

Case Number: 2015-0183-S

MR MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Original OA/ID Number: 2314				
Document ID: 9505159				
Row: 46	Section: 2	Shelf: 7	Position: 1	Stack: V

UNCLASSIFIED
NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9505159
RECEIVED: 06 JUL 95 12

TO: PRESIDENT

CHRON FILE

FROM: LAKE
GRIFFIN, P

DOC DATE: 08 JUL 95
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: CONGRESSIONAL
UN
NATO

CHINA P R
MEXICO
HAITI

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: CONGRESSINAL DINNER MTG W/ MBRS OF CONGRESS 10 JUL

ACTION: NOTED BY PRESIDENT

DUE DATE: 10 JUL 95 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: DANVERS

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

BELL
BLACKER
CLARKE
DANVERS
FRIED
HALPERIN
NSC CHRON
PONEMAN
VERSHBOW

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSJDA

CLOSED BY: NSMEC

DOC 2 OF 2

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED
ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

RECORD ID: 9505159

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 LAKE
002 PRESIDENT
002

Z 95070719 FWD TO PRESIDENT FOR INFORMATION
Z 95070817 FOR INFORMATION
X 95071111 NOTED BY PRESIDENT

DISPATCH DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC DATE DISPATCH FOR ACTION

DISPATCH FOR INFO

002 950708
002 950708
002 950708

VICE PRESIDENT
WH CHIEF OF STAFF
STEPHANOPOULOS, G

UNCLASSIFIED

National Security Council
The White House

Rec'd 7/8
9am

PROOFED BY: _____

LOG # 5159

URGENT NOT PROOFED: _____

SYSTEM (PRS) NSC INT

BYPASSED WW DESK: _____

DOCLOG AB A/O _____

AB

	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL/DATE	DISPOSITION
Harmon	_____	_____	_____
Dohse	_____	_____	_____
Sens	<u>1</u>	<u>ADS</u>	_____
Soderberg	_____	_____	_____
Berger	<u>2</u>	<u>ADS</u>	_____
Lake	<u>3</u>	<u>ADS</u>	_____
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____
West Wing Desk	<u>4</u>	<u>AB 7/8</u>	<u>To Desk</u> <u>D</u>
Records Mgt.	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

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

cc:

COMMENTS:

Exec Sec Office has diskette

yes

7-11-95

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 8, 1995

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE ✓
PATRICK GRIFFIN PG

SUBJECT: Congressional Dinner with Members of Congress

You are scheduled to have dinner with Speaker Gingrich, Senator Daschle and Representative Gephardt on Monday evening, July 10. Senator Dole was invited but is unable to attend.

The purpose of the meeting is to discuss foreign policy issues. You will, therefore, be accompanied by the Vice President, Secretary Christopher, Secretary Perry, General Shalikashvili, Ambassador Albright, CIA Director Deutch, Leon Panetta, Tony Lake and Pat Griffin. Speaker Gingrich specifically requested that your foreign policy team be present at the dinner and that the dinner be kept small.

Opening remarks for the dinner have been prepared (Tab A). The general themes for the remarks are resources and the need for America to remain engaged in the world; our policy toward Russia; and Bosnia.

Dole's absence presents an opportunity on Bosnia to pull Gingrich away from unilateral lift and refusal to support UNPROFOR/RRF. The most important outcome of the dinner could be to convince Gingrich that UNPROFOR's remaining, and support for the RRF, is our best alternative. Accordingly, it is important that you take the initiative to make this case with Gingrich (see talking points on Bosnia) rather than let him convert the discussion into his own tour d'horizon of the world.

In addition to these themes you may want to raise briefly:

- China MFN: whether the House will take up a second resolution other than the resolution of disapproval and what such a resolution might contain (Tab B);
- North Korea: the need for Congressional support for the agreed framework at this crucial juncture;
- The U.N. and peacekeeping: the need to establish a Congressional-Executive dialogue on support for the U.N. and

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

■ VW-3 amiss for
criticizing gov't →

- Must go in w/ freedom on our lips → men who fight for freedom
- US must understand wider
its clear not freedom
fight for freedom
cost -
- fight war in for freedom

peacekeeping activities. Representative Hamilton and Senator Kassebaum have already initiated bipartisan discussions on U.N. reform and the need for increased public and political support for the U.N. (Tab C); and,

- Mexico documents: you may want to discuss with the Speaker the impasse that seems to have arisen over the Congressional request for documents pertaining to the Mexican economic crisis (Tab D).

We have also prepared additional updated points on NATO expansion (Tab E), Haiti (Tab F) and Defense related issues (Tab G).

Key legislative initiatives that have occurred this year in the House include:

- HR 7: passed the House earlier this year as part of the Contract with America;
- FY 96 State Department Authorization bill and Foreign Assistance Act: passed earlier this year, we lost 12 Democrats and picked up 16 Republicans on final passage, you issued a veto threat on the bill;
- FY 96 Defense Authorization bill: passed this spring and contained a number of problems; and,
- FY 96 Foreign Operations Appropriations bill: House will resume action on the bill when it goes back into session next week. While the bill cut our foreign aid request by nearly \$3 billion, it, nonetheless, enjoyed wide bipartisan support coming out of committee. Members understood that the bill was likely to be the best they were going to get for foreign assistance this year.

The Senate has yet to take action on any major foreign policy or national security bills. They could take up the FY 96 State Department Authorization bill and Foreign Assistance Act shortly after returning from recess. The Senate Armed Services Committee passed out the FY 96 Defense Authorization bill, which, like the House bill, has many problems. The bill will likely come to the floor before the August recess.

Attachments

- Tab A Opening Remarks/Bosnia
- Tab B China MFN
- Tab C U.N.
- Tab D Mexico
- Tab E NATO Expansion
- Tab F Haiti
- Tab G Defense Related Issues

Senator Kassebaum have already initiated bipartisan discussions on U.N. reform and the need for increased public and political support for the U.N. (Tab C); and,

- Mexico documents: you may want to discuss with the Speaker the impasse that seems to have arisen over the Congressional request for documents pertaining to the Mexican economic crisis (Tab D).

We have also prepared additional updated points on NATO expansion (Tab E), Haiti (Tab F) and Defense related issues (Tab G).

Key legislative initiatives that have occurred this year in the House include:

- HR 7: passed the House earlier this year as part of the Contract with America;
- FY 96 State Department Authorization bill and Foreign Assistance Act: passed earlier this year, we lost 12 Democrats and picked up 16 Republicans on final passage, you issued a veto threat on the bill;
- FY 96 Defense Authorization bill: passed this spring and contained a number of problems; and,
- FY 96 Foreign Operations Appropriations bill: House will resume action on the bill when it goes back into session next week. While the bill cut our foreign aid request by nearly \$3 billion, it, nonetheless, enjoyed wide bipartisan support coming out of committee. Members understood that the bill was likely to be the best they were going to get for foreign assistance this year.

The Senate has yet to take action on any major foreign policy or national security bills. They could take up the FY 96 State Department Authorization bill and Foreign Assistance Act shortly after returning from recess. The Senate Armed Services Committee passed out the FY 96 Defense Authorization bill, which, like the House bill, has many problems. The bill will likely come to the floor before the August recess.

Attachments

- Tab A Opening Remarks/Bosnia
- Tab B China MFN
- Tab C U.N.
- Tab D Mexico
- Tab E NATO Expansion
- Tab F Haiti
- Tab G Defense Related Issues

TALKING POINTS

- At a defining moment for America's foreign policy. Decisions we make now will chart our course into next century.
- Some people believe that with Cold War won, we can retreat from world.
- Others see in every injustice in the world a just cause for American intervention.
- Must navigate between extremes of indiscriminate intervention and irresponsible isolationism. That means not making every one of the world's problems our own. But also means recognizing that, to meet obligations and seize opportunities of our era, America must continue to lead.
- In turn, must have resources to lead, and spirit of bipartisanship for that leadership to be effective.
- Some legislation now before Congress would harm ability to continue to make American people more safe and secure. Would deny us resources we need to lead.
- Let me touch on some specific concerns: Original: Security
Who
Denies
Threat
Long
 - Proposed resource cuts are shortsighted and dangerous. We spend less of GDP on aid than any other major industrial country -- about 1 percent. It is less costly -- in terms of money spent and lives lost -- to rely on foreign aid and diplomacy now than to send in troops later.
 - Attack on President's constitutional prerogative to conduct foreign policy also unacceptable. No President -- Democrat or Republican -- could accept these restrictions because they threaten President's ability to protect and promote American interests. Proposed legislation would tell President which countries he may or may not deal with.
 - If in effect last year, would have prevented us from concluding deal with North Korea to dismantle nuclear program. * Legislation would restrict our ability to take part in and lead U.N. operations -- forcing choice in face of crisis between acting alone...or not at all.
 - Legislation would also unilaterally reorganize foreign affairs agencies by abolishing ACDA, AID and USIA. Effort to reinvent government is just as important for

foreign affairs agencies as for domestic programs.
Committed to continuing downsizing already begun
seriously and successfully at ACDA, AID, and USIA as
well as State.

- So let me be clear: Will veto authorization legislation now before Congress if it comes to my desk in current form. Ask you for bill I can sign -- a bill that maintains our resources, protects the President's authority to conduct foreign policy, and reflects bipartisan spirit.
- Also deeply concerned by efforts in Congress to undermine our aid to Russia and other NIS.
- Nothing more important to long term security of our country than successful transformation of Russia and other former Soviet republics into democracies that respect the rule of law and rights of their people.

- ① Consultation: Frenum ~~State~~
- ② Isolation: Raising the Barrier
- ③ Team from the West
- ④ Unit to design a system

④: Who's
your friend

(Firms, Sweden, Russia)
private govt.
(Ciccioli's Dept)

Vision - China > (contact as per soc)
VN

Bosnia

-- There are three fundamental points want to make to you about Bosnia.

- First, convinced that we should make every effort now to keep UNPROFOR in Bosnia and make it work better.
- Second, the Rapid Reaction Force (RRF) is essential to that effort.
- Third, we must support it, materially and financially.

-- Let me tell you why I reach those conclusions. But let me first put this in context.

-- Always believed that we have four basic -- but limited -- interests in Bosnia:

- First, to try to reduce the level of violence and human suffering.
- Second, to press for a peace agreement that upholds the integrity of Bosnia.
- Third, to prevent the war from spreading into an even wider conflict.
- Fourth, to maintain as much cohesion within NATO on Bosnia as is possible. We must keep faith with our NATO allies who have troops on the ground there.

-- Bosnia remains extremely difficult, as it was when I arrived here. But as we press for a resolution, let's not lose sight of the results that have been achieved -- in part by UNPROFOR, in part by NATO and in part with U.S. persistence.

- The war continues, but at greatly reduced levels. There were 130,000 Bosnian civilians killed in 1992; 2,500 in 1994;
- 2.8 million Bosnians depend on the UN for food and medicine. 50,000 tons of supplies have been delivered in the longest humanitarian relief effort in history;
- A three-way conflict has been transformed into a two-way conflict, with the Bosnian-Croat Federation we helped broker continuing to hold. This has great strategic significance; nearly all of central Bosnia is now at peace.

- Through the no-fly zone, we have kept the war out of the air over Bosnia and with our deployments in Macedonia and other warnings, we've kept the war from spreading beyond Bosnia.
- So as bad as it is, it could be worse, and we could make it much worse if we do the wrong things.
- I see three alternative courses of action that lie before us.
- First, we could, as some have urged, commit NATO forces, with a major U.S. component, to the ground war in Bosnia and seek a resolution on the battlefield.
- Convinced that this is a prescription for disaster.
 - Do not believe that the political problems that underpin this conflict can be resolved on the battlefield nor do our military leaders see any prospect for a quick military termination of the conflict.
 - More importantly, I reject-- and vast majority of American people reject -- committing American ground forces to fight and die in a protracted ground war in Bosnia. Our interests do not warrant it. Will not cross that line.
- Second, we could lift the arms embargo unilaterally and arm the Bosnians. I know this has great appeal and if this current effort to strengthen UNPROFOR fails and they decide to leave, I will press for multilateral lift. But for the U.S. to force UNPROFOR out -- as unilateral lift inevitably would do -- would be a disaster and damaging to our national interest.
- The Europeans would leave, absolved of responsibility with their own publics by a U.S. action that endangered the lives of their soldiers.
 - Such a potentially dangerous withdrawal operation would involve a large number of U.S. forces.
 - The humanitarian situation would sharply deteriorate, with massive refugee and relief crises (120,000 potential refugees in the Eastern enclaves alone)
 - The Bosnians, at minimum, would expect us to carry out airstrikes while they arm and help them cope with the delivery of humanitarian aid. Our military leaders

believe that neither can be done effectively without some ground presence, or a prolonged period of advance training for Bosnian forces.

- The fighting most likely will escalate and spread -- possibly involving Croatia, Serbia and beyond.
 - Believe unilateral lift thus risks all our interests in Bosnia.
- The third course -- one I believe we must pursue -- is to support current effort of our allies to strengthen UNPROFOR while we persist in effort to bring parties to a negotiated agreement.
- At a moment when French, British, Dutch and now Germans are saying "we will send more troops and stiffen our capacity to defend UNPROFOR and carry out the mission more effectively", it would be profound mistake to reject that effort.
- Believe the Europeans are serious about Rapid Reaction Force.
- Chirac, Major, Dutch and Germans have said they want to add muscle to their troops on ground so that, by being better able to defend themselves, they can carry out mission more effectively.
 - British and French have told us they want maximum authority over RRF with their commanders on the ground (Janvier & Smith).
 - Have spoken with BBG. He understands that using RRF so UNPROFOR can fulfill its mandate is last real opportunity that does not depend on a long and bloody war to resolve fate of Bosnia.
- RRF must be given chance to succeed. It is sort of tool we would have preferred some time ago, and, at very least, it puts in place forces which could diminish the requirements for U.S. forces if UNPROFOR withdrawal became necessary.
- If it is to have an opportunity to succeed, the U.S. must support it -- politically and financially.
- Have agreed that increases to the size of UNPROFOR beyond the 44,870 we were committed to before RRF should not be borne through assessed contributions.

- Our Allies have agreed to a voluntary fund for costs to cover additional troops up to the new ceiling of 55,370. We will work to obtain contributions from others.
 - Our principal contribution will be provided by drawing down defense goods and services within a \$50 million ceiling. This will enable us to provide air and sea lift, close air support, intelligence and equipment without compromising readiness in any way.
- Believe these are exactly sort of circumstances that existing drawdown authorities were designed to cover. However, to insure that equipment goes to Allies we designate, and not to U.N., it is necessary to exercise 614 authority. The alternatives -- transferring sensitive U.S. military equipment to the U.N., or forcing our Allies to do without equipment that could save lives in an emergency -- are ones I know Congress would not choose to impose.
- In addition we are considering in-kind contributions of up to \$10 million in national programs for Close Air Support and intelligence.
 - We will honor our commitments to pay our share of UNPROFOR up to its previously authorized ceiling of 44,870. Those authorized by UNSCR two weeks ago raising the ceiling to over 55,000 will be covered under the voluntary mechanism.
- Fundamental issue is this: at moment that our allies are saying they are prepared to put some more backbone into UNPROFOR, do we test that proposition and see if effort works, or do we take this moment to pull rug out from under them, undertake costs and risks of an UNPROFOR withdrawal operation, and assume for ourselves responsibilities for aiding and protecting Bosnians?
- I believe we must try to make RRF work as we continue to press for a negotiated solution.

CHINA

- Don't need to tell you we're at a very difficult period in our relationship with China. Hot issues include upcoming MFN vote, Harry Wu's detention, China's continuing over-reaction to the visit by President Lee, nonproliferation issues.
- On MFN, want to emphasize my continuing belief that delinkage of MFN and human rights was correct decision last year and should not be overturned this year.
- Determined campaign we waged at the UN Human Rights Commission this year demonstrated my continuing commitment to aggressive pursuit of human rights issues, even in the face of Chinese criticism and threats.
- Interested in your assessment of the Congressional mood on the MFN issue, particularly in light of recent developments, such as the detention of Harry Wu. Are pursuing Harry Wu case vigorously.
- PRC has grossly over-reacted to President Lee's visit, both by suspending many aspects of their engagement with us, including the withdrawal of Ambassador, and by issuing threats that additional steps will follow unless we take steps to "fix the problem".
- Over long term China has as much at stake in mutually good relations as do we.
- But crucial not to undermine Chinese faith in our commitment to a one-China policy, which has been the foundation of our relationship since normalization in 1979.
- Must oppose Congressional initiatives on UN membership for Taiwan and appointment of Special Envoy for Tibet.

PEACEKEEPING AND UN REFORM

- UN can play an important role in protecting US national security interests; especially in regards to newly emerging transnational threats.
- Management of UN must also be reformed. Bureaucracy must be reduced and duplicative and wasteful efforts eliminated. Halifax Communiqué a good start - but we need specific reforms.
- { PDD-25 on Peacekeeping has been successful. We have led UN to adopt most of our approach to new peacekeeping operations.
- Still a way to go: some operations need to be reviewed for viability, UN conflict prevention and rapid response capability needs to be improved.

MEXICO

- Have made clear our willingness to ensure that Congress provided all relevant information concerning the peso bailout.
- As required by statute, we have delivered thousands of documents to Congress. Also identified small group of deliberative documents which are sensitive - offered to make these available for reading.
- Only 14 documents to which Congress should not have direct access. Four are memoranda of conversation with foreign heads of state; ten are deliberative documents with my personal annotations.
- Nothing to do with Mexican peso bailout, everything to do with mutual respect for the core prerogatives of two branches of government. Essential foreign heads of State know that their conversations with President of United States will remain confidential. Similarly, essential that President communicate with advisers in confidence.
- Willing to have Ab brief the contents of these documents in detail.
- Our certification met legal requirement. The issue was reviewed carefully by Ab Mikva and the Justice Department prior to certification. While your lawyers may disagree, suggest we put issue behind us, concentrate on making sure that Congress has information to assess bailout, consistent with Presidential prerogatives.

EUROPEAN SECURITY/NATO ENLARGEMENT

- U.S. has historic opportunity to extend EuroAtlantic democratic community.
- We seek NATO enlargement to project stability, consolidate democracy in CEE, as NATO did in Western Europe. Also, NATO enlargement can help insure against reform's failure in Russia.
 - December NAC Ministerial tasked study of enlargement's implications -- "how and why" -- as basis for discussion with interested Partners this fall.
 - Study nearing completion and outlines some of expansion's details. Among basic principles: no dilution of the Alliance, no "free rides" for new members, no second class NATO membership.
 - While NATO will and should make no formal commitments, we see no need for dramatic changes in NATO's military posture.
- Have given great deal of thought to Russia. Seek to anchor democratic Russia in new, inclusive European security system. To do so, will seek to develop formalized NATO-Russia relationship in parallel with NATO enlargement.
 - Used Moscow Summit to launch NATO-Russia track.
 - Seek to address exaggerated Russian fears but without Russian veto or wedge driving. Russians believe their vocal opposition can derail process, seek de facto veto. Should respond to this through patience, steadiness.
- No dates or short lists of candidates; premature to decide "when and who." Point is to move step by step, but consistently and transparently.

HAITI ELECTIONS

- Counting of ballots is almost completed. Despite debate among political parties, no indication of widespread fraud or systematic irregularities. Both the voting and counting have been accomplished in an environment of relative calm.
- OAS best case estimates call for reruns in approximately 11-15 out of 133 total precincts. UN estimates have run as high as 29 precincts. Both these numbers are well below the IRI estimates of over 70%.
- Real danger that political parties that did not fare well at polls will attempt to undermine democratic process. Aristide and international community remain fully engaged and are working hard to reach acceptable solution with political parties.

DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION BILL

- Appreciate prompt consideration of defense authorization proposal, but both bills raise serious constitutional, national security and budget concerns.
- Bills authorize billions more than necessary for defense, money that comes at the expense of other national priorities in foreign and domestic accounts:
 - Waste hundreds of millions on unnecessary, high-priced weapons systems, in missile defense area; House bill includes \$1.2 billion for unneeded B-2 bombers.
 - Other funding goes to unneeded and unrequested programs, including Guard and Reserve equipment and continued production of older-technology systems such as F-15, 16, and 18 fighters.
- House bill eliminates important way to directly reduce threat to America's security by setting unwarranted conditions on money requested to eliminate nuclear systems in former Soviet Union, while both bills significantly reduce Nunn-Lugar funding.
- House bill infringes on President's authority to deploy U.S. forces in support of UN peacekeeping by limiting my ability to place forces under UN command.
- House bill's restrictions on funding to commence contingency operation, and necessity to submit supplemental requests to continue an operation, are unwarranted restrictions on my authority.
- The bill's funding prohibition seeks to prevent negotiating any ABM/TBD demarcation with Russia and legislation calls into question the ABM Treaty -- raising significant international legal issues, as well as the President's constitutional authority to interpret and apply it.
 - Language of Senate bill conflicts with ABM Treaty by requiring the deployment by 2003 of national missile defense system at multiple sites.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON D C 20506

5159

July 6, 1995

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

FROM: WILLIAM C. DANVERS *WCD*

SUBJECT: President's Meeting with Members of Congress at
Congressional Dinner

The President is scheduled to meet with Members of Congress at dinner Monday, July 10. Attached at Tab I is the memo for the President, and Tabs A-H are opening remarks and proposed talking points for the President on issues that may be raised.

Copy provided to: Clarke, Fried, Vershbow, Halperin, Poneman,
Bell, Blacker

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memo at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Memo to the President
Tab A Opening Remarks
Tab B China MFN
Tab C U.N.
Tab D Mexico
Tab E NATO Expansion
Tab F Haiti
Tab G Defense Related Issues
~~Tab H Russia~~

Attachments may have
been edited for format
by Exec Sec