

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. email	Martin Indyk to Melanie Darby. Subject: Better Late than Never? (3 pages)	11/30/1994	P1/b(1)
002. email	Robert Suettinger to George Andricos and William Danvers. Subject: State EA Burea Legislative Strategy Meeting. (2 pages)	12/14/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Emails
 MSMail-Record (Sept 94-Sept 97) ([Senator Helms])
 OA/Box Number: 590000

FOLDER TITLE:

[09/27/1994-01/31/1995]

2006-1363-F

vz5598

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 27 September 94 17:02
FROM Danvers, William C.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT Subject: Call to Sen. Pell [UNCLASSIFIED]

TO Cicio, Kristen K.
Darby, Melanie B.
Emery, Mary C.
Hall, Wilma G.
Hawkins, Ardenia R.
Kenney, Kristie A.
Millison, Cathy L.
Reed, James W.
Sens, Andrew D.
Veit, Katherine M.
Wolin, Neal S.
Wright, Allison M.

CARBON_COPY Andricos, George M.
Atkin, Timothy J.
Beers, Rand R.
Blinken, Anthony J.
Brown, Dallas
Clarke, Richard A.
Danvers, William C.
Darragh, Sean J.
Funches, Christina L.
Halperin, Morton H.
Lindsey, Wanda
Norman, Marcia G.
Rice, Susan E.
Richardson, Craig
Rossin, Larry
Roundtree, Beverly J.
Schwartz, Eric P.
Simon, Steven N.

TEXT_BODY

Note for Sandy:

I just received a call from State H. Apparently Sen. Feingold wants his bill on Haiti-- which would require a Congressional authorization for our participation there-- to be part of the SFRC business committee meeting on Thursday. Needless to say, this would be counterproductive to our desire to control this process.

Gerry Christianson, Pell's staff director, told Feingold's staffer that Feingold would have to call Gerry directly if he wanted it put on the calendar. Christianson apparently indicated that he thought a call from you would help Pell fend off Feingold's request.

The basic arguments to make are:

-- This issue is being handled by the leadership

-- The Senate is going to have a vote soon

-- We have potential problems within Committee-- Sen. Helms and Sen. Gregg are two examples of Senators who are likely to be quite critical of the President, putting us in a potentially difficult position.

If you could make this call as soon as possible, it would be of real help. Feingold may call Pell tonight. Please let me know if you can make the call. If you can't, we can try to get someone from State to make it.

On another note, our conference call with Pat Griffin will take place at 5:45 this evening. I am going to recommend that calls be made to generally plead our case on a date certain by principals as early as this evening/tomorrow morning. If this is agreeable to everyone, I will have a list for you and Tony shortly after the conference call.

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 21 November 94 14:05
FROM Kelly, Sandra L.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT Corrected Copy of Press Guidance [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Mitchell, Calvin A.
Ross, Thomas B.
Sonenshine, Tara D.
Spalter, Jonathan H.
Wozniak, Natalie S.
CARBON_COPY Bell, Robert G.
TEXT_BODY Please note second paragraph, page 2, (under "Military Readiness") was deleted because it was inadvertently inserted again (see page 1, 2nd tic).[[
PRESS.DOC : 3589 in PRESS.DOC]]
**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE** 21 November 94 13:57
**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME** PRESS.DOC

Military Readiness

Background

On November 15, Secretary Perry announced that three active divisions are in a less than satisfactory readiness status which could limit their ability to accomplish potential missions. This readiness shortfall is a temporary situation resulting from Congress' failure in August and September to pass in a timely manner supplemental appropriations measures with funding to reimburse Defense for several contingency operations that occurred late in the fiscal year. Although Secretary Perry had explicitly warned Congress on August 4 that failure to act immediately on the supplemental would result in training cutbacks and lower readiness for certain units (including the three that have now slipped to "C-3" status), Congress did not act until after the Fiscal Year ended. This forced the Army to shift operations and maintenance funds away from regular training. Secretary Perry has estimated that with the availability of FY95 funding, these divisions' readiness will be restored during the second quarter of FY95.

ù I have repeatedly pledged to ensure that our fighting forces are the best prepared, best trained and best equipped in the world,

and remain fully committed to ensuring our military's readiness is fully maintained.

ù In August, Secretary Perry had explicitly warned Congress that this readiness problem would occur unless it immediately passed supplemental appropriations to cover several contingency operations, but Congress did not act until the training had been cancelled.

ù With the FY 94 supplemental bill and the FY95 defense authorization and appropriations bills now enacted, we are moving quickly to correct this readiness deficiency and we expect all three units to reach an acceptable level by the second quarter of FY95.

ù In addition, as we continue working on the FY96 budget, the Administration intends to work closely with Congress to work out a mechanism whereby the Services are reimbursed for contingency operations in a more timely fashion, so as to avoid a repeat of this experience next year.

POTUS as Command-in-Chief

Background

Senator Helms stated during a TV interview aired Saturday that he did not believe you had demonstrated the ability to serve as Commander-in-Chief and that "the people in the Armed Forces" agreed with him. Over the weekend, public statements were made supporting your performance as Commander-in-Chief by General Shalikashvili and Senators Dole, Hatch and Dodd. Leon Panetta also responded on the record Sunday, terming Helm's statements "reckless" and sending "terrible signals" at home and abroad.

ù As a United States Senator, Mr. Helms has taken an oath to "support and defend the Constitution against all enemies, foreign and domestic."

ù Article II, Section 2, of the Constitution establishes the President of the United States as Commander-in-Chief. The Constitution establishes no "means test" for the discharge of this power other than that the President be duly elected.

ù For Mr. Helms to suggest otherwise -- or worse, to encourage the idea that our dedicated and loyal Armed Forces might think otherwise -- belies not only the oath he takes as a Senator but also the abiding respect for the sanctity of the Constitution he purports as a conservative to profess.

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 22 November 94 11:14
FROM Darby, Melanie B.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT Press Guidance for POTUS [UNCLASSIFIED]

TO Mitchell, Calvin A.
Ross, Thomas B.
Sonenshine, Tara D.
Spalter, Jonathan H.
Wozniak, Natalie S.

CARBON_COPY Darby, Melanie B.
Gray, Wendy
Hawkins, Ardenia R.
Hilliard, Brenda I.
Joshi, M. Kay
Millison, Cathy L.
Wright, Allison M.

TEXT_BODY
[[HELMSQA.DOC : 2910 in HELMSQA.DOC]]
Here is the Q&A on Helms that we added to the President's press guidance package. We changed the index page, too, to include Helms after Ukraine.

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE** 22 November 94 11:11

**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME** HELMSQA.DOC

HELMS

Q: Senator Helms says he doesn't think you're up to being Commander-in-Chief. What is your response?

A: The issue of Commander-in-Chief should not be used for partisan purposes.

[A variety of leaders, including General Shalikashvili and leaders from both the Democratic and Republican parties have agreed that such comments are inappropriate.]

It is critical that we maintain our tradition of

bipartisanship in foreign policy.

Q: Senator Helms has made a variety of statements over the last several weeks, including that he intends to review all foreign aid, the United Nations, Peacekeeping, the issue of maintaining the US chain of command in peacekeeping operations and oversees commitments in general. You said yesterday you would have something to say on this today. What is your comment?

A: Throughout most of our history, politics has stopped at the water's edge. I will do my best to reach out to the Republicans and I expect many of them will respond in the tradition of bipartisan foreign policy.

I look forward to working with the new Congressional leadership to build on our progress in foreign policy and to provide the resources necessary to secure our national interests.

Our first common task will be for Congress to pass GATT this year.

Republicans and Democrats alike will defend America's interests, and I am confident of the continued support of Congress in maintaining America's security.

RE: HELMS:

America today has a responsibility to lead in the world, to remain engaged and use our vast military, economic and political power to defend our interests and advance our goals.

I strongly disagree with those who believe we can withdraw from the world. We cannot afford a period of neo-isolationism.

We have made considerable progress over the past two years in meeting the opportunities and challenges of the post-Cold War world and I intend to work closely with Congress in building on and strengthening that progress.

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 22 November 94 15:45

FROM Wozniak, Natalie S.

CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED

SUBJECT November 22 Press Guidance [UNCLASSIFIED]

TO Beardsley, Tyler S.
Mitchell, Calvin A.
Reed, George
Ross, Thomas B.
Sonenshine, Tara D.
Spalter, Jonathan H.
Wozniak, Natalie S.

CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE

TEXT_BODY

Below ICON represents press guidance as prepared for the President's press conference with President Kuchma of Ukraine.

The guidance has been edited/approved by Tom Ross, Nancy Soderberg and Tony Lake.

[[NOV22GUI.DOC : 3912 in NOV22GUI.DOC]]

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE** 22 November 94 15:43

**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME** NOV22GUI.DOC

Foreign Policy Talking Points
November 22, 1994

Foreign Policy Accomplishments

Ukraine

Helms

Haiti

Cuba

Bosnia

North Korea

Middle East

GATT

Readiness

Russia

FOREIGN POLICY ACCOMPLISHMENTS

In the end, what matters is what we are getting done. This is the measure of leader ship. We have helped Israel and Jordan achieve a historic peace treaty, and helped Russia and the Baltics reach agreement allowing the withdrawal of Russian troops. We have reached agreement with Russia so that its missiles are no longer targeted on the United States. We have restored President Aristide and democracy in Haiti; reversed an Iraqi military threat against Kuwait, achieved a major nuclear agreement with North Korea and carried out a humanitarian operation in Rwanda that should make all Americans proud. We have contributed to a historic cease-fire by the IRA in Northern Ireland and we have reached an agreement with Cuba to stop the outflow of migrants by sea.

But let me take a moment to put this in the context of my three, fundamental strategic goals:

Our first goal first goal in the post-Cold War world has been meeting security challenges:

-- Prepared a strategy for our armed forces to fight two major regional conflicts.

- Eliminating nuclear weapons in Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan.
- All Russian troops are out of Central and Eastern Europe for the first time since World War II.
- Partnership for Peace.
- Progress in efforts to ensure that the Korean peninsula is nonnuclear.
- Historic progress in the Middle East.
- Pursued and convicted terrorists; will not let them stop peace.

Our second goal has been to promote free markets and bring our international economic policies in line with our domestic goals:

- Vast new credibility by lowering our deficit at home.
- NAFTA, which will create hundreds of thousands of jobs in the U.S.
- GATT, which we are working with Congress to pass this year.
- Two summit meetings of APEC, to launch new economic initiatives on Pacific rim.
- Lifting of export controls and promotion of expanded American trade, investments.
- Resolute, results-oriented policy toward Japan.

Our third goal has been to promote democracy, from Russia to South Africa to Chile.

- Assisted states, such as Russia and Ukraine, make progress toward democracy and market reforms.
- Leading the international community in efforts to restore democracy to Haiti.
- Hosting the Summit of the Americas, first gathering in 30 years of the democratic nations of our hemisphere.

UKRAINE

NATO EXPANSION

- We are just beginning discussions within NATO on the implications of enlarging the Alliance.
- Any expansion of NATO must enhance the security of all European states and not establish new lines of division in Europe.
- Our initial discussions are likely to focus on the conditions under which countries might join NATO. We have no preconceived lists or a timetable.
- We are encouraged by the close cooperation between NATO and Ukraine that

has
 already occurred under the Partnership for Peace. We want that involvement to
 deeper
 n. No
 partner is excluded from eventual membership. No one has a veto over such
 decisions

ENERGY AND CHERNOBYL

-- At the Naples Summit in July, the G-7 endorsed an Action Plan for reform of
 Ukrai
 ne's
 energy sector, including energy efficiency measures and a provision for the
 closure
 of Chernobyl.

-- The G-7 Plan will devote large-scale resources to help Ukraine implement the
 Acti
 on
 Plan and to deal with the consequences of closing Chernobyl. Over a billion
 dollars
 has been
 pledged. U.S. funds will contribute to this effort.

-- Working closely with Ukraine on energy efficiency on a bilateral basis and
 today

announced an energy sector grant to Ukraine of \$72 million.

-- President Kuchma has pledged that Ukraine will work closely with the G-7 to
 implement the action plan.

BALANCE OF PAYMENT SUPPORT

-- We believe that President Kuchma and the Ukrainian Parliament have
 committed to a

serious program of reform that can lead Ukraine out of its current crisis and help
 b
 uild a
 market-oriented economy.

-- The IMF agrees, and is prepared to negotiate, a stand-by arrangement with
 Ukraine
 that
 would provide over a billion dollars of support for President Kuchma's reforms.

-- We agreed to help Ukraine make up a gap in its balance of payments in order
 to qu

alify
for this IMF agreement. The \$100 million we have pledged, taken together with
suppo
rt from
the EU and other donor states, will help fund that gap.

-- Our \$100 million comprises energy sector grants, medical supplies and USDA food credits.

U.S. ASSISTANCE LEVELS

-- Since the start of my administration, we have obligated over \$500 million in
assi
stance
to help support Ukraine's efforts to reform its economy and another \$350 million to

denuclearize.

-- Ukraine is now the fourth largest recipient of U.S. aid in the world.

-- I stand firmly behind this commitment. Our policy of support for the former

Communist countries of the USSR and Eastern Europe has enjoyed broad
bipartisan supp
ort
because it is so clearly in our own national interest.

-- It is important to our own security to ensure that the Europe that emerges from
t
he
Cold War is stable and secure. Ukraine is a nation of 52 million people -- as large
as France --
in the strategic center of Eastern Europe. It is difficult to imagine a stable and
secure Europe
without a reforming and prospering Ukraine.

NUNN-LUGAR ASSISTANCE

-- The Nunn-Lugar program is a very important part of our effort to help Ukraine denuclearize.

-- We discussed the status of the program today with President Kuchma. We have
pledged \$350 million in Nunn-Lugar assistance for Ukraine. A little less than half
that amount
has already been delivered through specific projects or is in the pipeline.

-- We are working to accelerate delivery of this important assistance and both of

us
are
satisfied with our efforts.

TRILATERAL STATEMENT

-- The trilateral statement provided for the transfer of nuclear warheads from Ukraine to Russia and Russian compensation to Ukraine for the nuclear material in those warheads.

-- This was an important arms control achievement and a prerequisite for Ukraine's accession to the NPT. It is being carried out fully by all parties, which we strongly applaud.
In fact, we are ahead of schedule on warhead transfers.

-- Ukraine has met its commitments on the transfer of warheads and deactivation of missiles.

-- Russia has met its obligations to provide nuclear reactor fuel to Ukraine, and we are accelerating our delivery of Nunn-Lugar assistance to Ukraine.

NPT AND START-I IMPLEMENTATION

-- I want to congratulate the Ukrainian Parliament for its recent approval of Ukraine's accession to the NPT Treaty and salute President Kuchma for his leadership in prompting this important step.

-- We have agreed that the instruments of accession will be handed over at a ceremony during the CSCE Summit in Budapest. This will allow us to bring the START-I Treaty into force and accelerate the process of building down the nuclear arsenals of the U.S. and Russia.

-- The security assurances we are providing Ukraine reaffirm our commitment to refrain

in
from the threat of use of force or economic coercion against Ukraine.

-- The other nuclear states under the NPT -- Russia, the UK and France -- are
offeri
ng
the same assurances.

-- We take a strong interest in Ukraine's sovereignty, independence and existing
bor
ders.

(IF ASKED) We are not obliged to defend Ukraine militarily.

HELMS

Q: Senator Helms says he doesn't think you're up to being Commander-in-Chief.
What
is your response?

A: The issue of Commander-in-Chief should not be used for partisan purposes.

[A variety of leaders, including General Shalikashvili and leaders from both the Democratic and Republican parties have agreed that such comments are inappropriate.]

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with Congress in building on and strengthening that progress.

HAITI

Background

You approved withdrawal of 6,000 U.S. troops this month assuming continued stability
and replacement
where necessary by others of comparable capability (contractors, Haitian police, thi
rd country forces).

The drawdown is proceeding -- from over 14,000 at the beginning of the month, we are
at 11,000 now
and will reach some 9,000 by December 1. Further reductions are anticipated in the
lead-up to the
MNF-UNMIH handover in the first months of 1995. We and the UN are refining a UNMIH

structure
involving 2-3,000 U.S. participants (of 6,000 total).

U.S. forces are deployed in 30 towns and do roving patrols to some 500 others. They report general stability and security but isolated acts of violence persist. Over 800 international police monitors from 21 countries and nearly 1,500 MNF troops from 9 countries are working with our forces. 700 interim Haitian police graduated from our training school on November 5 and are on patrol in the capital. Training for police for the provinces is underway. We are on track for a 3000 person interim police force by the end of the year.

Prime Minister Michel and his Cabinet were sworn in November 8 and are taking charge. Aristide met with 200 private sector leaders November 16. New Army Commander Poisson was formally named November 17 and awaits confirmation by the Senate. Progress on parliamentary elections has been slow, however; and we are pressing for the needed electoral commission and a date.

Tropical Storm Gordon hit Haiti hardest, with over 100 dead and thousands homeless. With PM Michel coordinating, the U.S. military, USAID and the UN are providing emergency relief.

Key Points

-- President Aristide's return is a triumph for democracy throughout the hemisphere and a vindication of our determination to put America's principles into practice. It shows that the international community can and will keep commitments made by the OAS and UN.

-- The entire hemisphere played a role in restoring Haiti's democracy. Many supported implementation of UNSC Resolution 940, are contributing to the Multinational Force and

nd have
offered to participate in the UN Mission in Haiti.

Points

A Visible Difference

-- Haiti is desperately poor and progress will come hard, but our efforts are making
a
difference in Haitians' daily lives.

-- For the first time in three years, Haitians are safe from systematic human rights
abuses.

-- The price of gasoline has dropped tenfold, electricity is back on, aid is flowing
,
private investment and employment are resuming and mangos, a key cash crop
for
thousands of farmers, are again being exported.

-- Haiti was hard-hit by Tropical Storm Gordon. Our soldiers and aid workers
are helping the Haitian government cope with the destruction.

Troops

-- Our forces in Haiti are performing brilliantly in difficult conditions. They have
been
warmly welcomed. And there have been no deaths from hostile action.

-- Our forces are down from over 20,000 to some 11,000. Troop drawdowns will
continue as we move toward transition to the UN Mission in the first months of
1995.

-- Withdrawals will be governed by events, not an artificial calendar. Each unit is
being
withdrawn when its mission is accomplished.

-- We will maintain force levels and composition needed to preserve and
consolidate
our
gains.

-- (If asked about a visit to the troops) I would welcome the opportunity to

visit. But I have not made a decision.

-- (If asked about Dole's call for an early pullout) Our forces will stay, in appropriate numbers, until their mission is completed. That includes participation in the UN Mission. Leaving the job half-done would negate our achievements and sacrifices.

Security

-- The mission of the multinational force is carefully defined: to establish a climate of basic security in which Haitians can consolidate their democracy and rebuild their country.

The MNF is not doing police work or nation-building.

-- An interim Haitian police force is being established and over 800 international police monitors are now in Haiti to work with them.

-- Disarmament efforts are continuing. Over 14,000 weapons have been taken into custody from arms caches and through the buy-back program.

-- Isolated incidents of violence undoubtedly will persist, but overall a stable and secure environment is being created by the MNF.

President Aristide

-- President Aristide is moving with great skill and care to promote reconciliation.

-- The Parliament confirmed Prime Minister Michel and his moderate Cabinet.

-- President Aristide is getting out to the people, in Cite Soleil, in the north, viewing storm damage. Everywhere, he gets a jubilant reception.

-- The positive response to President Aristide is reflected throughout Haiti and at Guantanamo where already 75 percent of the Haitians have returned home voluntarily.

Elections

-- Early Parliamentary and local elections are critical in consolidating the

democra
tic

process.

-- The UN, OAS and we are prepared to assist and monitor the elections as soon as the Haitians establish the needed commission and set a date. We hope that occurs soon.

(If asked about the impact of delayed elections on U.S. troop reductions)

-- Elections occurring much later than Haiti's constitutional timetable might have to take place after the transition from the Multinational Force to the UN Mission.

CUBA

Background

The September 9 migration agreement requires the Government of Cuba to take effective measures to prevent unsafe departure of Cuban citizens. Cuba agreed that arrangements for those Cubans who have recently left and wish to return can be made through diplomatic channels. We agreed to admit at least 20,000 Cubans from Cuba under existing authorities per year, plus approximately 6,000 Cubans from the current visa waiting list. The agreement has resulted in a halt in the outflow from Cuba and the Coast Guard has called off its special operation to pick up the rafters.

Following your announcement of a new policy on August 19, more than 32,000 Cubans were picked up at sea, and are now at Guantanamo and Panama.

The press and the Cuban American community are rife with speculation that the USG will

11 parole Cuban
minors and their parents (up to 10,000 people) from the safehavens.

Key Points

-- We will closely monitor the migration agreement with Cuba. The Cuban government

has implemented measures that have ended the outflow of rafters.

-- The United States has agreed to accept 20,000 Cubans a year from Cuba under various provisions of U.S. law. Among these will be the Attorney General's parole authority

-- We recognize that this use by the Attorney General of the authority granted by Congress is extraordinary. This needs to be seen in light of the 30-year abnormal migration relationship between Cuba and the United States.

-- From the beginning, I was determined that the United States and not Castro would

determine U.S. immigration policy and that the migration would be safe and orderly.

We have accomplished both objectives.

-- I announced on October 14 that the situation of children at the safe havens would be reviewed. That review has not been completed. The presence of children at the safe havens raises important humanitarian concerns. This are being considered in the review process.

- We will not compel anyone to return from the safe havens, but those who do return

may apply for our expanded emigration programs.

Humanitarian Admission

-- I have taken a series of humanitarian steps relating to Cubans in safehavens in

Guantanamo and Panama. The Attorney General is paroling into the United States seriously ill persons who cannot be adequately cared for in the camps and their caregivers, unaccompanied young children, and migrants over 70.

-- (If asked) Roughly 300 Cubans have been paroled from these categories.

-- In each case, the Attorney General will ensure that those paroled have adequate sponsors.

-- We have launched an effort to persuade other countries to accept some of the Cuban migrants.

-- Much remains to be done. But significant improvements have been made in the camps, including better food, improved sanitary services and the inauguration of mail and telephone service.

-- I share the deep concern of the Cuban-American community for the well-being of all Cubans in safehavens.

-- The root cause of these problems is in Cuba. The Administration is dedicated to pursuing policies which will lead to a rapid and peaceful movement to democracy in Cuba.

Cuban Democracy Act

-- U.S. policy towards Cuba is based on the Cuban Democracy Act which was passed with bipartisan majorities in both Houses of Congress and with the support of both President Bush and myself.

-- The Act stipulates that the economic embargo will remain in place until the

Cuban

government takes irreversible steps toward democracy and free markets.

-- At the same time, we will be moving on the second track of the Cuban Democracy Act

to increase humanitarian assistance to the Cuban people and increase the flow of information and ideas to Cuba.

Guantanamo Restraining Order

-- My policy from the outset has been clear. No Cuban currently at Guantanamo should be either forced or encouraged to return. All Cubans are given the opportunity to choose to stay under U.S. protection.

-- Let me be clear: No Cuban is or will be involuntarily returned.

-- But if a Cuban asks to go home, our policy is to permit his or her return. We do not wish to hold Cubans against their will.

(If asked about the lawsuit)

-- I will not comment further on the details of an ongoing case.

SUMMIT OF THE AMERICAS

The United States convened the Summit of the Americas to seize the opportunities created by the movement toward free societies and open markets throughout the hemisphere.

Historical Importance

-- The Summit will be historic in several respects:

-- First hemispheric summit since 1967.

-- First hemispheric summit of democratically elected leaders. At the last summit in 1967, ten nations were non-democratic. Today, Castro is the hemisphere's last dictator and is not invited.

-- First hemispheric summit hosted by the United States.

-- First hemispheric summit in which our NAFTA partner, Canada, will participate.

-- Largest hemispheric summit, with 34 leaders participating.

Summit Substantive Agenda

-- The Summit will celebrate and accelerate progress toward democratic stability and

free, integrated markets. This celebration comes at a time of remarkable hope and opportunity for the nations of the hemisphere -- a historic convergence of interests and values.

-- The Summit will unite the hemisphere in common efforts in three substantive areas

-- Mutual Prosperity through Economic Integration. Free markets create good jobs -- and strengthen democracy.

-- Collective Promotion of Democracy. Many Latin American and Caribbean nations helped in the restoration of democracy in Haiti.

-- Sustainable Development. A shared vision of economic growth which benefits workers and protects the environment.

-- The Summit leaders will approve a consensus Plan of Action with a follow-on architecture for the Inter-American system -- an institutional structure to implement the Summit vision.

Hemispheric Free Trade

-- America's economy benefits enormously from the opportunity offered by the burgeoning Latin American market. NAFTA has shown that expanded trade can be good for

our workers and businesses.

-- In Miami, we will work with our Summit partners to achieve the common goal of

fostering open markets throughout the hemisphere. We are committed to creating jobs and real growth at home by breaking down barriers to U.S. exports abroad.

-- The Western Hemisphere is our largest export market. In 1993, U.S. exports total ed

over \$180 billion, or 38% of all U.S. sales abroad.

-- By the end of the decade, the hemisphere's population will approach 800 million, with a total economy of \$9 trillion. It is likely that Latin America will be a larger customer for U.S. exports than Western Europe.

Miami

-- Miami is the communications crossroads of the hemisphere, a diverse, dynamic city, a vibrant link between North and South America. Florida's economy is increasingly integrated with the economies of Latin America and the Caribbean.

Cuba [IF RAISED]

-- Fidel Castro, the hemisphere's last dictator, has not been invited to the Summit.

-- The Summit will sharply contrast the spirit of progress and hope of the hemisphere's community of democracies with the failure and despair of Castro's Cuba.

-- We hope that the next time we have a summit, we'll be joined by a democratically

elected leader from a free Cuba.

-- [IF PRESSED] The Summit will concentrate on broad regional themes rather than on

a country-specific agenda. Democracy will be one of the central themes of the Summit.

BOSNIA

Background

The Bihac situation remains precarious. Following Krajina airstrikes in the Bihac area, the UNSC and NATO authorized airstrikes in Croatia. NATO air strikes on Udbina airfield were conducted Monday. Press reports allege the U.S. is secretly helping the Bosnian Government forces.

Key Points

- I fully support Monday's NATO air strikes. It should have come as no surprise. We have been calling for a strong response for sometime.
- It is a strong signal that NATO and the UN will not tolerate use of the airfield to threaten UNPROFOR or the Bihac safe area.

Points

- We are prepared to take similar action should the Serb forces continue the assault on the Bihac safe area.
- These strikes do not, in themselves, end the crisis around Bihac. We are continuing to work with our Allies on a range of options for NATO action to protect the safe area and halt the Serb offensive.
- Only by increasing the pressure on the Serbs, will we be able to end the fighting and return to our goal of achieving a political settlement.

Alleged U.S. Involvement

- Although we have long viewed Bosnian Government as victim of aggression,

the U.S.

has not entered the war on the side of the Bosnian Government, nor are we violating the arms embargo. Allegations to the contrary are wrong.

-- We continue to fully support efforts to find a political solution and to work at the United Nations, NATO, and within the Contact Group to promote a negotiated settlement. The chief obstacle remains the Bosnian Serbs' rejection of peace.

-- We have complied with U.S. law and implemented provisions of Nunn-Mitchell requiring that we cease enforcement of the arms embargo and consult with Congress on

questions of training for Bosnian forces and a unilateral lifting of the arms embargo.

-- I continue to oppose a unilateral lift.

Nunn-Mitchell

-- I understand the Allies' concerns about steps we have taken to stop enforcing the arms embargo in line with requirements of Nunn-Mitchell. I think they now understand that legislation.

-- Steps we have taken are measured and appropriate and are practical ways to end our enforcement of the arms embargo, while at the same time continuing enforcement of sanctions against Serbia.

-- We began consultations with Congress on training for Bosnian forces and issues

relating to a unilateral lift last week, as required by the Nunn-Mitchell amendment.

-- Some press reports misrepresented these consultations as a step toward a

unilater
al lift.

We have made it clear we continue to oppose unilateral lift.

NORTH KOREA

Background

Ambassador Gallucci signed the US-DPRK agreement on October 21. The agreed framework achieves major U.S. nonproliferation objectives.

-- North Korea commits to freezing, and eventually dismantling, its graphite-moderated reactor program and its reprocessing plant. The freeze will be monitored by the IAEA.

-- North Korea's spent fuel will be stored securely under IAEA supervision, and eventually transferred to another country.

-- The North will remain a party to the NPT. It will resolve the IAEA's concerns about its past compliance with safeguards, including allowing special inspections, if necessary, and will come into full compliance with its IAEA safeguards agreement.

-- The DPRK committed to implement the North-South Denuclearization Declaration and engage in North-South dialogue.

In return, the U.S. undertakes to head an international consortium to provide North Korea with two light water reactors (LWRs) and to arrange for the supply of heavy fuel oil to replace the energy generation

from the dismantled DPRK nuclear program. The U.S. will also open a liaison office in Pyongyang and give North Korea an assurance against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons as long as North Korea remains a party in good standing to the NPT.

Action under the framework has begun. North Korea has frozen its existing program and allowed a U.S. technical team to visit the spent fuel pond for discussion on canning the 8,000 spent fuel rods for later shipment. U.S. and North Korean talks will soon be held in Beijing on the LWR contract and in Washington on opening liaison offices. U.S., Japan and South Korean trilateral talks in Washington last week went well.

Key Points

-- The agreement negotiated with North Korea is strongly in our national security interest and that of our allies in South Korea and Japan.

-- President Kim and Prime Minister Murayama strongly supported the agreement when we met in Jakarta.

-- The agreement deals effectively with the present, future and past proliferation threats from North Korea.

-- North Korea's current nuclear program will be frozen under IAEA monitoring. That

includes the spent fuel and the reprocessing plant.

-- For the future, all of the threatening elements of North Korea's program will be

dismantled, and the spent fuel North Korea now possesses will be shipped out of the

country.

-- Where the past is concerned, North Korea agrees to resolve the IAEA's concerns.

-- Under this agreement, North Korea will do more than is required under the international

nonproliferation system.

(If asked about why the long delay before special inspections)

-- The inspections aimed at preventing plutonium diversion are already happening .

-- The important point is that North Korea has agreed to accept all inspections the IAEA deems necessary. They never accepted that before.

-- The inspections aimed at understanding North Korea's nuclear past will be held before North Korea receives any significant nuclear components.

-- (If pressed) While earlier inspections are better, we've always said we could be flexible about the timing of special inspections. The waste sites aren't going anywhere.

(If asked why we're giving assistance to North Korea to get them to comply with their nonproliferation commitments)

-- The assistance is not for meeting past commitments, but in exchange for taking steps -- like freezing and dismantling their nuclear facilities -- that go well beyond their obligations under the Nonproliferation Treaty.

-- The lion's share of the Light Water Reactor project will be funded by South Korea

Japan and other countries will contribute to the Light Water Reactor project and alternative energy supplies. They regard this cooperation as contributing to regional stability and as a fully justified investment in a more open and less threatening North Korea.

MIDDLE EAST

RABIN VISIT

- Prime Minister Rabin and I discussed the peace process and bilateral issues.
- We focused on our shared goal of progress in the Israel-Syria negotiations and the need to ensure continued, successful implementation of the Israel-Palestinian Declaration of Principles.
- I reaffirmed our continued commitment to enhance Israel's security as it moves forward in the peace process. We will work with Congress to maintain present assistance levels to Israel.
- I told the Prime Minister the U.S. was taking additional concrete steps to bolster Israel's qualitative advantage and high tech edge (licensing supercomputers, funding for Arrow missile program and measures to defend Israel's northern border against missile attacks).

GOLAN AND HELMS

Background: Senator Helms has expressed publicly his intention to oppose stationing of U.S. forces on the Golan and has stated that Syria does not desire real peace.

- We have stated our willingness to participate in security arrangements as agreed by the parties in the context of a peace treaty. But they have not yet requested such participation. We will consult fully with the Congress before any commitment of U.S. forces is made.

- (If issue of Syria commitment to peace process is raised) President Asad has

affirmed publicly and privately his commitment to normal peaceful relations with Israel. We will continue to do everything possible to assist the parties in reaching a lasting and secure peace.

-- I would note that U.S. forces have participated in operations in the Sinai for many years without a problem.

VIOLENCE IN GAZA/ASSISTANCE TO PALESTINIANS

Background: Over 15 Palestinians were killed last Friday when Arafat's police force intervened to break up a pro-Hamas/Palestinian Islamic Jihad demonstration. UN and other observers have called for increased assistance flows to the Palestinians to demonstrate the benefits of peace and reduce the extremist appeal.

-- The situation in Gaza should be a source of concern to the Palestinian Authority and the donor community. These violent events send a signal that more must be done to bring the tangible benefits of peace to the Palestinian people.

-- The PLO has got to demonstrate that it can live up to its responsibilities and commitments with respect to ensuring security and countering terrorism and in working with the donor community.

-- The international donors must also live up to their commitments and take steps now to fulfill pledges made. We are working very actively with the donors to try to ensure that pledges are indeed delivered.

SYRIA: PEACE PROCESS

-- I am committed to achieving a comprehensive and lasting settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict. That is why I went to Damascus.

-- We are convinced that the parties are determined to pursue the possibility of peace and I am hopeful that a breakthrough with Syria can take place this year.

-- We have seen in the past that progress on one track generates progress on the other tracks. I am confident that the enormous step forward represented by the

Jordan-Israel peace treaty will facilitate the negotiations with Syria. In particular, it will help convince the people of the region that the peace process is irreversible.

HAMAS

-- These atrocities are attempts by the enemies of peace to block the progress being made in the peace process. They are attacks on all those who are engaged in the peace process as much as they are targeted against innocent Israelis. Those responsible must not and will not be allowed to succeed.

-- We are working closely with the Government of Israel and other concerned governments to identify those responsible and to try to ensure that further attacks do not take place.

-- I have asked the U.S. Department of Justice to examine actions which we can take to address sources of Hamas support.

GAZA-JERICHO AGREEMENT

-- Implementation of the Gaza-Jericho agreement is continuing, as the Palestinian Authority begins the process of assuming responsibility. Israel and the Palestinians have signed an agreement to launch the initial phase of Palestinian

"early empowerment" in several key areas of responsibility, including taxation and education, in the West Bank.

-- We are working closely with Chairman Arafat, the Government of Israel, the donor community and the World Bank to ensure Palestinian requirements are met during this critical period.

-- We are taking the lead in ensuring that funds are available to meet Palestinians needs. We will be meeting in Brussels at the end of the month to finalize these donors pledges (\$125 million is expected to be confirmed).

GATT

Background

The House is scheduled to vote on November 29 and the Senate on December 1. Senator Helms wrote to you last week urging delay of the vote until next year. Senator Dole has stated that he would support GATT if the Administration "fixed it" and over the weekend suggested his support for GATT may be linked to an Administration commitment on a capital gains tax cut. Mickey Kantor, Leon Panetta and Secretary Bentsen are actively working to address Senator Dole's concerns about the GATT agreement itself.

Points

-- The Uruguay Round agreement is the product of three Administrations, Republican and Democratic.

-- This agreement is too important to the American economy -- and the global economy

-- for partisan politics. That's why, in preparing the bill, we have worked closely with Republicans and Democrats to forge a bipartisan consensus.

-- We're talking about an agreement that will create hundreds of thousands of high-paying American jobs and, when fully implemented, add \$100-200 billion each year to the U.S. economy. It's the biggest tax cut in history -- a \$744 billion reduction in tariffs worldwide.

-- We're working with Republicans to see if we can meet their concerns about the GAT

T
itself. However, we do not think that delaying the vote is the right course of action.

-- To delay the implementation of this agreement past January 1, 1995 would cost the

U.S. as much as \$70 billion in lost extra economic growth over ten years, and jeopardize the agreement itself as other nations see hesitation rather than leadership from the U.S.

-- There have been nearly two dozen hearings on this bill with all the relevant committees.

This agreement has been debated for more than eight years. Now is the time for the vote.

-- (Sovereignty) Nothing in this agreement affects the sovereignty of the U.S. or the individual states. The World Trade Organization (WTO) cannot change the substance of the operation of U.S. law. Only Congress has the authority to do that.

-- (Funding) We are committed to paying for the first five years of tariff cuts. That's what the law requires, and we are committed to doing what is fiscally responsible.

-- We've put together a solid funding package, more than 60% of which is comprised of spending cuts and the remainder timing and compliance measures.

-- It enjoys broad bipartisan support. It was approved 19-0 in the Senate Finance Committee, 31-3 in House Ways & Means.

READINESS

Background

On November 15, Secretary Perry announced that three active divisions are in a less than satisfactory readiness status which could limit their ability to accomplish potential missions. This readiness shortfall is a situation resulting from Congress' failure in August and September to pass in a timely manner supplemental appropriations measures with funding to reimburse Defense for several contingency operations that occurred late in the fiscal year. Although Secretary Perry had explicitly warned Congress on August 4 that failure to act immediately on the supplemental would result in training cutbacks and lower readiness for certain units (including the three that have now slipped to "C-3" status), Congress did not act until after the Fiscal Year ended. This forced the Army to shift operations and maintenance funds away from regular training. Secretary Perry has estimated that with the availability of FY95 funding, these divisions' readiness will be restored during the second quarter of FY 95.

Points

-- I have repeatedly pledged to ensure that our fighting forces are the best prepared, best trained and best equipped in the world, and remain fully committed to ensuring our military's readiness is fully maintained.

-- In August, Secretary Perry had explicitly warned Congress that this readiness problem would occur unless it immediately passed supplemental appropriations to cover several contingency operations, but Congress did not act until the training had been canceled.

-- With the FY94 supplemental bill and the FY95 defense authorization and appropriations

ions
bills now enacted, we are moving quickly to correct this readiness deficiency and
we
expect all
three units to reach an acceptable level by the second quarter of FY95.

-- In addition, as we continue working on the FY96 budget, the Administration
intend
s to
work closely with Congress to work out a mechanism whereby the Services are
reimburs
ed for
contingency operations in a more timely fashion, so as to avoid a repeat of this
exp
erience next
year.

FOREIGN COMMAND OF U.S. FORCES

Points

-- The President has never given up and never would give up his command
authority ov
er
U.S. troops. The command authority between the President and U.S. forces is
inviola
te.

-- It has long been the practice, however, to place U.S. forces under the
temporary

operational control of a competent foreign commander for the specific purposes
of a

specific mission.

-- The Clinton Administration has not changed long-standing U.S. policy in this
rega
rd.

BASES

Background

A Business Executives for National Security (BENS) report charges that of the 67 major bases or facilities slated for closure under the 1988, 1991 and 1993 base closing rounds, "over one-third never closed or have quietly reopened under a new name or function." BENS puts the cost to the Federal Government at \$15 billion over five years. The Defense Department has been sharply critical of the BENS report.

Key Points

-- As the Pentagon has said, we think the report "is just plain wrong." The report contains numerous errors of fact and errors in methodology that lead it to faulty conclusions.

-- We believe the base closing process is working well and have confidence that the cost savings we have projected will in fact be realized.

-- I am particularly disappointed that the report took no note of my "five point program" for speeding the economic recovery of communities where military bases are scheduled to close.

Points

-- Two bases the report says are staying open are closing completely (St. Inigoes Naval Electronic Systems Engineering Center, MD and Naval Air Station Glenview, IL).

-- In ten cases, the report alleges that we are "reopening" a base when all we are doing is placing a Defense Finance and Accounting Service (DFAS) satellite facility in ONE building at that location, leaving thousands of acres available for economic redevelopment.

-- The report arrives at its \$15 billion estimate by including payroll costs for fun

ctions
that will have to be performed somewhere, whether the base or facility in
question i
s
completely closed or not.

-- Almost one-third of the \$15 billion in alleged "lost savings" (\$4.6 billion) is a
tributable
to Federal decisions to use two former bases for non-defense purposes:

-- retaining NASA's Ames Research Facility at the site of the former Moffet
Naval Air Station in California and transferring parts of the Presidio Army base
in

California to the National Parks Service (NPS).

IRELAND

Background

The President announced an assistance package November 1 that increased
funding for
the International
Fund for Ireland by \$10 million for FY96 and FY97, for a total of about \$30
million
a year. The President
will host a White House Conference for Trade and Investment in Ireland in April
1995
in Philadelphia.
Secretary Brown will attend a major investment conference in Belfast. The
President
also directed the
Department of Commerce, USIA, National Endowment for Democracy, AID, and
the US Trad
e and
Development Agency to pursue and encourage business, political and
technological de
velopment
through a variety of new programs.

The IRA released a statement on August 31 promising "the complete cessation of
milit
ary operations."
Loyalist paramilitaries followed suit October 13, declaring a cease-fire contingent
upon the IRA cease-fire
continuing.

Prime Ministers Reynolds of Ireland accepted the "permanency" of the IRA cease-fire from the start, but Prime Minister Major, aware of the suspicions of Unionists, took a more cautious approach. On October 21, however, in a speech in Belfast, Major indicated that he accepted as a "working assumption" that the IRA cease-fire is permanent, and indicated that talks with Sinn Fein might begin before year's end. The British have also taken a number of other steps to eliminate media and travel restrictions on Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams and others, to scale back security measures in Northern Ireland, and to reopen all border crossings between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. Major has also affirmed a British commitment to hold a referendum in Northern Ireland on the outcome of any negotiated settlement.

Major and Reynolds met October 24 to review the state of bilateral talks on a "framework document" under which all-party talks would resume, this time including Sinn Fein. These talks are unlikely to get underway before the new year. In the meantime, Reynolds commenced "Forum Talks" in Dublin October 28 which included Sinn Fein and other Nationalist parties of north and south. Unionist parties were invited, but with the exception of the small, avowedly nonsectarian Alliance Party, did not attend. The British Ambassador also refused to attend.

Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams spent two weeks in the U.S. in late September-early October. He applied for another U.S. visa on November 7 to return in December, asking for a more liberal visa and permission to fundraise here. The British accept that Adams is likely to get a multiple entry visa but

strongly oppose the fundraising request.

Key Points

-- The IRA and Loyalist paramilitary cease-fires offer the best prospect for a permanent peace in Ireland in a generation.

-- Even in the best of circumstances, the really hard work still lies ahead.

-- But the fact that the Northern Irish question will now be the subject of political negotiations rather than an armed struggle is an important and historic turning point.

-- I know I speak for the millions of Americans who feel special bonds of affection and kinship to Ireland and Great Britain when I say that we want to do all we can to support further progress toward peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland.

On Reynolds's Resignation

-- The peace process in Northern Ireland enjoys a broad consensus of support among the

people of Ireland and the people of the United Kingdom. We expect the process will continue and look forward to working closely with the next Irish Government.

Next Steps

-- Albert Reynolds and John Major have worked hard to bring the peace process this far.

There must be no turning back, by any side, from the path of dialogue and negotiation.

-- We will do what we can. But the hard work, the real progress, remains to be completed by the two governments, and in the hearts and minds of the people of

North
ern

Ireland. I am hopeful that they, and their leaders, will follow-through on this extraordinary opportunity for peace that now exists.

-- I welcome the steps Prime Minister Major has taken to lift the broadcasting and travel ban on Sinn Fein leaders, to reopen cross-border roads, to begin talks with Sinn Fein should the cease-fire continue to hold, and to make clear that Unionist participation remains crucial to the achievement of a peaceful democratic settlement.

-- I welcome the opening of the Forum Talks in Dublin October 28. We also look forward to the all-party talks beginning soon.. The Irish and British and other parties need to work out the timing among themselves.

(If asked about the announcement by Prime Minister Major that he would work under the assumption that the cease-fire is permanent, and that exploratory talks will begin with Sinn Fein in three months)

-- I welcome these very positive steps. The US continues to support the efforts of Prime Minister Major and Prime Minister Reynolds and of the communities and parties in Northern Ireland to pursue peace and reconciliation there.

-- In the context of the continuing cessation of violence, we hope that political talks will be able to begin soon.

(If asked when the US will announce what it will do to help Northern Ireland economically)

-- We believe private sector investment is key to improving economic conditions in Northern Ireland. We are looking at ways we can be helpful to promote such investment.

-- We want to support the efforts being taken by the British and Irish governments.

(If asked why Adams was not received at the White House)

-- The U.S. maintained a ban on contacts with Sinn Fein until this month because of its ties to the IRA.

-- It is appropriate that the first official meeting took place at an appropriate level at the State Department, after the Vice President informed Mr. Adams of my decision to lift the ban.

-- As the dialogue progresses, our contacts will deepen and broaden.

(If asked about reported Unionist sense of betrayal)

-- Obviously, their concerns are important to this process. There can be no progress

without Unionist participation and agreement. I salute the demonstrated willingness of moderate Unionist leaders to work for peace, and want to underscore its centrality to further progress. The Vice President and Anthony Lake have been in touch with Unionist leaders, and will continue to deepen this dialogue in coming days.

-- Senior Unionist officials met here in late September with the Vice President and other senior administration officials.

(If asked whether Molyneaux will visit the United States)

-- In recent conversations, the Vice President and National Security Adviser Lake have underscored to Mr. Molyneaux that the Administration would welcome a visit to Washington at

his convenience.

(If asked about British views on Gerry Adams' visit and the lifting of the ban)

-- We decided to issue Gerry Adams another limited visa to encourage the peace process.

ss.

We took into account the views of all concerned and kept the British and Irish governments fully informed.

RUSSIA

SPHERES OF INFLUENCE

-- We recognize that Russia has interests in the states that lie on its borders.

-- But we have always maintained that Russia's relations with these states must be governed by respect for their sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity. It is in their interest and ours that they have good relations with their neighbors.

-- We were pleased by the Russian decision to withdraw its troops from the Baltic countries this past summer. And we are working well with Russia and Ukraine to support the independence of that important country.

-- I have made it a priority of our policy to build strong U.S. relations with the new independent states that border Russia -- Ukraine, the Baltics, Armenia, and Kazakhstan, to name just a few.

STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTIONS

-- U.S. and Russia are both committed to rapidly drawing down our nuclear forces.

-- We want to bring START I into force and to ratify START II so that we can reduce

our nuclear warheads to START II levels before the treaty's reduction period

(year 2
003).

NUCLEAR SECURITY/LOOSE NUKES

-- Russia and the United States, the two largest nuclear powers, have a special responsibility to deal with the problem of nuclear safety and security--and, as partners, we also have a unique opportunity.

-- President Yeltsin and I had some very fruitful discussions on this issue and agreed we would approach it on two levels: first, by enhancing the security of nuclear warheads and materials wherever they are found--in storage or in transit; and second, by working to improve international law enforcement so that if materials fall into the wrong hands, those criminals can be dealt with quickly and decisively.

JACKSON-VANIK

-- Russian progress on free emigration for its citizens has justified my determination that Russia is in full compliance with Jackson-Vanik.

-- Only Congress, however, can authorize graduation. We will consult with Congress on the issue, so we can make progress next year.

IRAQ TRADE AGREEMENT

-- We have raised this issue with Russian officials in Moscow and in Washington.

-- The Russian government has emphasized that it would forbid the signing of any agreement that would violate UN sanctions.

-- Based on our discussions with the Government of Russia, we are satisfied with Russia's

commitment to fully enforce UN sanctions against Iraq. We do not believe the report

ed trade
contacts with Iraq constitute a violation of UN sanctions.

U.S. ASSISTANCE TO RUSSIA

-- We've allocated about \$4 billion to the program since 1992.

-- About half that amount has now been spent, much of it in humanitarian assistance.

-- Much of the remainder is going for technical assistance programs to vital areas
like
privatization, one of the real success stories of Russian reform.

-- Much of that money has also been committed but because it involves detailed
program
planning with Russian partners it spends out more slowly. President Yeltsin and I
agree we
have to do better and move more rapidly.

-- Now we are moving to strengthen direct support of U.S. trade and investment -
that
was a priority issue at my summit meeting with Yeltsin.

-- We have agreed that, given the right conditions, bilateral trade between the two
countries
could more than double from the current \$4.7 billion a year by the turn of the
century.

-- The United States and Russia have signed commercial agreements for more
than a billion
dollars, including Export Import Bank loan guarantees, Overseas Private
Investment Corporation
support and Trade Development Agency support.

RUSSIAN ARMS SALES TO IRAN

-- Because of the Iranian government's unacceptable behavior in a number of
areas, the Administration opposes all arms exports, especially those which could
destabilize

the region, to Iran by Russia or any other country.

-- We made progress on this issue in our discussions. President Yeltsin said last week that Russia would not enter into any new arms sales contracts with Iran. Only existing contracts with Iran will be serviced, and we are discussing the details of those existing deals with the Russians now.

NATO EXPANSION

-- This is clearly one of the most important issues facing the United States and our

relationship with Russia.

-- NATO will expand eastward. No country holds a veto over that decision.

-- Along with NATO expansion, we have an interest in creating a stable and unified Europe in the next century. We can't achieve these goals without a close partnership with Russia.

-- At this stage, we won't rule any country in or out for NATO membership.

-- The Partnership for Peace must first evolve and we must have many more discussions before we arrive at that decision.

NAGORNO-KARABAKH

-- It's a terrible war that has gone on too long -- every bit as savage as Bosnia. It's time

the world acted to help end the war.

-- President Yeltsin and I agree that the U.S. and Russia bear a special responsibility to help.

-- We are giving our full support to the CSCE's efforts to achieve a settlement by the December CSCE summit in Budapest. We are hopeful that Russia will work

together with us
toward that goal.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. email	Martin Indyk to Melanie Darby. Subject: Better Late than Never? (3 pages)	11/30/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Emails
MSMail-Record (Sept 94-Sept 97) ([Senator Helms])
OA/Box Number: 590000

FOLDER TITLE:

[09/27/1994-01/31/1995]

2006-1363-F
vz5598

RESTRICTION CODES

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. email	Robert Suettinger to George Andricos and William Danvers. Subject: State EA Burea Legislative Strategy Meeting. (2 pages)	12/14/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Emails
MSMail-Record (Sept 94-Sept 97) ([Senator Helms])
OA/Box Number: 590000

FOLDER TITLE:

[09/27/1994-01/31/1995]

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M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 27 January 95 14:43
FROM Hawkins, Ardenia R.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT Subject: RE: U.S.-Vietnam Liaison Offices [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Suettinger, Robert L.
CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE
TEXT_BODY

message from Nancy

Bob,

see edit comments below

4th tick in tps: misspelled the word "the"

5th tick in tps: delete "Full diplomatic relations are dependent" and insert " Any decision on normalizing relations depends"

6th tick in tps: delete " greater Vietnamese cooperation" and insert "progress"

add point in letter that Liaison office will promote accreditation.

Bob, I;m guessing at the last comment, wasn't quite sure if that's what I was reading.

From: Suettinger, Robert L.
To: Mitchell, Calvin A.; @PRESS - Public Affairs
CC: /R, Record at A1; Hawkins, Ardenia R.; Roth, Stanley D.; Soderberg, Nancy E.
Subject: U.S.-Vietnam Liaison Offices [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Friday, January 27, 1995 10:44 AM

Background: On January 28 (Hanoi time), the U.S. and Vietnam will sign two agreements -- one on diplomatic property, one on claims settlement -- that will complete the process begun last year to open "liaison offices" in each other's capitals. In February 1994, when the President announced the lifting of the trade embargo against Vietnam, he also indicated that liaison offices would be opened. The purpose of the U.S. office in Hanoi is to further progress toward the goal of full accounting for our POW-MIAs, and to provide consular services to the increasing number of Americans traveling to Vietnam. These offices do NOT constitute the establishment of diplomatic

relations, and are governed by the 1963 Vienna Convention on Consular relations. A similar office was opened in China in 1973, prior to the establishment of diplomatic relations several years later. Full diplomatic relations between the United States and Vietnam remains dependent upon further tangible progress in accounting for American POW-MIAs from the Vietnam War.

The opening of the liaison offices was delayed by protracted negotiations over the claims issue and the diplomatic properties settlement. After the North defeated the South in 1975, considerable U.S. official and private property was confiscated in Vietnam, while the U.S. froze Vietnamese government assets in the United States. The claims agreement will make available \$203.5 million (with an additional \$5 million for OPIC) for private American claimants (eligible recipients were determined in 1986), money to be paid out of funds from the frozen assets. (This is considered a good settlement from US perspective). Vietnam will recover approximately \$130 million of its assets. The diplomatic property agreement provides for the return, exchange or sale of 22 USG properties seized by Vietnam in 1975, and the return of Vietnamese diplomatic facilities in the U.S.

Senator Helms and Congressman Gilman wrote the President earlier this week, asking him to delay the opening of the liaison offices, pending the receipt by Congress of a statutorily-required report from DOD on the status of unresolved POW-MIA cases. This report is due on February 17. As there is not linkage between the report and the decision on liaison offices announced last year, there is no real reason to delay signing the agreements and opening the offices.

TALKING POINTS: (If asked)

- Last February 3, at the same time he announced the lifting of the trade embargo against Vietnam, the President announced our intention to open liaison offices in Hanoi and Washington.
- The USG will sign a diplomatic property agreement and a claims settlement agreement with Vietnam on Saturday, January 28, 1995, in Hanoi.
- When those agreements are signed, the US Liaison Office in Hanoi and the Vietnamese Liaison Office in Washington will be officially opened.
- These offices are being opened within the framework of the 1963 Vienna Convention on Consular Relations. The openings do not represent establishment of diplomatic relations between the U.S. and Vietnam.
- Full diplomatic relations are dependent on further tangible progress on accounting for American POWs and MIAs from the Vietnam War.
- An expanded official U.S. presence in Vietnam will encourage greater Vietnamese cooperation on POW-MIA accounting.

-- In addition, the opening of the Hanoi office will enable us to provide consular services for American visiting or residing in Vietnam, including numerous Americans who visit and work in Vietnam on the POW-MIA issue.

(IF ASKED why the President did not postpone the opening of offices as requested by Senator Helms, Congressman Gilman and others):

-- The information on POWs and MIAs required under Section 1034 of Public Law 103-337 is being prepared by the DoD POW-MIA Office. The opening of liaison offices was decided last year and bears no relationship to the preparation of the DoD report.

--

As soon as it is finished, I will send you the final version of State's Press Statement, which will be used at the noon briefing.

Bob

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 30 January 95 20:17
FROM Ross, Thomas B.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT January 30 Press Guidance... [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Beardsley, Tyler S.
Branscum, Larry
Gray, Wendy
Mitchell, Calvin A.
Ross, Thomas B.
Spalter, Jonathan H.
Wozniak, Natalie S.
CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE
TEXT_BODY ...as it was delivered to Nancy Soderberg this evening.

[[JAN30GUI.DOC : 5169 in JAN30GUI.DOC]]

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE** 30 January 95 20:5
**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME** JAN30GUI.DOC
Foreign Policy Talking Points
January 30, 1995

Accomplishments

Ireland

Mexico

Peru and Ecuador

Haiti

Vietnam

China

Cambodia

North Korea

Israel

Russia

Bosnia

Peacekeeping

Non-Proliferation

ACCOMPLISHMENTS

-- For the first time since the beginning of the Cold War not a single nuclear warhead is now aimed at the United States.

-- Under START I we will eliminate 9,000 warheads and thousands more under START II.

-- Our agreement with North Korea has stopped their nuclear program in its tracks and will require its eventual destruction.

-- Our armed forces are the best trained and best prepared in the world. And I have

asked Congress to provide a \$25 billion increase to keep it that way.

-- The quality of our forces was demonstrated in Kuwait, in Haiti and in the humanitarian mission in Rwanda.

-- We have also helped to create peace in the Middle East, a truce in Northern Ireland and

an Eastern Europe free of Russian troops.

-- We have made promotion of democracy a priority -- in Russia, the NIS, Central and

Eastern Europe and South Africa.

-- And we have achieved highly beneficial advances in trade with NAFTA, GATT, the Summit of the Americas and the Asia Pacific Economic Conference.

IRELAND

Peace Process

-- I am strongly encouraged by the progress made since the IRA cease-fire was declared on August 31.

-- a cease-fire by loyalist paramilitaries is also in effect and holding.

-- Forum talks opened in Dublin last fall.

-- exploratory talks between British and Sinn Fein began in December and are ongoing.

-- We welcome steps by British to normalize peace in Northern Ireland, including opening of many cross-border roads and ending of daytime military patrols in Belfast and many rural areas.

-- The people of Northern Ireland are enjoying a peace more sustained and more hopeful than they have known for at least a generation.

-- I have heard from many people in Northern Ireland that the past Christmas was the

first peaceful one they and their children had ever known.

-- The people of Belfast and other parts of Northern Ireland are enjoying the simple

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to school and play -- in an atmosphere newly free from the fear of sudden,
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-- We support the efforts of the British and Irish governments to create a new
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for resolving Northern Ireland's problems.

-- The United States, and the millions of Americans who care deeply and have
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to Ireland and Britain, can play an important role in supporting peace and new
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-- We will continue to broaden and deepen our dialogue with responsible political
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in Northern Ireland from both communities in order to understand better their
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make clear our support for a peaceful process of democratic dialogue in Northern
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(If asked about progress on disarmament as a condition for Sinn Fein's
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in all party talks)

-- I think everyone agrees that progress toward disarmament would help move the
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process forward. I hope all sides will approach this issue in a constructive, flexi
ble way. The
ongoing talks provide a forum for making progress on this issue.

Gerry Adams/Sinn Fein

-- Adams visited the U.S. three times in 1994, most recently in December, when he met with Tony Lake and other U.S. officials. We recognize the important role he plays in the peace process.

-- Adams now holds a three-month, multiple-entry U.S. visa. Since we first issued

Adams a visa a year ago, we have maintained a fundraising prohibition. We are working to resolve the remaining issues of concern. (Do not get into specifics.)

(If asked about a report in the British Independent on Sunday that the Administration was working a deal with Adams to allow him to fundraise in exchange for a weapons turn-in)

-- The report is inaccurate. There is no "deal" in the works. We are working on some concerns related to this issue. I am not going to be more specific.

U.S. Economic Initiatives

-- George Mitchell is actively engaged as Special Advisor to me and Secretary Christopher on Economic Initiatives in Ireland. He is overseeing our package of economic initiatives and identifying ways in which private sector trade and investment can promote peace and

economic prosperity in Northern Ireland and the border counties of the Republic. Mitchell will visit the region in February.

-- I look forward to participating in the White House Conference on Investment in Ireland scheduled for May 25-26 in Washington.

-- The response from the American business community has been very encouraging. Peace in Northern Ireland makes it a vastly more attractive place to do business. In turn, job

growth and increased economic opportunity will help solidify the peace.

(If asked who will be invited, whether John Major and John Bruton, Gerry Adams or loyalist paramilitaries will be included.)

-- The focus of the conference is trade and investment.

-- We anticipate following the model of our recent successful conference on investment in Central Europe, at which governments were represented at the ministerial, not head of government level.

-- As for political parties and other groups, the conference will seek to be as inclusive as possible while still focusing on the overall business objectives. Senator Mitchell's staff and the conference organizers are currently working on invitation lists.

(If asked whether fair employment issues will be addressed at the conference)

-- Conference organizers are considering including a session on labor at which fair

employment questions can be discussed in detail.

-- Commerce Secretary Ron Brown led a strong group of business leaders on a successful trip to Northern Ireland and the Republic in December.

-- I remain committed to seeking from Congress a \$10 million increase in funding for the International Fund for Ireland in FY96 and again in FY97, for a total of about \$30 million each year.

-- There is strong bipartisan support in Congress for the Fund, and for solidifying this chance for peace.

MEXICO

-- Mexico's financial difficulty endangers the future of the United States. It is not simply a financial problem for Mexico. It is an American challenge.

-- Protracted economic crisis in Mexico would decrease U.S. exports, cause a loss of

thousands of jobs, and increase illegal immigration to the U.S.

-- To help Mexico through its liquidity crisis, the Administration is working with the bipartisan Congressional leadership and Chairman Greenspan on a loan guarantee of up to \$40 billion.

-- We are making good progress in Congress on the loan guarantee. These are difficult issues. But we are confident we will succeed.

-- It will have no effect on the current U.S. budget. The United States stands to make a profit on the transaction. And Mexico will back its guarantees with proceeds from its oil exports.

-- The United States has extended loans and loan guarantees many, many times before to many different countries, including Mexico. Mexico has always made good on its obligations.

America's Stake

-- Mexico is the third largest destination for our exports. They buy \$40 billion worth of our goods each year.

-- Nearly 770,000 are employed producing and distributing products for Mexico.

-- A protracted Mexican crisis could lead to a sharp rise in illegal immigration -- with

500,000 additional illegals trying to get into the United States each year.

Multilateral Effort

- We are assembling an unprecedented multilateral effort.
- The International Monetary Fund is providing a \$7.6 billion loan.
- The World Bank and Inter-American Development Bank have sent teams to Mexico to discuss new loans and accelerating existing loans.
- Canada will allow Mexico to borrow \$1 billion (U.S.) to bolster the peso.
- Other central banks have committed \$5 billion in support.

Beneficiaries

- Americans are the largest foreign investors in Mexico.
- Twelve million Americans hold shares in the \$200 billion of U.S. mutual funds that invest primarily in foreign securities, including Mexico.
- Ninety percent of foreign-held Tesobonos, worth \$16 billion, are held by Americans.
- U.S. residents hold \$18 billion worth of Mexican bonds and direct investments with a market value of \$53 billion.

PERU AND ECUADOR

Background

Clashes continue along the border between Peru and Ecuador. To our knowledge fighting has not spread beyond a limited area, despite troop concentrations along other portions of the border. Casualty reports are conflicting; we estimate perhaps 50 dead in the fighting so far but cannot confirm.

The United States, Brazil, Argentina and Chile are the guarantors of the 1942 Rio Protocol that established

the border Ecuador now disputes. The Four Guarantors called last week for a
cessati
on of hostilities and
separation of forces. Ecuador has accepted but Peru has not, asserting a cease-fire
in place would
legitimize the presence of Ecuadorian troops on what Lima considers Peruvian
territo
ry. We hope
to schedule a Four-Plus-Two meeting in Rio de Janeiro Tuesday. The Four
Guarantors
helped resolve
similar conflicts in 1981 and 1991 and form the best diplomatic channel for
resolvin
g the current dispute.

OAS Secretary General Gaviria conferred with both presidents in recent days and
we w
elcome his
support. We opposed a proposal that the U.N. Security Council take up the issue.
S
ecretary
Christopher has spoken three times with President Duran Ballen of Ecuador and
once w
ith Fujimori
of Peru. Ecuador alleged Saturday Peru is using U.S.-supplied counternarcotics
hel
icopters to support
the current conflict; this allegation is false.

Key Points

- We view the current fighting with deep concern and urges both parties to cease operations and avoid further bloodshed.
- The 1942 Rio Protocol provides the basis for a settlement of this dispute. We ar
e
working with the other three guarantors of the Protocol -- Brazil, Argentina and
Chi
le -- to
assist Peru and Ecuador to reach a peaceful resolution.
- Senior U.S. officials have also been in contact with Peruvian and Ecuadorian counterparts to stress the urgency of ending this conflict.
- Allegations that Peru is using U.S.-supplied counternarcotics helicopters in this conflict
are incorrect. No U.S.-owned or leased helicopters have been used to transport
Peru
vian soldiers

to the area of conflict.

-- It would not be appropriate to comment on the current state of consultations among the parties or the Four Guarantors.

HAITI

Background: The UN Security Council Resolution sets the date for a transition from the U.S. to the UN Mission in Haiti for no later than March 31. It authorizes up to 6,000 military and 900 civilian police.

Points

- We expect about 2,500 U.S. military to be part of the UN force of 6,000.
- An American officer, Major General Joseph Kinzer, will be the UN commander.
- The transition date will be no later than March 31.
- The resolution extends the mandate until July 31, and we expect the UN force to remain in Haiti through the presidential elections to the inauguration in February of 1996.
- Based on extensive planning, we expect the transition to be seamless.
- We have met with the UN almost weekly. We had one all day conference in December and expect another in February.
- We have also provided U.S. planners for the UNMIH advance staff in Haiti and for UN headquarters in New York to help with the transition.

VIETNAM

Background: On Saturday in Hanoi, the U.S. and Vietnam signed two agreements

-- on
diplomatic
property and claims -- to complete the process begun last year to open "liaison
offi
ces" in each
other's capitals. Senator Helms and Congressman Gilman wrote to you this week,
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reason to delay signing the agreements and opening the offices.

Points

-- Last year when we lifted the trade embargo against Vietnam, I announced our
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to open liaison offices in Hanoi and Washington.

-- The openings do not represent establishment of diplomatic relations between
the U
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and Vietnam. Full diplomatic relations are dependent on further tangible progress
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-- An expanded official U.S. presence in Vietnam will encourage greater
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progress on POW-MIA accounting.

-- In addition, the opening of the Hanoi office will enable us to provide consular s
ervices
for Americans visiting or residing in Vietnam, including numerous Americans
who visi
t and
work in Vietnam on the POW-MIA issue.

(If asked why you didn't postpone opening the offices as requested by Helms and
Gilm
an)

-- The Defense Department is preparing the POW-MIA report cited by Senator Helms and

Congressman Gilman and will forward it as soon as possible.

-- The liaison office which will facilitate the process of full accounting. It is thus in our interest to move forward with the liaison office.

(If asked about a new book claiming "hundreds" of POWs were killed or tortured to death)

-- We continue to press the governments of Vietnam and Laos for the fullest possible

disclosure of information about POWs and MIAs.

-- We now have even fuller access to Vietnamese military files than the author had, and

we have engaged in numerous on-site excavations -- with full Vietnamese and Laotian

cooperation -- to resolve specific cases.

-- While we know that some Americans died at the hands of their Vietnamese captors,

we

cannot corroborate the claim that "hundreds" died that way.

CHINA

Background: The latest round of Intellectual Property Rights talks between the U.S.

and China recessed

without agreement on Saturday. The talks had originally been scheduled to end ten d

ays ago but were

extended to see if more progress could be made on outstanding issues. The talks did

achieve a

narrowing of differences on a variety of points. China has hinted it is prepared to send a higher level

official to Washington next week to continue negotiations.

Points

-- The talks over intellectual property rights recessed on Saturday without agreement.

-- As Mickey Kantor, our trade representative, said, we are prepared to impose trade

sanctions if an agreement is not reached by next Saturday.

-- We have invited Chinese trade officials to come to Washington this week to resume the talks.

-- This is a serious problem and seems to be getting worse. We would like to see further improvements in enforcement and regulations and in making legitimate U.S. products available to Chinese consumers.

CAMBODIA

Background: The Press has given considerable attention to Strobe Talbott's statement in Phnom Penh that the U.S. will give lethal assistance to the Cambodian Army to fight the Khmer Rouge.

Too little attention has been given to the fact that this policy requires the Cambodian Army to undergo a significant reform of its rank structure and procedures to qualify; and that most of our assistance is non-lethal..

Points

-- Strobe Talbott's statement does not represent a new policy. Lethal assistance will be considered in the context of reform of the Cambodian armed forces.

-- We have not yet provided lethal assistance since the reform process is ongoing.

-- We currently provide non-lethal assistance including mine clearing, road building

and
English language training.

NORTH KOREA

-- The North Korea agreement is strongly in our national interest. It has stopped the dangerous North Korean nuclear program in its tracks, and requires its eventual destruction.

-- It is not based on trust. The IAEA has verified that the North Korean program is

frozen. We and the IAEA are monitoring North Korea's performance every day. If North Korea reneges, the deal is off.

-- We will need Congressional support for the Agreed Framework to work.

-- Our regional allies -- South Korea and Japan -- support this agreement, and will participate in implementing it.

ISRAEL

-- I strongly condemn this horrendous act of terrorist violence and conveyed the condolences and deepest sympathy of the American people to the families of the victims.

-- I believe that the parties must continue the peace process. To do otherwise would hand these terrorists their greatest victory. I admire and welcome the Israeli Government's decision to continue the talks with the Palestinians.

-- I have directed the Treasury Department to freeze assets in the U.S. of terrorists

t
organizations and to prohibit financial transactions between the U.S. and these
orga
nizations
overseas.

(If asked about U.S. policy on settlements and whether Israel's actions are making
t
he negotiations more
difficult)

-- Israel and the PLO both agreed in the Declaration of Principles signed at the
Whi
te
House and the Gaza/Jericho Agreement that settlements are an issue that they
will ad
dress in the
final status negotiations.

-- I support that approach.

-- That said, settlement activity clearly is a problem that complicates the negotiat
ions.
They're not the only problem -- terrorism poses a much greater danger to the
process
-- but
they do have a very negative impact on the attitudes of the Palestinians.

-- At the same time, this issue should be put in perspective. Prime Minister Rabin
has
curtailed settlement activity. Recently, he declared there would be no new
settleme
nts, no
government funding, and no confiscation of land other than for security roads in
the
context of
redeployment of the Israeli army.

(If asked about an attack in Lebanon Wednesday that killed six militia and two
Isra
elis)

-- We are concerned by the escalation in fighting. I urge those involved to exercis
e
restraint to prevent further violence.

RUSSIA

Background: The head of the OSCE mission to Chechnya held a press conference in Moscow after visiting Grozny. He compared the destruction there to Dresden. He called Russian use of force disproportionate and indiscriminate, and criticized both the Russians and the Chechens for human rights violations.

Points

-- We've been very much in support of the OSCE's efforts to deal with the humanitarian aspects of the situation.

-- We've also been encouraged by the Russian government's support for the mission's

travel to Chechnya.

-- The head of the mission will be reporting to our Ambassador and other OSCE officials in Vienna. I don't want to react to press statements until we've had a chance to hear the full report.

-- But it's clear the toll of suffering from this conflict has been far too high. I again call on the Russians and Chechens to resolve this matter without further violence.

Stake in Russia

-- The United States has a tremendous stake in a healthy and democratic Russia. That's why we'll continue our vigorous support of reform in Russia, as well as in the other states of the former Soviet Union. Now is no time to give up.

-- We have said we support Russia's territorial integrity, just as we support its neighbors'. But we have made very clear our concern about the way the military operation in Chechnya has been handled. The violence simply must end.

(If asked)

-- There's no evidence to indicate that President Yeltsin is not in control in Russia.

-- There have been other episodes when some tried to write him off, but he showed that at he remained in command.

-- I expect to continue an active dialog with President Yeltsin. But we haven't fixed a date for our next meeting.

BOSNIA

-- The cease-fire and cessation of hostilities agreement represents real progress and affirms the correctness of our policy.

-- We are working hard to build on the cease-fire to launch new peace talks based on the Contact Group plan.

-- We regret last week's confirmation by the Bosnian Serbs that they refuse to accept the Contact Group territorial proposal.

-- We remain convinced the conflict in Bosnia must end in a negotiated settlement. We will continue our efforts despite the difficulties we have encountered (FYI: the Contact Group returned to capitals for consultation on Saturday).

Unilateral Lift

-- We remain strongly opposed to a unilateral lift as a step with grave consequences for the United States.

-- It would seriously damage or destroy the peace process, severely strain relations with NATO and the Russians, and bring other UN sanctions into question, particularly on Iraq and Libya.

-- It is not clear that all who favor unilateral lift would support the rearmament, training, and extensive airstrikes that would be required or the deployment of U.S. ground forces that could become necessary if airstrikes are not fully effective.

Silajdzic Visit

-- We welcome the Prime Minister. His visit comes at a very important time in the peace process.

-- The Vice President and Secretary Christopher had productive meetings with him, and reaffirmed our support for the territorial integrity of Bosnia.

-- We share his frustration that despite all that has been done by the international community, the Bosnian Serbs continued failure to accept the Contact Group plan has stalled new negotiations.

-- We assured the Prime Minister that we will continue our efforts to obtain a negotiated settlement.

(If asked about recent shelling in Sarajevo and fighting in Bihac)

-- I am pleased the cease-fire continues to hold generally throughout most of Bosnia

-- We deplore the recent shelling incident in Sarajevo by Bosnian Serbs and the continued fighting in Bihac. It is important that those incidents do not derail the peace process.

(If asked whether we have changed policy in talking to the Bosnian Serbs)

-- Our policy in Bosnia has not changed. We seek a negotiated settlement to the conflict based on the Contact Group Plan that preserves Bosnia as a single state within its recognized borders.

-- Within that context, and in close consultation with the Bosnian Government, we

contacted the Bosnian Serbs to win their acceptance of the Contact Group map as a starting point for renewed negotiations.

PEACEKEEPING

-- Peacekeeping could become a point of partisan contention. It does not have to be. I hope we can work constructively with the Republicans on this as well as other national security issues.

-- UN peacekeeping serves our common interest in getting others to take on greater responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. It is a tool that any President would find useful as a means of burden-sharing. We should not seek to cripple peacekeeping but preserve and reform it.

-- As Secretary Christopher said, certain restrictions on peacekeeping could leave the United States with the choice of "acting alone or doing nothing."

-- UN peacekeeping missions in the Middle East, Cyprus, Cambodia, Namibia, El

Salvador, and elsewhere demonstrate the value to the U.S. of many UN efforts.

NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY

Background: Tony Lake gave a speech Monday outlining the decisions you made on the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the Comprehensive Test Ban.

Points

-- We have been vigorously urging all countries to support the indefinite extension of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. I said this in my State of the Union speech and in my address to the United Nations.

-- To underscore my determination to achieve as much progress as possible before the NPT Extension Conference convenes in April, I made three decisions over the weekend.

-- First, on the assumption that the treaty will be signed before September 30, 1996, and subject to the same understandings that govern our current moratorium, I decided to extend the moratorium on its nuclear tests until a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty enters into force.

-- Second, I directed our CTB negotiator to propose that the Conference on Disarmament remain in session through August if the negotiation is not concluded during the round now scheduled to end in April.

-- Third, I directed that at today's (Tuesday's) session of the Geneva negotiations, the U.S. will withdraw its proposal for a special "right to withdraw" from the CTB Treaty ten years after it enters into force.

-- Let me also note that the CTB will contain a traditional "supreme national interest" clause.

-- In articulating our National Security Strategy last July, I declared that the United States will retain strategic nuclear forces sufficient to deter any future hostile foreign leadership with access to nuclear forces from acting against our vital national interests and to convince it that seeking a nuclear advantage would be futile.

-- In this regard, I consider the maintenance of a safe and reliable nuclear stockpile to be a supreme national interest of the United States.

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 31 January 95 13:15

FROM Wozniak, Natalie S.

CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED

SUBJECT Revised Jan31 Press Guidance [UNCLASSIFIED]

TO Beardsley, Tyler S.
Branscum, Larry
Mitchell, Calvin A.
Ross, Thomas B.
Spalter, Jonathan H.
Wozniak, Natalie S.

CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE

TEXT_BODY Revised January 31 press guidance now reflects updated points on Peru/Ecuador.

[[JAN31GUI.DOC : 3392 in JAN31GUI.DOC]]

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE** 31 January 95 13:13

**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME** JAN31GUI.DOC
Foreign Policy Talking Points

January 31, 1995

Accomplishments

Ireland

Mexico

Peru/Ecuador

Haiti

Vietnam

China

Cambodia

North Korea

Israel

Russia

Bosnia

Peacekeeping

Non-Proliferation

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-- Under START I we will eliminate 9,000 warheads and thousands more under START II.

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-- The quality of our forces was demonstrated in Kuwait, in Haiti and in the humanitarian mission in Rwanda.

-- We have also helped to create peace in the Middle East, a truce in Northern Ireland and an Eastern Europe free of Russian troops.

-- We have made promotion of democracy a priority -- in Russia, the CIS, Central and

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-- The people of Northern Ireland are enjoying a peace more sustained and more hopeful than they have known for at least a generation.

-- I have heard from many people in Northern Ireland that the past Christmas was the first peaceful one they and their children had ever known.

-- The people of Belfast and other parts of Northern Ireland are enjoying the simple but profound pleasures of going about their daily lives -- working, shopping, sending their children

to school and play -- in an atmosphere newly free from the fear of sudden, random violence. A return to violence becomes more unimaginable by the day.

-- We support the efforts of the British and Irish governments to create a new framework for resolving Northern Ireland's problems.

-- The United States, and the millions of Americans who care deeply and have strong ties to Ireland and Britain, can play an important role in supporting peace and new economic opportunities in the region. But details of negotiations and any eventual settlement are for the parties themselves to work out.

-- We will continue to broaden and deepen our dialogue with responsible political leaders in Northern Ireland from both communities in order to understand better their views, and to make clear our support for a peaceful process of democratic dialogue in Northern Ireland.

(If asked about progress on disarmament as a condition for Sinn Fein's participation in all party talks)

-- I think everyone agrees that progress toward disarmament would help move the peace process forward. While disarmament is not a specific condition, I hope all sides will approach this issue in a constructive, flexible way. The ongoing talks provide a forum for making progress on this issue, as will the all-party talks.

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-- Adams visited the U.S. three times in 1994, most recently in December, when he met with Tony Lake and other U.S. officials. We recognize the important role he plays in the peace process.

-- Adams now holds a three-month, multiple-entry U.S. visa. Since we first issued

Adams a visa a year ago, we have maintained a fundraising prohibition. We are working to resolve the remaining issues of concern. (Do not get into specifics.)

(If asked about a report in the British Independent on Sunday that the Administration was working a deal with Adams to allow him to fundraise in exchange for a weapons turn-in)

-- The report is inaccurate. We are working through some concerns related to this issue. I am not going to be more specific.

U.S. Economic Initiatives

-- George Mitchell is actively engaged as Special Advisor to me and Secretary Christopher on Economic Initiatives in Ireland. He is overseeing our package of economic initiatives and identifying ways in which private sector trade and investment can promote peace and

economic prosperity in Northern Ireland and the border counties of the Republic. Mitchell will visit the region in February.

-- I look forward to participating in the White House Conference on Investment in Ireland scheduled for May 25-26 in Washington.

-- The response from the American business community has been very encouraging. Peace in Northern Ireland makes it a vastly more attractive place to do business. I

n turn, job
growth and increased economic opportunity will help solidify the peace.

(If asked who will be invited, whether John Major and John Bruton, Gerry
Adams or lo
yalist paramilitaries
will be included)

-- The focus of the conference is trade and investment.

-- We anticipate following the model of our recent successful conference on
investme
nt
in Central Europe, at which governments were represented at the ministerial, not
hea
d of
government level.

-- As for political parties and other groups, the conference will seek to be as incl
usive as
possible while still focusing on the overall business objectives. Senator Mitchell'
s staff and the
conference organizers are currently working on invitation lists.

(If asked whether fair employment issues will be addressed at the conference)

-- Conference organizers are considering including a session on labor at which
fair

employment questions can be discussed in detail.

-- Commerce Secretary Ron Brown led a strong group of business leaders on a
successful trip to Northern Ireland and the Republic in December.

-- I remain committed to seeking from Congress a \$10 million increase in funding
for
the
International Fund for Ireland in FY96 and again in FY97, for a total of about
\$30 e
ach year.

-- There is strong bipartisan support in Congress for the Fund, and for solidifying
this
chance for peace.

MEXICO

-- Mexico's financial difficulty endangers the future of the United States. It is not simply a financial problem for Mexico. It is an American challenge.

-- Protracted economic crisis in Mexico would decrease U.S. exports, cause a loss of

thousands of jobs, and increase illegal immigration to the U.S.

-- To help Mexico through its liquidity crisis, the Administration is working with the bipartisan Congressional leadership and Chairman Greenspan on a loan guarantee of up to \$40 billion.

-- We are making good progress in Congress on the loan guarantee. These are difficult issues. But we are confident we will succeed.

-- It will have no effect on the current U.S. budget. The United States stands to make a profit on the transaction. And Mexico will back its guarantees with proceeds from its oil exports.

-- The United States has extended loans and loan guarantees many, many times before to many different countries, including Mexico. Mexico has always made good on its obligations.

America's Stake

-- Mexico is the third largest destination for our exports. They buy \$40 billion worth of our goods each year.

-- Nearly 770,000 are employed producing and distributing products for Mexico.

-- A protracted Mexican crisis could lead to a sharp rise in illegal immigration --

with
500,000 additional illegals trying to get into the United States each year.

Multilateral Effort

- We are assembling an unprecedented multilateral effort.
- The International Monetary Fund is providing a \$7.6 billion loan.
- The World Bank and Inter-American Development Bank have sent teams to Mexico to discuss new loans and accelerating existing loans.
- Canada will allow Mexico to borrow \$1 billion (U.S.) to bolster the peso.
- Other central banks have committed \$5 billion in support.

Beneficiaries

- Americans are the largest foreign investors in Mexico.
- Twelve million Americans hold shares in the \$200 billion of U.S. mutual funds that invest primarily in foreign securities, including Mexico.
- Ninety percent of foreign-held Tesobonos, worth \$16 billion, are held by Americans.
- U.S. residents hold \$18 billion worth of Mexican bonds and direct investments with a market value of \$53 billion.

PERU AND ECUADOR

Background: Peru and Ecuador appear to be moving toward a cease-fire that if implemented would end several weeks of fighting along their common border. Their dispute centers on differing interpretations of the 1942 Rio Protocol that defines their common boundary. As one of four guarantors of the protocol -- along with Brazil, Argentina and Chile -- we played an active role in brokering the cease-fire. The Four Guarantors are seeking to arrange a meeting with representatives from Ecuador and Peru.

ru this afternoon in
Brazil to codify the cease-fire and discuss additional steps to reduce tensions. It
is unclear at this point
whether a meeting will be held; Ecuador appears to have cold feet. We are
working i
t.

Key Points

-- I am very pleased that Peru and Ecuador appear to be moving toward a cease-fire.

-- The United States is playing an active role in brokering a cease-fire and will continue to
work to reduce tensions.

-- Secretary Christopher spoke with both President Fujimori of Peru and
President Duran
Ballen of Ecuador during the height of the conflict last week and urged them to seek
a peaceful
solution.

-- We are working especially closely with Brazil, Argentina and Chile. It is very
much in
the spirit of the Summit of the Americas, where we agreed that cooperation is key
to
building a
peaceful and prosperous hemisphere.

-- We are working with Brazil, Argentina and Chile to arrange a meeting of the
Four

Guarantors and Ecuador and Peru. We hope that a meeting will take place soon.

HAITI

Background: The UN Security Council Resolution approved Monday evening
sets the date
for a transition
from the U.S. to the UN Mission in Haiti for no later than March 31. It authorizes
up to 6,000 military

and 900 civilian police.

Points

- We expect about 2,500 U.S. military to be part of the UN force of 6,000.
- An American officer, Major General Joseph Kinzer, will be the UN commander.
- The transition date will be no later than March 31.
- The resolution extends the mandate until July 31, and we expect the UN force to remain in Haiti through the presidential elections to the inauguration in February of 1996.
- Based on extensive planning, we expect the transition to be seamless.
- We have met with the UN almost weekly. We had one all day conference in December and expect another in February.
- We have also provided U.S. planners for the UNMIH advance staff in Haiti and for UN headquarters in New York to help with the transition.

VIETNAM

Background: On Saturday in Hanoi, the U.S. and Vietnam signed an agreement to open "liaison offices" in each other's capitals. Senator Helms and Congressman Gilman wrote to you last week, asking you to delay the opening of the liaison offices, pending the receipt by Congress of a statutorily-required report from DOD on the status of unresolved POW-MIA cases. This report is due on February 17. As there is no linkage between the report and the decision on liaison offices announced last year, there was no real reason to delay signing the agreements and opening the offices. A former U.S. intelligence operator,

Ted Scheweitzer recently published a book charging Vietnam killed hundreds of U.S. POW/MIA's and then hid the fact. While some U.S. POWs were certainly killed, our evidence does not corroborate Scheweitzer's high numbers.

Points

-- The opening of the liaison offices does not represent establishment of diplomatic

relations between the U.S. and Vietnam. Full diplomatic relations are dependent on further tangible progress in accounting for American POWs and MIAs.

-- An expanded official U.S. presence in Vietnam will encourage greater Vietnamese

progress on POW-MIA accounting.

-- In addition, the opening of the Hanoi office will enable us to provide consular services for Americans visiting or residing in Vietnam, including numerous Americans who visit and work in Vietnam on the POW-MIA issue.

(If asked why you didn't postpone opening the offices as requested by Helms and Gilman)

-- The Defense Department is preparing the POW-MIA report cited by Senator Helms and

Congressman Gilman and will forward it as soon as possible.

-- The liaison office which will facilitate the process of full accounting. It is thus in our interest to move forward with the liaison office.

(If asked about a new book claiming "hundreds" of POWs were killed or tortured to death)

-- We continue to press the governments of Vietnam and Laos for the fullest possible

disclosure of information about POWs and MIAs.

-- We now have even fuller access to Vietnamese military files than the author had, and we have engaged in numerous on-site excavations -- with full Vietnamese and Laotian

cooperation -- to resolve specific cases.

-- While we know that some Americans died at the hands of their Vietnamese captors, we cannot corroborate the claim that "hundreds" died that way.

CHINA

Background: The latest round of Intellectual Property Rights talks between the U.S. and China recessed without agreement on Saturday. The talks had originally been scheduled to end ten days ago but were extended to see if more progress could be made on outstanding issues. The talks did achieve a narrowing of differences on a variety of points. China has hinted it is prepared to send a higher level official to Washington next week to continue negotiations.

Points

-- The talks over intellectual property rights recessed on Saturday without agreement.

-- As Mickey Kantor, our trade representative, said, we are prepared to impose trade

sanctions if an agreement is not reached by next Saturday.

-- We have invited Chinese trade officials to come to Washington this week to resume the talks.

-- This is a serious problem and seems to be getting worse. We would like to see fu

rather
improvements in enforcement and regulations and in making legitimate U.S.
products a
vailable to
Chinese consumers.

CAMBODIA

Background: The Press has given considerable attention to Strobe Talbott's
statemen
t in Phnom Penh that
the U.S. will give lethal assistance to the Cambodian Army to fight the Khmer
Rouge.
Too little attention
has been given to the fact that this policy requires the Cambodian Army to
undergo a
significant reform
of its rank structure and procedures to qualify; and that most of our assistance is
non-lethal..

Points

- Strobe Talbott's statement does not represent a new policy. Lethal assistance
wo
uld
only be considered in the context of reform of the Cambodian armed forces.
- We have not yet provided lethal assistance since the reform process is ongoing.
- We currently provide non-lethal assistance including mine clearing, road
building
and
English language training.

NORTH KOREA

- The North Korea agreement is strongly in our national interest. It has stopped t
he
dangerous North Korean nuclear program in its tracks, and requires its eventual
dest
ruction.

-- It is not based on trust. The IAEA has verified that the North Korean program is

frozen. We and the IAEA are monitoring North Korea's performance every day. If North Korea reneges, the deal is off.

-- We will need Congressional support for the Agreed Framework to work.

-- Our regional allies -- South Korea and Japan -- support this agreement, and will participate in implementing it.

ISRAEL

-- I strongly condemn this horrendous act of terrorist violence and conveyed the condolences and deepest sympathy of the American people to the families of the victims.

-- I believe that the parties must continue the peace process. To do otherwise would hand these terrorists their greatest victory. I admire and welcome the Israeli Government's decision to continue the talks with the Palestinians.

-- I have directed the Treasury Department to freeze assets in the U.S. of terrorist organizations and to prohibit financial transactions between the U.S. and these organizations overseas.

Separation of Israelis and Palestinians

-- Separation sounds like a quick fix solution to an immensely complex problem. It doesn't take account of settlers living in the West Bank and Palestinians living in Jerusalem. The Israeli and Palestinian population are so intertwined it is difficult to see how separation would work.

-- The solution lies in negotiating agreements and keeping to them. Even

separation
would have to be negotiated.

-- Chairman Arafat has to find effective ways to meet Israel's security requirements
. Israel has to find effective ways to help Palestinians feel the economic benefits of peacemaking.

-- Both sides have a strong interest in preventing the terrorists from succeeding with their effort to destroy the peace process.

(If asked about U.S. policy on settlements and whether Israel's actions are making the negotiations more difficult)

-- Israel and the PLO both agreed in the Declaration of Principles signed at the White House and the Gaza/Jericho Agreement that settlements are an issue that they will address in the final status negotiations. I support that approach.

-- That said, settlement activity clearly complicates the negotiations. They're not the only problem -- terrorism poses a much greater danger to the process -- but they do have a very negative impact on the attitudes of the Palestinians.

-- At the same time, this issue should be put in perspective. While allowing some new building in existing settlements, Prime Minister Rabin has curtailed settlement activity. Recently, he declared there would be no new settlements, no government funding, and no confiscation of land other than for security roads in the context of redeployment of the Israeli army.

RUSSIA

Background: The head of the OSCE mission to Chechnya held a press conference in Moscow after visiting Grozny. He compared the destruction there to Dresden. He called Russian use of force disproportionate and indiscriminate, and criticized both the Russians and the Chechens for human rights violations.

Points

-- We've been very much in support of the OSCE's efforts to deal with the humanitarian aspects of the situation.

-- We've also been encouraged by the Russian government's support for the mission's travel to Chechnya.

-- The head of the mission will be reporting to our Ambassador and other OSCE officials in Vienna. I don't want to react to press statements until we've had a chance to hear the full report.

-- But it's clear the toll of suffering from this conflict has been far too high. I again call on the Russians and Chechens to resolve this matter without further violence.

Stake in Russia

-- The United States has a tremendous stake in a healthy and democratic Russia. That's why we'll continue our vigorous support of reform in Russia, as well as in the other states of the former Soviet Union. Now is no time to give up.

-- We have said we support Russia's territorial integrity, just as we support its neighbors'. But we have made very clear our concern about the way the military operation in Chechnya has been handled. The violence simply must end.

(If asked)

-- There's no evidence to indicate that President Yeltsin is not in control in Russia.

-- There have been other episodes when some tried to write him off, but he showed that at he remained in command.

-- I expect to continue an active dialog with President Yeltsin. But we haven't fixed a date for our next meeting.

BOSNIA

-- The cease-fire and cessation of hostilities agreement represents real progress and affirms the correctness of our policy.

-- We are working hard to build on the cease-fire to launch new peace talks based on the Contact Group plan.

-- We regret last week's confirmation by the Bosnian Serbs that they refuse to accept the Contact Group territorial proposal.

-- We remain convinced the conflict in Bosnia must end in a negotiated settlement. We will continue our efforts despite the difficulties we have encountered (FYI: the Contact Group returned to capitals for consultation on Saturday).

Unilateral Lift

-- We remain strongly opposed to a unilateral lift as a step with grave consequences for the United States.

-- It would seriously damage or destroy the peace process, severely strain relations with NATO and the Russians, and bring other UN sanctions into question, particularly on Iraq and Libya.

-- It is not clear that all who favor unilateral lift would support the rearmament, training, and extensive airstrikes that would be required or the deployment of U.S. ground forces that could become necessary if airstrikes are not fully effective.

Silajdzic Visit

-- We welcome the Prime Minister. His visit comes at a very important time in the peace process.

-- The Vice President and Secretary Christopher had productive meetings with him, and reaffirmed our support for the territorial integrity of Bosnia.

-- We share his frustration that despite all that has been done by the international community, the Bosnian Serbs continued failure to accept the Contact Group plan has stalled new negotiations.

-- We assured the Prime Minister that we will continue our efforts to obtain a negotiated settlement.

(If asked about recent shelling in Sarajevo and fighting in Bihac)

-- I am pleased the cease-fire continues to hold generally throughout most of Bosnia

-- We deplore the recent shelling incident in Sarajevo by Bosnian Serbs and the continued fighting in Bihac. It is important that those incidents do not derail the peace process.

(If asked whether we have changed policy in talking to the Bosnian Serbs)

-- Our policy in Bosnia has not changed. We seek a negotiated settlement to the conflict based on the Contact Group Plan that preserves Bosnia as a single state within its recognized borders.

-- Within that context, and in close consultation with the Bosnian Government, we

contacted the Bosnian Serbs to win their acceptance of the Contact Group map as a starting point for renewed negotiations.

PEACEKEEPING

-- Peacekeeping could become a point of partisan contention. It does not have to be. I hope we can work constructively with the Republicans on this as well as other national security issues.

-- UN peacekeeping serves our common interest in getting others to take on greater responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. It is a tool that any President would find useful as a means of burden-sharing. We should not seek to cripple peacekeeping but preserve and reform it.

-- As Secretary Christopher said, certain restrictions on peacekeeping could leave the United States with the choice of "acting alone or doing nothing."

-- UN peacekeeping missions in the Middle East, Cyprus, Cambodia, Namibia, El

Salvador, and elsewhere demonstrate the value to the U.S. of many UN efforts.

NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY

Background: Tony Lake gave a speech Monday outlining the decisions you made on the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the Comprehensive Test Ban.

Points

-- We have been vigorously urging all countries to support the indefinite extension of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. I said this in my State of the Union speech and in my address to the United Nations.

-- To underscore my determination to achieve as much progress as possible before the NPT Extension Conference convenes in April, I made three decisions over the weekend.

-- First, on the assumption that the treaty will be signed before September 30, 1996, and subject to the same understandings that govern our current moratorium, I decided to extend the moratorium on its nuclear tests until a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty enters into force.

-- Second, I directed our CTB negotiator to propose that the Conference on Disarmament remain in session through August if the negotiation is not concluded during the round now scheduled to end in April.

-- Third, I directed that at today's (Tuesday's) session of the Geneva negotiations, the U.S. will withdraw its proposal for a special "right to withdraw" from the CTB Treaty ten years after it enters into force.

-- Let me also note that the CTB will contain a traditional "supreme national interest" clause.

-- In articulating our National Security Strategy last July, I declared that the United States will retain strategic nuclear forces sufficient to deter any future hostile foreign leadership with access to nuclear forces from acting against our vital national interests and to convince it that seeking a nuclear advantage would be futile.

-- In this regard, I consider the maintenance of a safe and reliable nuclear stockpile to be a supreme national interest of the United States.