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FROM Wozniak, Natalie S.
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TO Baker, Jane E.
Baldwin, Kenneth
Gray, Wendy
Hilliard, Brenda I.
Joshi, M. Kay
Millison, Cathy L.

CARBON_COPY Fetig, James L.
Mitchell, Calvin A.
Schuker, Jill A.
Wozniak, Natalie S.

TEXT_BODY

PLEASE PASS TO NANCY SODERBERG FOR URGENT CLEARANCE.
Thanks.

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**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE** 6 September 95 11:53

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FILE NAME** SEP06GUI.DOC
FOREIGN AFFAIRS GUIDANCE

September 6, 1995

Bosnia/Croatia

Panama/Perez Balladares Meeting

Cuba -- New Foreign Investment Law

French Nuclear Test

Senate ABM Compromise

Senate Endorsement of START II and CWC Ratification

Jerusalem 3000

Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process

Iraq

Kashmir

China

Ireland

Russia

BOSNIA/CROATIA

Response to Sarajevo Market Bombing

- NATO and the UN have resumed their air campaign because of Bosnian Serb refusal to agree to conditions laid down over the weekend by NATO and the UN. The conditions include:
 - a beginning of withdrawal of heavy weapons from the 20-kilometer exclusion zone around Sarajevo;
 - cessation of all attacks on Sarajevo and other safe areas;
 - complete freedom of movement for the UN and NGOs, including the opening of ground routes and the Sarajevo airport.
- Despite pledges by Bosnian Serb political leaders during the day Monday that they accepted the three conditions, military commanders failed to carry out the promises. Only a handful of heavy weapons were moved.
- The resumption of the NATO/UN campaign was a necessary step in view of the failure

e of the
Bosnian Serbs to comply with the NATO/UN conditions, as conveyed to them by
the NATO
Council and
UN commander General Janvier.

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

-- The response is in full conformity with NATO decisions and UN Security
Council re
solutions
on protection of Bosnian safe areas, and is taking place under rules established at
the July 21 London
Conference and subsequent NATO meetings.

Objective:

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

international community and to make a decisive turn toward negotiations on a
politic
al settlement to
the conflict.

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

(If pressed for details of the response)

-- For details on duration, targeting, and other matters, I refer you to NATO and
th
e UN, which
are carrying out the retaliation.

(If asked about coordination between NATO and the UN)

-- NATO and the UN are conducting the operation together, under rules
established in
both

organizations. They are coordinating all aspects of the campaign, although NATO is technically the organization that will bring the air portion to a halt when the military objectives have been achieved.

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

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

Assessment of the Operation:

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

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

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

Downed French Pilot:

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

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

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

comment further.

Holbrooke Mission:

-- Assistant Secretary Holbrooke has had productive meetings with the Bosnians, Croa
tians and Serbians.

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

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

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

(If pressed for details of the negotiations)

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

Effect of the NATO bombing on the negotiating process:

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

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

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

Will We Go To Pale?

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

What about Russian criticism?

-- We believe that Russia will be key to the success of the Contact Group. We hope that Russia will continue to maintain its constructive role in the eventual settlement of this conflict.

CORE BOSNIA POINTS

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

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

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

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

opportun
ity we continue to try to take
advantage of.

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

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

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

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

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

-- No.

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

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

Are You Considering Fewer Troops?

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

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

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

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

territor
ial trades.

Did the Bosnians reject our plan out of hand?

-- No.

Mini Marshall Plan?

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

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

Haiti or Cyprus Model?

-- Avoid such comparisons.

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

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

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

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

Give Up on Multi-ethnic Bosnian State?

-- No. Continue to support maintaining Bosnia within internationally recognized
bor
ders.

-- Supported Federation, combined Croat-Muslim enterprise.

Croatians Engaged in Ethnic Cleansing?

-- Refugee flow is human tragedy and we are actively supporting efforts of

internati
onal relief
agencies.

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

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

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

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

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

Shattuck Report On Atrocities

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

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

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

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

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

What About Kosovo?

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

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

Second-level Ethnic Cleansing in Sandzak, Vojvodina

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

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

U.S. Relief to Krajina Serbs

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

Reconstruction Aid

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

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

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

PANAMA

Has President Clinton decided to keep bases in Panama after 1999?

-- USG remains fully committed to letter and spirit of Canal Treaties, which do allow for continued presence if both countries desire.

-- As stated publicly, undertaking a review of our interests in maintaining bases. Understand Panamanian government has had similar process.

-- Bases issue may arise during President Perez Balladares' Official Working Visit with President Clinton tomorrow.

-- Won't discuss any specifics prior to Presidential meeting.

What interest does the U.S. have in keeping the bases?

-- U.S. bases serve several useful purposes, including support for hemispheric counternarcotics operations, possible defense of Canal, and humanitarian relief and other U.S. missions.

-- Any post-1999 presence, however, would have to be in the mutual interests of both countries.

What else will President Clinton and President Perez Balladares discuss?

-- Implementation of the Canal Treaties is top priority. Will discuss preparations for transfer of the Canal and reversion of properties formerly occupied by U.S. military.

-- Counternarcotics is another important area of cooperation. Will discuss Panama's ongoing efforts and ways to strengthen anti-money-laundering provisions. (FYI: In separate meetings, delegations will exchange Memorandum of Understanding on transfer of six helicopters for Panamanian counter-drug operations, and instruments of ratification of Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty, MLAT.)

-- Enhancing bilateral trade also to be discussed. Expect the Presidents to discuss ways to strengthen Panama's trade regime and remove obstacles to freer trade with United States.

-- Also expect discussion of implementation of the Plan of Action agreed upon at the Summit of the Americas last December. Panama has an interest in active participation in initi

atives involving
counternarcotics and money-laundering, hemispheric trade integration, and
environmen
tal protection.

CUBA -- NEW FOREIGN INVESTMENT LAW

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

-- While this would be a welcome development, it also appears to have serious
limita
tions. Cuban
citizens, for instance, are still barred from investing in property, hiring non-fami
ly employees or forming
small businesses. In addition, foreign investors are required to contract labor thr
ough the Cuban
government, thereby preserving the government's strict economic hold on
individuals.

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

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

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

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

FRENCH NUCLEAR TEST

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

A: The United States regrets this action.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A: We have had a cooperation program with France in the nuclear area and we

will continue to work with France to ensure the safety and reliability of existing nuclear weapons under a true zero yield CTB Treaty.

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

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

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

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

A: No.

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

A: We view the incident as unfortunate.

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

We call on all those involved to show restraint.

SENATE ABM COMPROMISE

-- The Administration welcomes the compromise on ABM and theater missile defense (TMD) issues in the FY 1996 defense authorization bill adopted this morning by the Senate

and commends
Senators Nunn, Levin, Warner and Cohen for their bipartisan effort in crafting
this
amendment.

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

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

[IF ASKED DOES THIS REMOVE VETO THREAT?]

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

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

SENATE ENDORSEMENT OF START II & CWC RATIFICATION

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

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

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

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

JERUSALEM 3000

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

celebrations? Was there any official USG representation?

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

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

Ambassador Indyk had prior commitments and could not attend.

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

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

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

ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN PEACE PROCESS

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

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

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

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

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

IRAQ

If asked:

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

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

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

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

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

KASHMIR

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

Points

-- We are encouraged by reports that the hostages are well.

-- We continue to work closely with the Indian authorities and hope for the speedy a

nd safe
release of the hostages.

-- We urge all involved to continue to work cooperatively to secure the release of
t
hese innocent
men.

CHINA

UN WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN

Q: Does
Mrs. Clinton's speech represent an escalation of pressure on China's human rights
re
cord?

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

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

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

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

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

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

Q: Will the First Lady be meeting with any Chinese officials?

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

Q: What are the most important issues at the conference, if China is not the focus?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A: Nonsense.

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

The

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"common academic usage" -- that is, gender means two sexes, male and female.

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

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

Q: Aren't
you concerned that Mrs. Clinton's participation will send the wrong message to
the C
hinese on human
rights?

A: No.

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

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

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

Q: Will Mrs. Clinton be meeting with dissidents?

A: We expect she will be meeting with a wide variety of individuals and

institutions
, both
governmental and non-governmental. Her meetings will involve individuals and
organi
zations associated
with the Conference.

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

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

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

MONGOLIA TRIP

Q: Why is the First Lady going to Mongolia?

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

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

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

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

As she will be in Beijing for the Fourth World Conference on Women, the First
Lady

considered
it would be worth a brief trip to show our support for democratic and free market
re
forms ongoing in
Mongolia.

Q: What will she do there?

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

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

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

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

IRELAND

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

-- We understand that the British and the Irish Governments are continuing to
work o
n a way
forward, but have decided it would be premature to go ahead with tomorrow's
schedule
d summit of the
two prime ministers. We know the two governments are continuing their efforts
to ma
ke progress.

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

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

President's Trip Affected?

-- No, the President plans to travel to Northern Ireland in late November are not affected.

British Stalling on Talks?

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

Position on Decommissioning:

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

Decommissioning a Precondition to Talks:

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

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

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

Background: USA Today of August 28 in its World Roundup says "Clinton, who has thrown his weight behind efforts to end one of Europe's longest guerrilla wars, said in a letter that he favo

rs discussing the
decommissioning of IRA arms at new, all-party talks rather than before them."
The l
etter is one the President
wrote to former congressman Bruce Morrison in July in which he said "To help
heal th
e wounds of an entire
generation of people in Northern Ireland and as part of the peace process, all the
p
arties should have the
opportunity to raise issues of concern to them. Thus, I would expect all-party talk
s to address policing, prisoner
issues, decommissioning of weapons and other issues of particular concern to
communi
ties and families."

Senator Mitchell to Chair Commission on Decommissioning?:

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

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

Resignation of Ulster Unionist Party Chairman Jim Molyneux

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

-- We understand a new UUP leader will be chosen September 8. We look
forward to a
fruitful
contacts with him, as we have had with Mr. Molyneux.

RUSSIA

Current Items

Bomb Attack on Georgian Leader Shevardnadze

-- In aftermath of August 29 bomb attack on Chairman Shevardnadze, understand situation in Georgia is calm, intense investigation is proceeding, and some arrests have been made.

-- Strongly condemn this act of terrorism. Continue to applaud and support Shevardnadze's efforts to advance political and economic reform in Georgia.

Fred Cuny

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

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

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

Chechnya

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

-- Some clashes continue. Implementation of agreement proceeding slowly -- complex and hits frequent snags. Situation changing daily.

-- Dispute can only be resolved by negotiated settlement. Urge sides quickly to resolve.

olve these
issues and move toward political agreement.

General Items

Yeltsin's Health

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

U.S. Stake in Relationship

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

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

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

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

Iran Reactor Sale

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

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

Cuts in/Conditions on Bilateral Aid

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

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

Russia, European Security and NATO

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

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

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

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 07 September 95 19:25
FROM Wozniak, Natalie S.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT Daily Guidance Update [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Andreassen, Steven P.
Andricos, George M.
Appel, Edward J.
Argarin, Jocelyn D.
Armstrong, Fulton T.
Atlas, Edwin L.
Baker, Jane E.
Baker, James E.
Bakke, Kyle D.
Baldwin, Kenneth
Bassett, Leslie A.
Bass, Peter E.
Battenfield, Pat
Beers, Rand R.
Behring, Deanna M.
Bellamy, Ralph C.
Bell, Robert G.
Benjamin, Daniel
Birkland, Andrea L.
Blacker, Coit D.
Blieberger, Marion H.
Blinken, Antony J.
Bolinski, Charlene C.
Bradley, Amelia J.
Bremner, Sue L.
Bresnahan, Gary E.
Broadway, Jamuna
Brown, Dallas
Brown, Nancy E.
Bruton, Robert G.
Bryan, Lloyd D.
Burrell, Christina L.
Kevin J. Cadieux
Canty, Mary T.
Carter, Michael E.
Cicio, Kristen K.
Clark, Bronya
Clarke, Richard A.
Claussen, Eileen B.
Cooper, Kathleen H.

Crispell, Thomas G.
Daadler, Ivo H.
Daniel, Patty A.
Danvers, William C.
Dames, Victoria J.
Deshazer, Macarthur X.
Dimel, Marsha L.
Dohse, Fred J.
Dragone, Karen D.
Dupuy, Shawn L.
Dymersky, Debra L.
Eddy, Randolph P.
Edwards, Joan
Eisenhower, James J.
Emery, Mary C.
Fairfax, Kenneth J.
Feinberg, Richard E.
Fetig, James L.
Ficklin, John W.
Flanagan, Stephen J.
Flessas, Daniel
Fried, Daniel
Friedrich, M. K.
Froman, Michael B.
Fuhrman, Thomas A.
Gardner, Anthony
Gates, Brian K.
Genton, Regina A.
George, Christopher
Gerstner, Christina L.
Glinski, David
Gorsuch, Robert P.
Gragg, Mark A.
Gray, Wendy
Grimes, Richard J.
Grummon, Stephen R.
Guekel, Kathi A.
Haines, Mary A.
Hale, John E.
Hall, Wilma G.
Halperin, Morton H.
Hamilton, Roy A.
Hammond, Cathy J.
Harmon, Joyce A.
Harris, Elisa D.
Harrison, Lyle M.
Hawes, David J.
Hawkins, Ardenia R.
Heslin, Sheila N.
Hilliard, Brenda I.

Hill, Mary E.
Hill, Roseanne M.
Hofmann, Stephen D.
Houck, Baerbel K.
Hunerwadel, Joan S.
Joshi, M. Kay
Kammerer, Kelly C.
Kelly, Sandra L.
Kerr, Andrew S.
Ketterer, James P.
Kreczko, Alan J.
Kyle, Robert D.
Leary, William H.
Lindsey, Wanda
Litwak, Robert C.
Lorin, Matthew E.
Lowry, Jay E.
Malley, Robert
Marmol, Madelyn P.
Marshall, Betty A.
Martinez, Alejandro
Stefan T. Mauzy
Maxfield, Nancy H.
Mazzuchi, Anthony D.
McCormick, Shawn H.
McIntyre, Stuart H.
Merchant, Brian
Miller, Matthew E.
Millison, Cathy L.
Mitchell, Calvin A.
Mitsler, Elaine M.
Miyaoka, Lester H.
Moody, Angelyn D.
Neil, M. Elise
Noetzel, Jon C.
Norman, Marcia G.
Nuccio, Richard A.
O'Loughlin, Katherine
Parco, Jim E.
Gwyn M. Parker
Parramore, Carl W.
Parris, Mark R.
Pascual, Carlos E.
Pease, Bruce E.
Peggins, John W.
Petchel, Beverly L.
Peters, Mary A.
Pifer, Steven K.
Poneman, Daniel B.
Porter, Gidell

Quinn, Mary E.
Ramsay, Martha S.
Reade, Evan G.
Realuyo, Celina B.
Rice, Susan E.
Roth, Stanley O.
Roundtree, Beverly J.
Salvetti, Lisa M.
Samore, Gary S.
Sanborn, Daniel R. K.
Satterfield, David M.
Saunders, John W.
Schifter, Richard
Schmidt, John R.
Schuker, Jill A.
Schwartz, Eric P.
Sculimbrene, Thomas A.
Seaton, James B.
Seeley, Charlotte P.
Sens, Andrew D.
Sestak, Joseph A.
Sevigny, Theodore T.
Sheehan, Michael A.
Sigler, Ralph
Simon, Steven N.
Simons, James R.
Stauffer, Helen L.
Sterns, Crayton L.
Suettinger, Robert L.
Sulser, Jack A.
Tarullo, Daniel K.
Turner, Joe T.
Tyler, John T.
Unrue, Michael M.
Van Tassel, David S.
Veit, Katherine M.
Vershbow, Alexander R.
Verville, Elizabeth G.
Wadsworth, Valon J.
Wales, Jane
Walsh, Helen C.
Ward, JoAnn X.
Weber, Paul A.
Whitworth, Frank (Trey) D.
Wilson, Marilyn E.
Witkowsky, Anne A.
Wooton, Kevin B.
Wozniak, Natalie S.
Wright, Allison M.
Yorkdale, Glenn H.

CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE

TEXT_BODY

Please review and forward your updates to @PRESS by 10:00 a.m. Friday, September 8. Thanks.

[[SEP07GUI.DOC : 4933 in SEP07GUI.DOC]]

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE**

7 September 95 19:12

**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME**

SEP07GUI.DOC
FOREIGN AFFAIRS GUIDANCE

September 7, 1995

Bosnia/Croatia

Cuba -- New Foreign Investment Law

French Nuclear Test

Senate ABM Compromise

Senate Endorsement of START II and CWC Ratification

Jerusalem 3000

Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process

Iraq

Kashmir

China

Ireland

Russia

BOSNIA/CROATIA

Response to Sarajevo Market Bombing

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

-- The response is in full conformity with NATO decisions and UN Security Council resolutions on protection of Bosnian safe areas, and is taking place under rules established at the July 21 London Conference and subsequent NATO meetings.

Objective:

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

international community and to make a decisive turn toward negotiations on a political settlement to the conflict.

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

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

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

-- They have also been supportive of the UN Security Council resolutions that NATO and UNPROFOR are upholding.

-- The U.S. and NATO differ with Russia over air strikes, which are firmly grounded in UN resolutions. But we agree on the importance of negotiated settlement and are working closely within the Contact Group to that end.

-- Russia has a unique contribution to make to European security. We believe a solid NATO-Russia relationship is in the interest of the U.S., Europe and Russia; thus we are pressing to develop that relationship.

(If asked how long the response will last)

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

(If pressed for other details of the response)

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

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

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

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

(If asked about coordination between NATO and the UN)

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

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

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

Assessment of the Operation:

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

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

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

Downed French Pilot:

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

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

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

Holbrooke Mission:

-- Assistant Secretary Holbrooke has had productive meetings with the Bosnians, Croats and Serbians.

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

-- But the ultimate success of the negotiations will depend on the extent to which

he Bosnian Serbs are
prepared to embrace peace.

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

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

(If pressed for details of the negotiations)

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

Effect of the NATO bombing on the negotiating process:

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

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

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

Will We Go To Pale?

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

Russian involvement in the Contact Group

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

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

CORE BOSNIA POINTS

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

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

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

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

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

-- We are now working closely with our allies on the prospect for a new

diplomatic effort. There are no guarantees -- but I am determined to present the parties with a chance to reassess and pursue a peaceful settlement.

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

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

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

-- No.

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

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

Are You Considering Fewer Troops?

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

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

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

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

Did the Bosnians reject our plan out of hand?

-- No.

Mini Marshall Plan?

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

t.

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

Haiti or Cyprus Model?

-- Avoid such comparisons.

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

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

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

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

Give Up on Multi-ethnic Bosnian State?

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

-- Supported Federation, combined Croat-Muslim enterprise.

Croatians Engaged in Ethnic Cleansing?

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

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

-- We have repeatedly stressed to the Croatian government its obligation to respect

these rights; to investigate allegations of human rights abuses, and to hold accountable those responsible.

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

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

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

Shattuck Report On Atrocities

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

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

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

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

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

What About Kosovo?

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

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

Second-level Ethnic Cleansing in Sandzak, Vojvodina

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

U.S. Relief to Krajina Serbs

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

Reconstruction Aid

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

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

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

CUBA -- NEW FOREIGN INVESTMENT LAW

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

-- While this would be a welcome development, it also appears to have serious limitations. Cuban citizens, for instance, are still barred from investing in property, hiring non-family employees or forming small businesses. In addition, foreign investors are required to contract labor through the Cuban government, thereby preserving the government's strict economic hold on individuals.

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

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

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

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

FRENCH NUCLEAR TEST

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

A: The United States regrets this action.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A: No.

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

A: We view the incident as unfortunate.

In Western democracies, the right of individuals and groups to express their views

about
government policies is assured. We believe this should be accomplished through
non-
violent and
peaceful means.

We call on all those involved to show restraint.

SENATE ABM COMPROMISE

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

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

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

[IF ASKED DOES THIS REMOVE VETO THREAT?]

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

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

SENATE ENDORSEMENT OF START II & CWC RATIFICATION

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

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

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

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

JERUSALEM 3000

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

celebrations? Was there any official USG representation?

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

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

Ambassador Indyk had prior commitments and could not attend.

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

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

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

ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN PEACE PROCESS

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

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

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

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

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

IRAQ

If asked:

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

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

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

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

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

KASHMIR

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

Points

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

CHINA

UN WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN

Q: Does

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

A: Mrs.

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

tioned occur in many countries.

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

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

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

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

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

Q: Will the First Lady be meeting with any Chinese officials?

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

Q: What are the most important issues at the conference, if China is not the focus?

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

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

In the United States, nearly one in five households is headed by a single parent and more than

han one-third of the
single families headed by women live in poverty.

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

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

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

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

A: Nonsense.

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

The
platform will condemn forced abortion, female infanticide and prenatal sex
selectio
n, and call for an
end to child labor.

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

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

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

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

Religion:

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

Gender:

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

Q: Harry Wu

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

A: No. We

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

Q: Aren't

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

A: No.

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

Mrs.

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

The way

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

Q: Will Mrs. Clinton be meeting with dissidents?

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

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

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

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

MONGOLIA TRIP

Q: Why is the First Lady going to Mongolia?

A: The First Lady had decided to visit Mongolia in order to symbolize the

growing fr
iendship
between our two countries.

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

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

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

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

Q: What will she do there?

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

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

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

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

IRELAND

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

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

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

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

Adams Visit to Washington

-- Yes, we understand Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams will be in Washington next week.

-- As in the past, we expect him to meet with officials at the White House and in the State Department.

-- Details still being worked out.

[If asked]

-- Adams was granted a visa waiver in June, but did not travel to the U.S. at that time. He will be able to get a three-month visa by going to a U.S. Embassy or Consulate.

[If asked]

-- Adams will meet with National Security Adviser Tony Lake and other Administration officials.

Adams/Clinton/VP Meeting

-- We expect him to come to the White House and details are still being worked out.

[If pressed]

-- A meeting with the President is not expected.

President's Trip Affected?

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

British Stalling on Talks?

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

Position on Decommissioning:

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

Decommissioning a Precondition to Talks:

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

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

[If asked]

-- The President has not said that he favors discussing decommissioning of IRA weapons at new,

all-party talks rather than before them. He has said that decommissioning remains an essential element of the peace process, and he has urged the IRA and loyalist paramilitaries to begin to

discuss
decommissioning seriously.

Background: USA Today of August 28 in its World Roundup says "Clinton, who has thrown his weight behind efforts to end one of Europe's longest guerrilla wars, said in a letter that he favors discussing the decommissioning of IRA arms at new, all-party talks rather than before them." The letter is one the President wrote to former congressman Bruce Morrison in July in which he said "To help heal the wounds of an entire generation of people in Northern Ireland and as part of the peace process, all the parties should have the opportunity to raise issues of concern to them. Thus, I would expect all-party talks to address policing, prisoner issues, decommissioning of weapons and other issues of particular concern to communities and families."

Senator Mitchell to Chair Commission on Decommissioning?:

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

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

Resignation of Ulster Unionist Party Chairman Jim Molyneux

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

-- We understand a new UUP leader will be chosen September 8. We look forward to a fruitful contacts with him, as we have had with Mr. Molyneaux.

RUSSIA

Current Items

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

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

-- Russia has unique contribution to make to European security. Believe robust NATO -Russia relationship is in interests of U.S., Europe and Russia, and thus are pressing to develop that relationship.

General Items

Yeltsin's Health

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

U.S. Stake in Relationship

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

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

protract
ed.

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

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

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

Bomb Attack on Georgian Leader Shevardnadze

-- In aftermath of August 29 bomb attack on Chairman Shevardnadze, understand
situat
ion in
Georgia is calm, intense investigation is proceeding, and some arrests have been
mad
e.

-- Strongly condemn this act of terrorism. Continue to applaud and support
Shevardn
adze's
efforts to advance political and economic reform in Georgia.

Fred Cuny

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

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

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

Chechnya

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

cessation of hostilities, disarmament and stage-by-stage withdrawal of Russian force
s.

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

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

Iran Reactor Sale

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

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

Cuts in/Conditions on Bilateral Aid

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

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

Russia, European Security and NATO

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

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

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

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 07 September 95 19:28
FROM Wozniak, Natalie S.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT September 7 Press Guidance [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Beardsley, Tyler S.
Reed, George
Woolston, Ann E.
CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE
TEXT_BODY [[SEP07GUI.DOC : 4950 in SEP07GUI.DOC]]

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE** 7 September 95 19:27
**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME** SEP07GUI.DOC
FOREIGN AFFAIRS GUIDANCE
September 7, 1995

Bosnia/Croatia

Cuba -- New Foreign Investment Law

French Nuclear Test

Senate ABM Compromise

Senate Endorsement of START II and CWC Ratification

Jerusalem 3000

Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process

Iraq

Kashmir

China

Ireland

Russia

BOSNIA/CROATIA

Response to Sarajevo Market Bombing

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

-- The NATO/UN action, which began in response to the August 28 attack on the Sarajevo marketplace, should leave the Bosnian Serbs in no doubt about the determination of t

he Alliance and the
UN to follow through on their commitments to protect safe areas.

-- The response is in full conformity with NATO decisions and UN Security Council resolutions on protection of Bosnian safe areas, and is taking place under rules established at the July 21 London Conference and subsequent NATO meetings.

Objective:

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

international community and to make a decisive turn toward negotiations on a political settlement to the conflict.

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

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

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

-- They have also been supportive of the UN Security Council resolutions that NATO and UNPROFOR are upholding.

-- The U.S. and NATO differ with Russia over air strikes, which are firmly grounded in UN resolutions. But we agree on the importance of negotiated settlement and are working closely within the Contact Group to that end.

-- Russia has a unique contribution to make to European security. We believe a solid NATO-Russia relationship is in the interest of the U.S., Europe and Russia; thus

we
are pressing to
develop that relationship.

(If asked how long the response will last)

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

(If pressed for other details of the response)

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

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

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

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

(If asked about coordination between NATO and the UN)

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

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

ions with Milosevic)

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

Assessment of the Operation:

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

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

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

Downed French Pilot:

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

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

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

Holbrooke Mission:

-- Assistant Secretary Holbrooke has had productive meetings with the Bosnians, Croats and Serbians.

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

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

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

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

(If pressed for details of the negotiations)

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

Effect of the NATO bombing on the negotiating process:

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

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

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

Will We Go To Pale?

-- There are no plans for the team to go to Pale, but we expect Bosnian Serb

representatives to be present at future meetings with Milosevic as part of the seven-person team.

Russian involvement in the Contact Group

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

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

CORE BOSNIA POINTS

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

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

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

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

ity we continue to try to take advantage of.

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

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

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

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

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

-- No.

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

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

Are You Considering Fewer Troops?

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

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

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

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

ial trades.

Did the Bosnians reject our plan out of hand?

-- No.

Mini Marshall Plan?

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

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

Haiti or Cyprus Model?

-- Avoid such comparisons.

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

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

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

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

Give Up on Multi-ethnic Bosnian State?

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

-- Supported Federation, combined Croat-Muslim enterprise.

Croatians Engaged in Ethnic Cleansing?

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

onal relief
agencies.

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

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

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

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

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

Shattuck Report On Atrocities

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

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

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

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

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

What About Kosovo?

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

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

Second-level Ethnic Cleansing in Sandzak, Vojvodina

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

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

U.S. Relief to Krajina Serbs

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

Reconstruction Aid

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

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

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

CUBA -- NEW FOREIGN INVESTMENT LAW

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

-- While this would be a welcome development, it also appears to have serious limitations. Cuban citizens, for instance, are still barred from investing in property, hiring non-family employees or forming

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

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

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

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

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

FRENCH NUCLEAR TEST

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

A: The United States regrets this action.

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

In this regard, we take note of President Chirac's strong commitment to sign a CTBT Treaty no later than the fall of 1996, and we will continue to work with France and all other

states participating in the CTB negotiations to ensure that a CTB Treaty is ready for signature next year.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A: No.

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

A: We view the incident as unfortunate.

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

We call on all those involved to show restraint.

SENATE ABM COMPROMISE

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

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

-- Nevertheless, the Administration continues to have concerns about a number of policy

icy
statements in the amendment with which we do not agree and which we consider
as non-
binding and
advisory. The Administration will make clear its disagreement with these
provision
s to ensure they are
not misunderstood by foreign governments.

[IF ASKED DOES THIS REMOVE VETO THREAT?]

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

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

SENATE ENDORSEMENT OF START II & CWC RATIFICATION

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

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

[IF ASKED IF THIS IS A SLAP AT SENATOR HELMS FOR HOLDING THE
TWO TREATIES HOSTAGE T

O
HIS BILL ON STATE REORGANIZATION]:

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

JERUSALEM 3000

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

celebrations? Was there any official USG representation?

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

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

Ambassador Indyk had prior commitments and could not attend.

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

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

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

between Israel and the Palestinians.

ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN PEACE PROCESS

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

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

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

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

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

IRAQ

If asked:

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

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

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

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

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

KASHMIR

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

Points

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

CHINA

UN WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN

Q: Does

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

A: Mrs. Clinton's intent was to underscore in the strongest terms that women's rights are human rights and that their abuse is wrong wherever in the world it occurs. The rights violations she mentioned occur in many countries.

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

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

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

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

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

Q: Will the First Lady be meeting with any Chinese officials?

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

Q: What are the most important issues at the conference, if China is not the focus?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A: Nonsense.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Q: Aren't you concerned that Mrs. Clinton's participation will send the wrong message to the Chinese on human rights?

A: No.

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

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

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

Q: Will Mrs. Clinton be meeting with dissidents?

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

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

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

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

MONGOLIA TRIP

Q: Why is the First Lady going to Mongolia?

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

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

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

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

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

Q: What will she do there?

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

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

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

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

IRELAND

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

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

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

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

Adams Visit to Washington

-- Yes, we understand Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams will be in Washington next week.

-- As in the past, we expect him to meet with officials at the White House and in the State Department.

-- Details still being worked out.

[If asked]

-- Adams was granted a visa waiver in June, but did not travel to the U.S. at that time. He will be

able to get a three-month visa by going to a U.S. Embassy or Consulate.

[If asked]

-- Adams will meet with National Security Adviser Tony Lake and other Administration officials.

Adams/Clinton/VP Meeting

-- We expect him to come to the White House and details are still being worked out.

[If pressed]

-- A meeting with the President is not expected.

President's Trip Affected?

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

British Stalling on Talks?

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

Position on Decommissioning:

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

Decommissioning a Precondition to Talks:

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

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

[If asked]

-- The President has not said that he favors discussing decommissioning of IRA weapons at new,

all-party talks rather than before them. He has said that decommissioning remains an essential element of the peace process, and he has urged the IRA and loyalist paramilitaries to begin to discuss decommissioning seriously.

Background: USA Today of August 28 in its World Roundup says "Clinton, who has thrown his weight behind efforts to end one of Europe's longest guerrilla wars, said in a letter that he favors discussing the decommissioning of IRA arms at new, all-party talks rather than before them." The letter is one the President wrote to former congressman Bruce Morrison in July in which he said "To help heal the wounds of an entire generation of people in Northern Ireland and as part of the peace process, all the parties should have the opportunity to raise issues of concern to them. Thus, I would expect all-party talks to address policing, prisoner issues, decommissioning of weapons and other issues of particular concern to communities and families."

Senator Mitchell to Chair Commission on Decommissioning?:

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

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

Resignation of Ulster Unionist Party Chairman Jim Molyneux

-- Jim Molyneux has been the leader of the Ulster Unionist Party, the largest party in Northern

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

-- We understand a new UUP leader will be chosen September 8. We look forward to a fruitful contacts with him, as we have had with Mr. Molyneaux.

RUSSIA

Current Items

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

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

-- Russia has unique contribution to make to European security. Believe robust NATO-Russia relationship is in interests of U.S., Europe and Russia, and thus are pressing to develop that relationship.

General Items

Yeltsin's Health

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

U.S. Stake in Relationship

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

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

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

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

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

Bomb Attack on Georgian Leader Shevardnadze

-- In aftermath of August 29 bomb attack on Chairman Shevardnadze, understand situation in Georgia is calm, intense investigation is proceeding, and some arrests have been made.

-- Strongly condemn this act of terrorism. Continue to applaud and support Shevardnadze's efforts to advance political and economic reform in Georgia.

Fred Cuny

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

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

mitment to
thorough and honest investigation.

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

Chechnya

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

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

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

Iran Reactor Sale

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

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

Cuts in/Conditions on Bilateral Aid

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

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

Russia, European Security and NATO

-- Russia a key player in building stable, undivided Europe. Want to work actively with Russia

toward this end and to develop NATO-Russia relationship.

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

process in manner that undercuts no country's security.

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