think it would be appropriate for them, if they wish to comment publicly for them to comment --

Q -- the story a little to get it off the --

Q How long did he talk to Bush, and did they talk about anything else?

MR. MCCURRY: I didn't -- don't have a detailed readout on the call. I know that the subject was principally Bosnia, but I don't know whether they touched on other subjects.

Q Has he called Bush before?

MR. MCCURRY: He's had several conversations from time to time with former President Bush. They most recently reviewed U.S.-China relations and Bosnia when they met in the Oval Office after the unveiling of President Bush's portrait in the Residence.

Q What's the White House assessment now for where things stand with Congress on Bosnia?

MR. MCCURRY: I'm sorry --

Q What's your assessment of where things stand with Congress now on Bosnia --

MR. MCCURRY: Well, the President and the White House are gratified that many members of Congress last night said what we believe to be the general public reaction -- that there is support for the President as the wrestles with a difficult decision that he had to make, while at the same time there is skepticism about the deployment of U.S. troops in connection with this effort to keep the peace. That's understandable in the President's view. We believe we will have to continue to explain to the American people the nature of this conflict, the precise details of the settlement, which has now brought that conflict, we hope, to an end, and the requirements of U.S. leadership as we work with the parties to implement that peace. Not one speech will convince a skeptical Congress or a skeptical nation that this is the right course. But the President believes in time the argument that he advanced considerably with a very good speech last night will prevail, because he believes the merits of the case he presented last night are so very strong.

Q There seems to be some sentiment in the House not to bring the nonbinding resolution to a vote. Do you have any assurance from Speaker Gingrich that the House will vote on this?

MR. MCCURRY: I believe it would be more proper for the Speaker to talk about congressional consideration of any expression of support they wish to offer to the President. We will certainly

have further conversations, indeed, most likely this afternoon, with the leadership about the timetable for congressional consideration, but in our view that consideration and that expression of support are very important as we look to the eventual deployment of troops to Bosnia by mid-December.

Q What is the likelihood that the President, at some point, would consider concessions on the budget in order to win support for the Bosnia plan?

MR. MCCURRY: The President does not see those as being directly related propositions. There is a funding issue associated

with the deployment of U.S. troops. That is, indeed, one aspect of the conversation that Chief of Staff Panetta is not having on the Hill. We've got a \$260 billion-plus appropriations bill for defense that does not specifically account for the deployment that is now necessary, related to Bosnia. And how that funding is handled in the context of the overall appropriations bill is something the Chief of Staff certainly wanted to address. But the larger budget issues need to be addressed along the lines of the principles the President has articulated. And certainly the timetable that the Congress has made clear through its leadership, is the priority of Congress. And that's the process that will begin, we hope, with good-faith discussions tonight.

The only thing the President hopes in connection with budget discussions is that we at least agree between the Executive Branch and the Legislative Branch, early and quickly, as the highest priority, that we avert another government shutdown on December 16th.

The President believes there is no reason for the U.S. taxpayers to foot another gigantic bill for the cost of a shutdown, nor should anyone have to negotiate these very difficult, contentious budget issues in an atmosphere of crisis.

Q Do you share the views of a lot of aides here at the White House who think it's unlikely that any sort of agreement will be reached by the 15th?

MR. MCCURRY: There is no way of telling at this point. And the people who are serious about the budget discussions coming forward I don't believe are predicting either a quick resolution or a quick failure. They believe they will be very difficult, tough negotiations, most likely going right up to mid-December. But there's a hope by the President we will avert any crisis atmosphere, and certainly a hope that they can resolve these issues amicably and get on with the nation's business.

Q Mike, in light of the Speaker's complaints about the

flight to Rabin's funeral, would you expect any discussion of the budget at today's talks? (Laughter.)

MR. MCCURRY: I don't know that I see the direct connection there. It must be alluding me today. But I don't --

Q -- the President didn't take the opportunity aboard Air Force One to discuss the budget. He has another opportunity today.

MR. MCCURRY: Oh, well, they will be in the room together, and I think the President will be perfectly willing to discuss the budget if there's a desire to discuss the budget. I don't think he would be surprised if there is some discussion of the budget.

Q Mike, would you discuss some of the rationalization for the President's decision to go ahead and sign the highway bill?

MR. MCCURRY: I would prefer that you see the full statement

that will explicate the President's reasoning. But it is essentially this -- there are gaps in the interstate highway system, which is really one of the testaments to America's ability to pull together as a community and complete massive and important public works projects. There's a gap, I think, of just over \$5 billion of funding necessary to complete critical segments of that interstate highway system. And without the designation that is contained in this bill, many states would therefore not receive the federal funding they need to complete that necessary work to complete the system.

Now, the President's chief concern all along, and the transportation department's chief concern, has been highway fatalities. And we know that there is a direct correlation between speeds on interstate highways and highway fatalities. Now, the transportation department has been doing some very sophisticated work about how highways of the future can minimize the risk of highway fatalities, including high-speed crashes that result in fatalities. And that work will continue. It's important. It's important R&D work that, frankly, we hope won't be threatened by further budget cuts. And that will be a way in which we address highway safety issues in an environment in which states do have options to raise speed limits on those federal highways and, indeed, their own state highways.

Q So he's going to swallow his concerns about the fatalities on -- in this country that have diminished under these --

MR. MCCURRY: I don't know that I'd say swallow it. He's going to recognize that there's overwhelming support in Congress as

it passed this bill. There's not a certainty that any veto that he would exercise would be sustained by the Congress. And in any event, his concern about the funding and the completion of the highway system remains.

Q What is his view just on this one specific issue, the speed limit? Would he veto it if it was stand-alone piece of legislation?

MR. MCCURRY: Well, the President has said and the transportation department has said that if that were a stand-alone issue, which it is not, we don't think there is a persuasive case for raising the current maximum federal speed limit, based on the public safety-public health issues that arise. But it is not presented to the President in that fashion, and as everyone in this room knows, he unfortunately does not have the line-item veto.

Q A lot of the questions on Bosnia on the Hill concern exit strategy. Can you put the year in context? Is that an estimate of how long it takes or is that a deadline, a rough deadline, that we'll leave once that time is up?

MR. MCCURRY: Well, I'd prefer to leave that discussion to after the formal adoption of the plan by the President -- first by

the North Atlantic Council, then final approval by the President. The President will have an opportunity to review that in further detail when he meets with some of our senior military leaders on Saturday. But in a broad sense, the military mission as it has been very precisely defined by NATO, and the mission plan that has now been developed in Brussels by NATO estimates that in the period of one year, approximately year, you could accomplish the mission objectives. The mission objectives are to help the parties withdraw to the places that they have committed to withdraw to as a result of the agreement in Dayton and then to police in a sense the requirements to allow freedom of movement, freedom of access that are contained in the very detailed annexes that are part of the Dayton agreement. The President believes and the senior military leaders of the United States believes, and NATO military commanders believe, that that mission can be accomplished in approximately one year.

Q Is Panetta's meetings with the appropriations chairmen focused on the defense appropriations bill --

MR. MCCURRY: Yes, the meeting he is having today at noon is solely on that issue. As you, I think most of you know, that sometime this evening, I think after 6:00 p.m., there will be further discussions as they begin to talk about the budget talks. They're talking about talking beginning this evening.

Q Out of that budget meeting, do you there will become an agreement on how to proceed with budget negotiations? Is that what is expected?

MR. MCCURRY: Can I use a State Department word? They'll discuss the modalities this evening. But I don't know that they will necessarily resolve it. The President believes it's important to get on to the substance of the discussions, and we hope there will be a minimum amount of dispute over the nature of the talks or the process. But its clear that the White House has important, strong views; the congressional Republican leadership has strong views; and congressional Democrats have strong views. And all of those views need to be accommodated in reaching an agreement that will have, broad, bipartisan support. That's what we're going to need if we're going to achieve the objectives of a balanced budget in a time certain, reflecting the principles the President has put forward to the Congress, as the President and Congress have now agreed to in the recent continuing resolution.

Q Mike, what's the reaction to Republican efforts to even dictate who's in the room, the Democratic makeup, that Laura Tyson has never wanted a balanced budget, so she's out -- that kind of stuff?

MR. MCCURRY: They are the kinds of issues in an environment in which we are dealing literally with life and death issues that don't seem to be so significant that they are irreconcilable.

Q And do you know who's going to go tonight?

MR. MCCURRY: I'm not going to predict. I know Mr. Panetta will go, and we'll see where we go from there.

Q Do you have any reading of your White House comment line since the Oval address --

MR. MCCURRY: Yes, we do. I got a brief rundown on it. There were several thousand calls in the period, I guess, through last evening and probably into this morning as well. And I describe the results as not counter-intuitive, to use a word the pollsters sometimes use, because it reflects some of the news organizations that have polled.

I'd say of the several thousand calls, they were pretty well evenly split on the subject of President's speech -- some Americans liking it, other Americans not liking it. On the subject of deployment of U.S. troops to Bosnia, there was a great deal of

skepticism. And the American people clearly want to know more; they clearly are asking questions like why do we have to carry this burden; why aren't the Europeans doing more; what is this conflict about to begin with?

Obviously, I'm editing out -- the President got a lot of very complimentary comments from the American people, too, but people are skeptical about the need for U.S. troops. And that's -- the President began to make that case that night, and I think he will continue to make that case, and so will administration officials on the Hill. And we are fairly confident in time, particularly as Americans understand more about the role the Europeans have played in protecting the warring parties during the years of the UNPROFOR deployment, the commitment that they've made over time, and the requirement now that the United States participate as a matter of the ability of NATO to address a conflict of this nature. As they see that argument unfold, as they learn more about it -- and clearly they're anxious to learn more -- they will be supportive in time.

Q How many thousands -- how many calls were there, more narrowly -- 5,000, 7,000?

MR. MCCURRY: It looks to me there were probably in the neighborhood of between 2,500 and 3,000 calls, just on the information I have, and that's a rolling figure, as more people call into the line. But the President appreciates, you know, the response of the American people.

Q That's last night?

MR. MCCURRY: Last night through early this morning.

Q Is the President at least willing to consider the possibility that no matter how many speeches he gives and how many talks -- how many arms he tries to twist, that the American public just is not going to accept this; they have a gut feeling that this is not the right thing to do?

MR. MCCURRY: No, the President is not willing to accept

that. And I think he feels the merits of this case, as they are understood in time by the American people, are strong. And that Americans rise to a challenge like this, even when they are initially skeptical about the need for such a deployment. They feel, and they know, that in this world that we live in now, we have some unique responsibilities. And we have those unique responsibilities because we've been fairly well blessed in this world. And there are times when our leadership role and the role that most Americans expect the United States to play in this world

require stepping up to a challenge like the one we will face in Bosnia. The President is confident the American people, as they think through the issues here, will come to see that. And he hopes that the Congress will reflect that view in time.

Q It's interesting, because the President did accept public opposition to the deployment in Haiti and felt that it was something we needed to do despite the public opposition. You feel the situations are different enough that the President feels the argument will be made for Bosnia and would not go against public opposition?

MR. MCCURRY: I think the cases are different because the nature of the deployment is different. Our troops, as they went into Haiti, were facing a prospect of armed resistance. We believe the commitments of the parties in Bosnia lessen the likelihood of that, and every effort has now been made to minimize the risk.

And I think the bottom line is, that Americans as they come to understand we're not going to war but we're going for peace will appreciate that the United States has got a role that we must play of necessity because of the leadership role we play in the most important and endurable military alliance in world history; and also because of the moral commitment we have to both the security and stability of Europe and the need to end the type of atrocity we have seen in Bosnia over the last three and a half years.

Q Did the President call President Bush and Colin Powell because they had the experience of trying to build congressional and public support before the Persian Gulf War?

MR. MCCURRY: He felt it was just a good idea to touch base with them, two people who were instrumental in winning the Persian Gulf War; touch base with them and to advise them of the decisions that he had reached as Commander in Chief and make sure that they had an opportunity, personally, to ask any questions they might have of him as they, themselves learn more about the nature of our commitment to the peace process.

Q He wasn't seeking the benefit of their experience in -- before the Persian Gulf --

MR. MCCURRY: I wouldn't suggest that, but I'm sure -- without getting into the substance of the calls, which I don't think it would be proper to brief on, I think the President

appreciated any insights that they may have had.

Q Let me make sure I understood this recent exchange. My understanding of the administration's position is that it would

be vastly preferable to have an expression of support from Congress, but not essential. Is that still the case?

MR. MCCURRY: It's our view that we will seek an expression of support, and the President has some confidence he will get that expression of support.

Q Two -- you might have answered the first one -- is there a date yet for Paris?

MR. MCCURRY: There is not. We are still in consultations, and we still are aiming in the neighborhood of mid-December.

Q And the second, Mike -- Claire had asked earlier about the prospect of no deal. And if the President is so sure about -- or hopeful that not only there can be a deal on the budget, but that there can be one without another shutdown, why is there so much currency in discussion the prospect of a no-deal, including among the President's advisors, and often in public?

MR. MCCURRY: Well, because I think that most of -- they have to be realistic about what the prospects are. And there are deep differences in philosophy between the approach of the Republican congressional majority and the President on these issues.

And it's not clear at this point how those differences are going to be bridged. But the President also believes that Congress will most likely not want to endure the same type of crisis atmosphere we had most recently when the federal government had to shut down. And he is going to suggest they make a commitment not to go -- put the country through that type of situation again, as we attempt to resolve the issues.

Q Is a no-deal deal a politically palatable outcome for the White House and the President?

MR. MCCURRY: Well, a no-deal deal, quote, unquote, is impossible in a sense, because the federal government must function and it can't function without budget authority all the way through November of 1996. Now, it's a separate question to ask: Are the fundamental questions about priorities, of what commitments we expect of our federal government, of what we the people want from our federal government and how much we're willing to pay for it. Those fundamental principles are not going to be reconciled fully, in the President's view, in the coming budget discussions. And they will most likely form a part of the political discussion that this nation will have together as we approach November of 1996. And the President believes that's proper and very appropriate. And frankly, he relishes the notion that we'll have a presidential

election in 1996 that's about something important, rather than something insignificant. We've had too many elections that have dwelt on the insignificant.

Q Are you saying you think Republicans have more riding on the deal, a reconciliation deal, a seven-year balanced budget?

MR. MCCURRY: No. I'm not saying that.

Q Are you saying, then, that come December 15th, if no agreement is reached then the President wants a commitment from them to have some sort of either long-term continuing resolution in effect, or stop-gap measure so that talks aren't sidetracked?

MR. MCCURRY: Yes. Something to make sure that we have the orderly functioning of the federal government, absent a resolution of the larger issues, so that we don't go through the same type of shutdown scenario that we had to go through this month.

Q Do you have any briefing schedule in Europe? And also, when they say "press statements" what does that mean -- at Downing Street and --

MR. MCCURRY: Typically, I think in -- at 10 Downing we're doing a front door, as its called, which is a familiar press availability, as you know it here, when there is an important bilateral meeting here. And there will be other press availabilities the President will engage on during the balance of his schedule.

And we will brief regularly as necessary back here because the focus is going to be on budget discussions. I've encouraged the Chief of Staff to speak with reporters up on Capitol Hill when he is concluding meetings up there that will be of substantial interest to news organizations, because that's probably the best place for us to provide our thoughts on any deliberations that are occurring up there.

Q Is the President going to meet with the NATO commander when he's --

MR. MCCURRY: He will see General Joulwan on Saturday in Germany, yes. And I believe -- I strongly suspect that he'll see some other NATO commanders and also U.S. commanders who are dual-hatted.

Q Japanese news reports are saying the President will reschedule his trip to Japan in April. Does it look like the trip will be later rather than sooner?

MR. MCCURRY: We've had discussions with the government of Japan about dates for a possible trip. To my knowledge, there have been no formal resolution of those discussions. There are dates that are being discussed in April.

Q Signing the Alaska bill today -- is the Tongass

National Forest issue bill, or what are the big questions in this --

MR. MCCURRY: I had something on that earlier that described -- oh, I lost it. We'll look for it. It's got a variety of forest protection measures, I think, in it. Let me get a --

Q This is not --

MR. MCCURRY: No, this is not -- it does not relate to the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge.

Q Today's Bosnia meetings -- does the President expect to get into nuts and bolts discussion of funding, or does that come further down the road once the broader questions about what the force role is?

MR. MCCURRY: I think he fully -- is fully prepared to answer the question, how much do we estimate that this will cost if the deployment is along the lines that has been suggested in some of the initial work on the NATO operational plan. The mechanism for funding, whether it should be a supplemental or how it would be funded, I think, is going to have to develop after we consult further following Mr. Panetta's --

Q -- total pricetag on military and the nonmilitary aspects of --

MR. MCCURRY: I cannot. I know Secretary Perry has indicated the deployment of that component of the overall NATO force for the period that we've talked about is in the neighborhood of \$1.5 billion.

Q But that doesn't include any of the subsequents --the development work that's --

MR. MCCURRY: The type of financial assistance that is being discussed, and that I think will be a major focus of the London conference early next month, which it runs in the billions of dollars when you look at the total need to reconstruct Bosnia, which will be borne principally by the Europeans and by other nations. But our commitment that we have publicly discussed in the

coming years for that reconstruction effort is in the neighborhood of \$500 to \$600 million, "m" as in million dollars.

Q Mike, when is the President going to announce his candidacy for reelection?

MR. MCCURRY: I don't know. Next year sometime. He's been very preoccupied with other matters, and he hasn't been thinking about that very much.

Q Is he running? (Laughter.)

MR. MCCURRY: Let me go through just on the -- this is a ban

on oil exports from the Alaska North Slope. It does not affect new exploration or drilling in ANWR, to my knowledge. It's an administration-backed measure that provides incentives that will stimulate oil and gas production in the U.S. and allows -- also allows sale -- there's been discussion of privatization of the Alaska Power Administration. It would allow the sale of the Alaska Power Administration -- other provisions in there.

Q It repeals the ban on exporting North Slope --

MR. MCCURRY: Yes, it repeals a 22-year-old ban on exporting crude from the North Slope.

Did you have another one? You didn't get any luck on that one. Let's try something else. Anyone else?

Q -- benefit our trade deficit, presumably, with Japan, if we can sell oil from the North Slope?

MR. MCCURRY: It would have positive impacts on our trade situation, but more importantly it also reflects a more comprehensive approach to our national energy strategy, as well.

Q So what did Bush and Powell say?

MR. MCCURRY: What did they say?

Q -- when they opposed going into Bosnia in the first place?

MR. MCCURRY: Well, you know, they -- I can't honestly say I've seen anything reported on President Bush's view, but I have seen some things reported on General Powell's view. And I think it just is more appropriate for them to speak for themselves. They certainly are very capable of doing so.

Thank you.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END 12:42

P.M. EST

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