

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. email	Richard Nuccio to Jane Baker, Peter Bass, Fred Dohse et al. Subject: Draft Helms/Burton. (8 pages)	09/15/1995	P1/b(1)
002. email	Richard Nuccio to Christina Burrell. Subject: Revised Memo. (4 pages)	09/15/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[09/14/1995-09/19/1995]

2006-1363-F

vz5606

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 14 September 95 09:27
FROM Danvers, William C.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT RE: CPL [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Bass, Peter E.
Malley, Robert
CARBON_COPY Andricos, George M.
Burrell, Christina L.
Danvers, William C.

TEXT_BODY

Peter-- Thanks. I think it would useful for Tony to raise it. State is very much aware of the issue and is working it. I also let them know that Tony MIGHT raise it. They said they would try to have it resolved by the lunch.

One other issue: Nunn-Lugar. What is Bill Perry's sense of where we are on N-L and what else should we be doing to ensure that we are OK.

From: Bass, Peter E.
To: Malley, Robert
CC: /R, Record at A1; @LEGISLAT-Legislative Affairs
Subject: RE: CPL [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Thursday, September 14, 1995 09:15 AM

I NEED TO KNOW NOW IF YOU WANT TL TO RAISE THIS. ROB,
PLEASE COORDINATE
WITH BILL'S SHOP.

From: Malley, Robert
To: Bass, Peter E.; @NSA - Nat'l Security Advisor
CC: /R, Record at A1
Subject: CPL [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Wednesday, September 13, 1995 01:04 PM

Peter --

Wanted to give you a heads up on an issue that we might want to put on the agenda. It concerns Helms' hold on democracy and elections assistance money for Haiti.

Background

Senator Helms has put a hold on the obligation of \$3.0 million for the Elections Support Project and \$4.0 million for the Democracy Enhancement Project (of this latter request, Helms agreed to release the hold for \$500,000.) The hold has been justified by Helms' concern about the way the Haitian elections have been run, the charges of irregularities, the opposition's boycott, as well as other human rights issues in Haiti. In informing the Administration of the hold, Helms submitted a list of questions to which he demanded responses before making a decision. After some delay, these were provided to Helms last week.

At this point, State and AID have been unsuccessful in arranging a meeting with Helms' staff. If the hold does not get lifted by Friday at the latest, the money will be unavailable for these purposes (or, indeed, for any other since there would not be enough time to notify the hill of another reprogramming).

If we do not get a response from Helms' staff by COB today, we think this will need to be ratcheted up at the State level and strong representations made to Helms. The point we need to get across is that without this money, Haiti will not be able to run its presidential elections, and the transfer of power from Aristide to his successor will be in jeopardy. I will let you know by COB whether Helms has responded. In any event, we think State should know of now concern by your putting it on the agenda

Thanks..

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M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 17 September 95 18:21
FROM Harris, Elisa D.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT press guidance [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Bell, Robert G.
Poneman, Daniel B.
CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE
TEXT_BODY would appreciate your comments/clearance on the attached asap monday morning. i'd like to get it around to agencies once you've cleared.
thanks!

[[PRESS917.DOC : 4617 in PRESS917.DOC]]

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE** 17 September 95 18:5

**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME** PRESS917.DOC

PRESS GUIDANCE ON VISIT OF SENIOR CHEMICAL WEAPONS
CONVENTION

PREPARATORY COMMISSION OFFICIALS TO WASHINGTON

For Use at Beginning of Press Briefings:

-- I just wanted to mention that three senior officials from the Chemical Weapons Convention Preparatory Commission will be in Washington this week to discuss the status of U.S. efforts to ratify the international treaty outlawing chemical weapons -- the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC).

-- Today (Monday), they will meet with the National Security Advisor, the Secretary of State, and the ACDA Director; tomorrow

(Tuesday) they will meet with the Chairman of the JCS and the Acting Secretary of Defense.

-- The CWC has enjoyed strong bipartisan support, having been negotiated by President Reagan, completed and signed by President Bush, and submitted to the Senate by President Clinton.

-- The President sees CWC ratification and entry into force as a key element of his nonproliferation policy and an urgent next step in stemming the spread of weapons of mass destruction, following the successful NPT Extension Conference.

-- That is why he welcomed the Senate amendment adopted on September 5 calling for prompt ratification of the CWC and the START II treaty and urged the Senate to provide its advice and consent to ratification before the end of this session.

IF ASKED whether Senator Helms is holding CWC hostage to the State Department reorganization plan:

-- Our dialogue with Senator Helms on that issue is continuing. Meanwhile, we have made clear for many months and will continue to make clear that the President believes that it is crucial for the Senate to complete action on the CWC (and START II) this year.

IF ASKED why the Administration hasn't done more to get CWC ratified:

-- This Administration has made clear, through its words as well as its actions, that securing CWC ratification and entry into force is one of its highest priorities.

-- Even before the President submitted the CWC to the Senate in November 1993, he pressed the case for prompt CWC ratification and entry into force in his first address to the United Nations.

-- Our most senior officials (the Secretary of State, ACDA Director, JCS Chairman, CIA Director, and DOD Deputy Secretary) all gave strong testimony in support of the CWC last year.

-- In May, former Congressman Martin Lancaster was appointed "Special Advisor to the President and ACDA Director on the Chemical Weapons Convention." Since then, Martin has visited over 90 Senate offices urging ratification.

-- The President has made clear on numerous occasions -- in his State of the Union Address in January, at the Nixon Center in March,

at the Air Force Academy in May, and at the 50th Anniversary of the UN in San Francisco in June -- the priority he attaches to the earliest possible CWC ratification and entry into force.

-- The President emphasized the importance of CWC ratification again in his meeting with the Congressional leadership last week.

IF ASKED whether there are any substantive obstacles to CWC ratification:

-- There do not appear to be any substantive obstacles to Senate advice and consent to the CWC. Some issues, such as verification, have been raised recently in the press, but these were dealt with in great detail in the eleven hearings and hundreds of questions we answered last year.

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 18 September 95 10:21
FROM Harris, Elisa D.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT FW: press guidance [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Cullin, Brian P.
Fetig, James L.
Johnson, David T.
Mitchell, Calvin A.
Schuker, Jill A.
Wozniak, Natalie S.
CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE
TEXT_BODY

same as below, with this version, pls!

[[PRESS917.DOC : 2581 in PRESS911.DOC]]

From: Harris, Elisa D.
To: @PRESS - Public Affairs
CC: /R, Record at A1; Bell, Robert G.; Poneman, Daniel B.
Subject: press guidance [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Monday, September 18, 1995 10:07 AM

[[PRESS917.DOC : 2580 in PRESS917.DOC]]

pls see attached. bob bell would like mike mccurry to mention the visit of these officials to the press today. many thanks!

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE**

18 September 95 10:4

**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME**

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FILE DATE**

18 September 95 10:19

**ATTACHMENT
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DATE-TIME 18 September 95 11:38
FROM Wozniak, Natalie S.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT September 18 Press Guidance [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Harmon, Joyce A.
CARBON_COPY Cullin, Brian P.
Fetig, James L.
Johnson, David T.
Mitchell, Calvin A.
Schuker, Jill A.
Wozniak, Natalie S.

TEXT_BODY
[[SEP18GUI.DOC : 2893 in SEP18GUI.DOC]]

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE** 18 September 95 11:36
**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME** SEP18GUI.DOC
FOREIGN AFFAIRS GUIDANCE

September 18, 1995

Visit of CWC Preparatory Commission Officials to Washington

Bosnia/Croatia

Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty

Iran Sanctions: D'Amato Bill

Russia

Ireland

Somalia: Aideed Seizes Baidoa

China

Cuba -- New Foreign Investment Law

Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process

Iraq

Kashmir

VISIT OF SENIOR CHEMICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION
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BOSNIA/CROATIA

Air Strikes

ù The UN has announced that the Bosnian Serbs stated on Friday they would
 comply wit
 h the conditions that
 the UN and NATO set for a cessation of the air strikes launched in response to
 the A
 ugust 28 Bosnian Serb
 attack on the Sarajevo market.

ù As a result NATO and UN commanders suspended air operation for 72 hours
 (beginning
 at 4:00 p.m.
 Thursday EDT) to monitor Serb compliance with these commitments. By
 yesterday, the
 Serbs had given
 evidence they were carrying out their commitments, so a further 72-hour pause to
 per
 mit the completion of
 the withdrawal of the heavy weapons was announced last night.

ù We have made clear to the Bosnian Serbs that they should have no doubt NATO will resume the strikes at any time if we determine that they are not following through on their commitments, or if they resume attacks on Sarajevo or the other safe areas.

ù Agreement was reached with the Bosnian Serbs following extensive meetings last Wednesday night in Belgrade with Assistant Secretary Holbrooke and his team. At those sessions, the Bosnian Serb leadership signed a document agreeing to end all offensive operations within the Sarajevo exclusion zone, to withdraw all heavy weapons from the zone within six days, and to allow unimpeded road and air access to Bosnia's capital within 24 hours.

ù The document was signed by Bosnians Serb President Karadzic, Vice President Koljevic, Assembly President Krajisnik and General Mladic, the Military Commander. It was witnessed by Serbian President Milosevic.

ù We understand that the UN will be running convoys into Sarajevo over several routes. Over the weekend it flew a test flight into the Sarajevo airport, in order to test Serb compliance with commitments to ensure free and unimpeded access.

ù As the President said, Serb acceptance of the terms of the agreement is the direct result of the steadfastness displayed by the members of the NATO Alliance in carrying out decisions to protect the safe areas, along with the close cooperation between UN and NATO commanders throughout the operation.

ù It also reflects intensive diplomatic efforts by Dick Holbrooke and the rest of the U.S. negotiating team, reinforced by the efforts of the Russians and our other European partners.

ù If the Bosnian Serb commitments are fully carried out, this should give further
 im
 petus to our common search
 for a lasting political settlement to the Balkan conflict, building on last Friday's
 agreement on "basic principles"
 of a settlement by the Foreign Ministers of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia. If the
 Bosni
 an Serbs don't comply, air
 strikes will resume.

ù While the Bosnian Serbs called for the Bosnian Government to accept a formal
 cessa
 tion of hostilities within
 the Sarajevo zone and to discuss a country-wide cessation of hostilities, the Serbs'
 commitment to withdraw
 the heavy weapons and comply with the other UN demands were not conditional
 on Bosni
 an Government
 actions.

ù That being said, the Bosnian government indicated last Sunday that it would
 refrai
 n from offensive actions in
 and around Sarajevo. We understand that this assurance still stands, and we
 regard
 it as welcome step.

GoBH/Croatian Offensive toward Banja Luka

-- We have told the Bosnian and Croatian governments that military moves that
 risk d
 rawing the
 Serbs into the conflict are very risky and unwise, particularly in the current negot
 iating circumstances.

Geneva Meetings

-- Important progress was made at the September 8 Geneva meeting between the
 foreign

ministers of Bosnia, Serbia and Croatia, and Contact Group representatives.
 Ambassa
 dor Holbrooke
 and EU negotiator Carl Bildt co-chaired the meeting.

-- In specific, the three foreign ministers announced they had agreed to basic
 princ
 iples for further
 negotiations toward final settlement. The principles are the following:

-- For the first time, all agreed that Bosnia-Herzegovina will continue as a single state, with its present borders, and with continuing international recognition.

-- Consistent with the Contact Group plan, all three agreed that under the terms of a settlement, Bosnia-Herzegovina will consist of two entities: the Federation established under last year's Washington Agreements, and a Bosnian Serb republic.

-- The 51-49 parameter of the Contact Group's territorial proposal will be the basis for a settlement, subject to any adjustments the parties make by mutual agreement.

-- The two entities will have the right to establish relationships with neighboring states, but new relationships must be consistent with the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

-- The parties have pledged to adhere to human rights standards, to ensure freedom of movement and the right of the displaced to return to their homes, and to collaborate on joint economic projects that will promote transportation links and communications among all of Bosnia's peoples.

-- As the President said, this is an important milestone on the path to peace.

-- Holbrooke and his delegation remain in Europe for discussions with the parties and with the Contact Group. They will return to Washington for consultations later this week.

(If asked whether the new diplomatic effort divides Bosnia)

-- We have not partitioned Bosnia, nor do we intend to.

-- It cannot be emphasized too strongly that according to the Geneva agreements,

Bosnia-Herzegovina remains a single state, retaining its seat in international organ-
izations and its
bilateral diplomatic relations with other countries in the world, including the U.S.

-- I would note President Izetbegovic's statement earlier this week that the Serbs c-
ompromised by
accepting the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the Bosnians compromised by
accepting
a Serb republic.
Izetbegovic further noted that the reason for the compromises was to end the war.
A
ccording to
Izetbegovic, "the world has made clear its support for peace but not for war."

Downed French Pilots

-- The Allies are in close consultation on all aspects of the NATO operation,
includ-
ing how best
to respond to the downing of the French Mirage last week.

-- We have no confirmation of the Bosnian Serb claim that the pilots are in their
cu-
stody.

-- As we have reason to believe the pilots of the plane may be alive, it is inapprop-
riate to comment
further.

French Bilats

-- We are discussing various aspects of post-settlement planning with a French
dele-
gation today.
As the meetings are still under way, we do not wish to comment further.

Italian Exclusion from CG

-- On several occasions in recent weeks, Italy and other states have attended
Contac-
t Group
events.

-- As a member of the EU Troika, as a member of the UN Security Council, in its
capa-
city as one
of the principal staging areas for NATO efforts in ex-Yugoslavia and as an
important

NATO ally, Italy has an important role to play in the international response to the crisis. We take its views of the negotiations, NATO and UN activities, and other aspects of the peace process very seriously.

-- The recent Geneva meetings were limited in participation so as to establish elements of the original five-nation Contact Group plan as the basis for further negotiations with the parties to the conflict.

-- The EU was represented at the Geneva meeting by its Balkan negotiator Carl Bildt, as well as by European states that are part of the Contact Group.

-- We are aware that subsequent to last week's meeting, Italy raised some concerns with aspects of the NATO/UN air campaign. All states participating in the effort are closely monitoring the effect of the campaign on Bosnian Serb behavior, and all are in close contact with one another at the UN and NATO.

-- We do not believe Italy's questions about the campaign stem from pique over perceived exclusion from the Contact Group.

-- We intend to continue to consult closely with Italy as our diplomatic efforts continue.

-- Following the Contact Group meetings in Geneva and Moscow, Italy will host a meeting in Rome with a broad range of allies and partners to consult fully on the peace process.

. We plan to continue this broad consultation process with our Allies and partners in future meetings to consider ways to move the peace process forward.

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 rapidly.

-- 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 we are determined to present the parties with a chance to reassess and pursue a peaceful settlement.

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 the 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.

-- 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; the new constitutional arrangements, and yesterday's agreement on Sarajevo.

-- 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 Croats 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.

CONVENTIONAL ARMED FORCES IN EUROPE (CFE) TREATY

-- The United States and our NATO Allies have for some time been looking at ways to address Russian and Ukrainian concerns about the Treaty's "flank" limits. Last week NATO Allies agreed on a proposal to be presented to Russia and Ukraine. Since the presentation of the proposal has not yet been made, it would not be appropriate to comment on its details.

-- The strategic picture has changed dramatically since the Treaty was signed in 1990. Now, neither the Warsaw Pact nor the Soviet Union exist and forces once deployed by the USSR as far west as Eastern Germany have been withdrawn to Russia. NATO Allies are looking at ways to respond to those changes, while maintaining the key elements of the Treaty, including its flank limits.

-- Allies have developed this proposal as part of a broader set of preparations for the CFE Review Conference, established by the Treaty for May, 1996. Our goal is to preserve the viability of the Treaty, which remains a cornerstone of European security.

-- The "flank" issue does not concern the overall equipment limit for Russia and Ukraine, but the restrictions which the Treaty places on the amount of equipment permitted in certain regions. Russia and Ukraine have participated fully in the Treaty's implementation over the past three years, destroying thousands of pieces of Treaty-limited equipment and submitting to hundreds of inspections under the

terms of the Treaty.

-- It is not certain whether Russia will be prepared to negotiate a solution to the flank issue on the basis of the new NATO proposal. However, we and our Allies continue to reject completely the Russian idea of an "exclusion zone" in its Caucasus region. There is no basis for such an "exclusion zone" in the Treaty.

-- Any solution must be acceptable to all Treaty parties. The forum for negotiation will be the CFE Joint Consultative Group in Vienna.

(If asked about statement by Senator Helms staff that Treaty changes are not likely to be approved "anytime soon":)

-- Any agreement along the lines of the NATO proposal would require the approval of Congress.

IRAN SANCTIONS: D'AMATO BILL

-- Believe D'Amato proposal tackles important issues, but we have only recently received the text of Senator D'Amato's bill and we will need a chance to explore it further.

-- We look forward to further consultations on this issue with the Congress.

(If pressed on whether Administration formally opposes)

-- As I said, we believe the bill deals with serious issues, but we need time to consider its provisions in greater detail.

RUSSIA

Current Items

Embassy Moscow Attack

-- Continue to work with Russian authorities to determine who launched rocket-propelled grenade attack September 13. Security upgraded at Embassy and at consulates in St. Petersburg, Vladivostok and Yekaterinburg. Pursuing vigorous investigation.

Belarus Balloon Shoot-down

-- Two U.S. citizens killed September 12 when hot air balloon shot down in southwestern Belarus. Appreciate President Lukashenko's condolences and creation of high-level international commission to investigate.

-- Concerned, however, that Belarusian government took 24 hours to notify Embassy. Continue talking to the Belarus about how this incident occurred.

Yeltsin's Warning Against NATO Enlargement

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

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

Iranian Oil Swaps

-- As part of our policy of supporting independence and stability of Caucasus and

Ce

entral Asia

states, USG willing to consider allowing American companies to swap Caspian oil with

Iran in

short-term while alternative reliable export pipelines are developed.

-- Long-term independence of these states depends on ability to export energy resources.

-- Bottlenecks in Russian pipeline system severely limit ability of Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan to export oil and gas. No other pipelines currently available.

-- Actively encouraging U.S. companies in region to develop alternative non-Iranian options for oil export, including pipelines through Caucasus to Turkey. That will take time.

Chevron Swap Deal with Iran

-- Chevron has not yet presented license application. We will review all applications on case-by-case basis.

General Items

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.

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.

Russian Banking Crisis

-- Good news is that Russian government and Central Bank effectively managed
complex

short-term problems. Financial markets have stabilized.

-- After markets originally froze, government injected judicious amounts of
capital
to unblock
freeze while minimizing inflationary pressures. No general run on deposits, and
Aug
ust monthly
inflation rate of 4.6% lowest since 1992.

-- Expect additional bank closures and consolidations as weaker banks fold. If
prud
ently
managed, will strengthen banking system. We encourage Russian to keep
working with
IMF and World
Bank on bank reform, as it is already doing.

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.

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

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

Iran Reactor Sale

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

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

IRELAND

U.S. Role

-- We have had a number of contacts over the last week about how to move the peace

process
forward.

-- Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams met with National Security Advisor Anthony Lake September 13 for over an hour. The Vice President joined them for part of the meeting.

-- Mr. Lake and the Vice President met last Friday with UK Minister of State for Northern Ireland Michael Ancram.

-- We also remain in touch with the Irish Government and other parties.

-- Contacts with all the parties are continuing. I am not prepared to go into any detail.

U.S. Position

-- We see a basis for progress in the "twin-track" proposal to begin inclusive talks between the British and Irish Governments and the Northern Ireland political parties and to establish an international body to address the issue of decommissioning of paramilitaries' weapons.

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

Comment on Paisley Press Conference

-- Dr. Paisley is incorrect to say that the President's visit to Northern Ireland is in serious doubt. There has been no change in his plans, and in fact he is very much looking forward to the trip.

-- As for the possibility that there could be "serious trouble" during the President's visit, we sincerely hope that he will be welcome in Northern Ireland, where he will be bringing a message of peace and reconciliation.

-- We regret that Dr. Paisley did not accept Mr. Lake's invitation to discuss the situation in Northern Ireland face-to-face.

Comments on Adams Visit

-- In their meeting with Adams September 13, the Vice President and Mr. Lake expressed their satisfaction that Northern Ireland has enjoyed a year of peace, and reiterated that the best guarantee of a just and lasting peace is meaningful dialogue among the parties representing the people of Northern Ireland.

-- Both the Vice President and Mr. Lake said they saw merit in the "twin-track" strategy, establishing an international body to address the issue of decommissioning of weapons, and the importance of a serious discussion of decommissioning.

-- We have had a number of constructive discussions with all parties, including Sinn Fein, over the last week.

-- Those discussions are continuing, and continue to be constructive and productive.

British Stalling on Talks?

-- As we have said, we hope that momentum will have been restored to the process by the time the President visits Northern Ireland at the end of November.

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 it 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 flexibly 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.

Election of new Ulster Unionist Party Chairman

-- David Trimble was elected UUP chairman on September 8.

-- Tony Lake called to congratulate him and to express our hope that he will visit Washington soon.

-- We hope to continue to build on the good relations with the UUP that we enjoyed during Mr. Molyneaux's tenure as party leader.

SOMALIA: AIDEED SEIZES BAIDOA

Q: What is the situation on the ground in Baidoa now?

A: According to available information, on September 17, General Aideed and about 600 members of his militia seized the southwestern city of Baidoa. We have no further details of the fighting that took place or casualties. We understand that the town is quiet today.

The United States views this as a significant setback to political reconciliation in Somalia.

Q: What will be the fate of aid workers who have been rounded up by Aideed's forces?

Are any Americans being held hostage?

A: We understand that approximately 18 aid workers, working for UN agencies and non-governmental relief organizations (NGOs) are being held at a compound in Baidoa by Aideed's forces.

Our immediate goal is to work for the immediate and safe release of all these personnel.

(If Asked): We understand that five American citizens are among those detained. We are in close contact with the UN and NGO community in Nairobi, Kenya, which serves as a base for the organizations which employ these persons.

Q: Does Aideed's seizing of Baidoa signal the beginning of a new offensive and a return to violence in Somalia? What does this forebode for the humanitarian and political situation in Somalia?

A: We hope that there will be no further violence in Somalia and that the Somali people will return to peaceful negotiations.

Political reconciliation at the local level was beginning to return in Somalia. This, in turn, permitted the movement of both locally grown and imported food supplies.

It is too early to predict if this development forebodes a return to increased violence, but it is not a good sign.

CHINA

CHINA - U.S.

Q: Is the U.S. negotiating a joint communiqué, with China, as the Wall Street Journal reported?

A: No. The Administration has made clear in a variety of ways that there has been no change in our approach to China. We have maintained a "One China" policy, as have the previous five administrations.

This point has been reiterated on numerous occasions, both public and private. It is explicit in the three joint communiqués already signed with China.

We do not see, therefore, a need for another communiqué, to say the same thing.

The Lee Teng-hui visit was a private and unofficial.

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.

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.

sion.

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.

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 18 September 95 21:48
FROM Wozniak, Natalie S.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT September 18 Press Guidance [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Beardsley, Tyler S.
Reed, George
Woolston, Ann E.

CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE

TEXT_BODY
[[SEP18GUI.DOC : 5445 in SEP18GUI.DOC]]

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE** 18 September 95 21:47

**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME** SEP18GUI.DOC
FOREIGN AFFAIRS GUIDANCE

September 18, 1995

Visit of CWC Preparatory Commission Officials to Washington

Bosnia/Croatia

Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty

Iran Sanctions: D'Amato Bill

Russia

Ireland

Somalia: Aideed Seizes Baidoa

China

Cuba -- New Foreign Investment Law

Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process

Iraq

Kashmir

VISIT OF SENIOR CHEMICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION
PREPARATORY COMMISSION OFFICIALS TO WASHINGTON

For Use at Beginning of Press Briefings:

-- I just wanted to mention that three senior officials from the Chemical Weapons
Co
nvention
Preparatory Commission will be in Washington this week to discuss the status of
U.S.
efforts to ratify
the international treaty outlawing chemical weapons -- the Chemical Weapons
Conventi
on (CWC).

-- Today (Monday), they will meet with the National Security Advisor, the
Secretary
of State, and
the ACDA Director; tomorrow (Tuesday) they will meet with the Chairman of
the JCS an
d the Acting
Secretary of Defense. They will also be meeting with members of the Senate
Foreign
Relations
Committee and their staff.

-- The CWC has enjoyed strong bipartisan support, having been negotiated by
Presiden
t Reagan,
completed and signed by President Bush, and submitted to the Senate by
President Cli
nton.

-- The President sees CWC ratification and entry into force as a key element of
his

nonproliferation policy and an urgent next step in stemming the spread of
weapons of
mass
destruction, following the successful NPT Extension Conference.

-- That is why he welcomed the Senate amendment adopted on September 5
calling for p
rompt

ratification of the CWC and the START II treaty and urged the Senate to provide its advice and consent to ratification before the end of this session.

IF ASKED whether Senator Helms is holding CWC hostage to the State Department reorganization plan:

-- Our dialogue with Senator Helms on that issue is continuing. Meanwhile, we have made clear for many months and will continue to make clear that the President believes that it is crucial for the Senate to complete action on the CWC (and START II) this year.

IF ASKED why the Administration hasn't done more to get CWC ratified:

-- This Administration has made clear, through its words as well as its actions, that securing CWC ratification and entry into force is one of its highest priorities.

-- Even before the President submitted the CWC to the Senate in November 1993, he pressed the case for prompt CWC ratification and entry into force in his first address to the United Nations.

-- Our most senior officials (the Secretary of State, ACDA Director, JCS Chairman, CIA Director, and DOD Deputy Secretary) all gave strong testimony in support of the CWC last year.

-- In May, former Congressman Martin Lancaster was appointed "Special Advisor to the President and ACDA Director on the Chemical Weapons Convention." Since then, Lancaster has met with over 90 Senators or their staff to urge ratification.

-- The President has made clear on numerous occasions -- in his State of the Union Address in January, at the Nixon Center in March, at the Air Force Academy in May, and at

the 50th Anniversary of the UN in San Francisco in June -- the priority he attaches to the earliest possible CWC ratification and entry into force.

-- The President emphasized the importance of CWC ratification again in his meeting with the Congressional leadership last week.

IF ASKED whether there are any substantive obstacles to CWC ratification:

-- There do not appear to be any substantive obstacles to Senate advice and consent to the CWC.

Some issues, such as verification, have been raised recently in the press, but these were dealt with in great detail in the nine Senate hearings and hundreds of questions we answered last year.

BOSNIA/CROATIA

Air Strikes

ù The UN has announced that the Bosnian Serbs stated on Friday they would comply with the conditions that the UN and NATO set for a cessation of the air strikes launched in response to the August 28 Bosnian Serb attack on the Sarajevo market.

ù As a result NATO and UN commanders suspended air operation for 72 hours (beginning at 4:00 p.m. Thursday EDT) to monitor Serb compliance with these commitments. By yesterday, the Serbs had given evidence they were carrying out their commitments, so a further 72-hour pause to permit the completion of the withdrawal of the heavy weapons was announced last night.

ù We have made clear to the Bosnian Serbs that they should have no doubt NATO will r

resume the strikes at any time if we determine that they are not following through on their commitments, or if they resume attacks on Sarajevo or the other safe areas.

ù Agreement was reached with the Bosnian Serbs following extensive meetings last Wednesday night in Belgrade with Assistant Secretary Holbrooke and his team. At those sessions, the Bosnian Serb leadership signed a document agreeing to end all offensive operations within the Sarajevo exclusion zone, to withdraw all heavy weapons from the zone within six days, and to allow unimpeded road and air access to Bosnia's capital within 24 hours.

ù The document was signed by Bosnians Serb President Karadzic, Vice President Koljevic, Assembly President Krajisnik and General Mladic, the Military Commander. It was witnessed by Serbian President Milosevic.

ù We understand that the UN will be running convoys into Sarajevo over several routes. Over the weekend it flew a test flight into the Sarajevo airport, in order to test Serb compliance with commitments to ensure free and unimpeded access.

ù As the President said, Serb acceptance of the terms of the agreement is the direct result of the steadfastness displayed by the members of the NATO Alliance in carrying out decisions to protect the safe areas, along with the close cooperation between UN and NATO commanders throughout the operation.

ù It also reflects intensive diplomatic efforts by Dick Holbrooke and the rest of the U.S. negotiating team, reinforced by the efforts of the Russians and our other European partners.

ù If the Bosnian Serb commitments are fully carried out, this should give further

petus to our common search
for a lasting political settlement to the Balkan conflict, building on last Friday's
agreement on "basic principles"
of a settlement by the Foreign Ministers of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia. If the
Bosni
an Serbs don't comply, air
strikes will resume.

ù While the Bosnian Serbs called for the Bosnian Government to accept a formal
cessa
tion of hostilities within
the Sarajevo zone and to discuss a country-wide cessation of hostilities, the Serbs'
commitment to withdraw
the heavy weapons and comply with the other UN demands were not conditional
on Bosni
an Government
actions.

ù That being said, the Bosnian government indicated last Sunday that it would
refrai
n from offensive actions in
and around Sarajevo. We understand that this assurance still stands, and we
regard
it as welcome step.

GoBH/Croatian Offensive toward Banja Luka

-- We have told the Bosnian and Croatian governments that military moves that
risk d
rawing the
Serbs into the conflict are very risky and unwise, particularly in the current negot
iating circumstances.

Geneva Meetings

-- Important progress was made at the September 8 Geneva meeting between the
foreign

ministers of Bosnia, Serbia and Croatia, and Contact Group representatives.
Ambassa
dor Holbrooke
and EU negotiator Carl Bildt co-chaired the meeting.

-- In specific, the three foreign ministers announced they had agreed to basic
princ
iples for further
negotiations toward final settlement. The principles are the following:

-- For the first time, all agreed that Bosnia-Herzegovina will continue as a single
state,

with its present borders, and with continuing international recognition.

-- Consistent with the Contact Group plan, all three agreed that under the terms of

a
settlement, Bosnia-Herzegovina will consist of two entities: the Federation established under
last year's Washington Agreements, and a Bosnian Serb republic.

-- The 51-49 parameter of the Contact Group's territorial proposal will be the
basis
for a
settlement, subject to any adjustments the parties make by mutual agreement.

-- The two entities will have the right to establish relationships with neighboring
states,
but new relationships must be consistent with the sovereignty and territorial
integr
ity of
Bosnia-Herzegovina.

-- The parties have pledged to adhere to human rights standards, to ensure
freedom o
f
movement and the right of the displaced to return to their homes, and to
collaborate
on joint
economic projects that will promote transportation links and communications
among al
l of
Bosnia's peoples.

-- As the President said, this is an important milestone on the path to peace.

-- Holbrooke and his delegation remain in Europe for discussions with the parties
an
d with the
Contact Group. They will return to Washington for consultations later this week.

(If asked whether the new diplomatic effort divides Bosnia)

-- We have not partitioned Bosnia, nor do we intend to.

-- It cannot be emphasized too strongly that according to the Geneva agreements,
Bosnia-Herzegovina remains a single state, retaining its seat in international
organ
izations and its

bilateral diplomatic relations with other countries in the world, including the U.S.

-- I would note President Izetbegovic's statement earlier this week that the Serbs compromised by accepting the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the Bosnians compromised by accepting a Serb republic.

Izetbegovic further noted that the reason for the compromises was to end the war.

A

ccording to

Izetbegovic, "the world has made clear its support for peace but not for war."

Downed French Pilots

-- 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 last week.

-- We have no confirmation of the Bosnian Serb claim that the pilots are in their custody.

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

French Bilats

-- We are discussing various aspects of post-settlement planning with a French delegation today.

As the meetings are still under way, we do not wish to comment further.

Italian Exclusion from CG

-- On several occasions in recent weeks, Italy and other states have attended Contact Group events.

-- As a member of the EU Troika, as a member of the UN Security Council, in its capacity as one of the principal staging areas for NATO efforts in ex-Yugoslavia and as an important NATO ally, Italy has an important role to play in the international response to the crisis. We take its views of the negotiations,

NATO and UN activities, and other aspects of the peace process very seriously.

-- The recent Geneva meetings were limited in participation so as to establish elements of the original five-nation Contact Group plan as the basis for further negotiations with the parties to the conflict.

-- The EU was represented at the Geneva meeting by its Balkan negotiator Carl Bildt, as well as by European states that are part of the Contact Group.

-- We are aware that subsequent to last week's meeting, Italy raised some concerns with aspects of the NATO/UN air campaign. All states participating in the effort are closely monitoring the effect of the campaign on Bosnian Serb behavior, and all are in close contact with one another at the UN and NATO.

-- We do not believe Italy's questions about the campaign stem from pique over perceived exclusion from the Contact Group.

-- We intend to continue to consult closely with Italy as our diplomatic efforts continue.

-- Following the Contact Group meetings in Geneva and Moscow, Italy will host a meeting in Rome with a broad range of allies and partners to consult fully on the peace process. We plan to continue this broad consultation process with our Allies and partners in future meetings to consider ways to move the peace process forward.

-- 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 rapidly.

-- 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 we are determined to present the parties with a chance to reassess and pursue a peaceful settlement.

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 the 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.

-- 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; the new constitutional arrangements, and yesterday's agreement on Sarajevo.

-- 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
respon
sible.

-- Also urged government of Croatia to provide assurances to all Serbs in the
Krajin
a, and to those
who fled, that they are welcome to stay and return. Importance of allowing
internat
ional 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
intim
idation to drive all
members of an ethnic group from their homes to "purify" the area. But clearly,
seri
ous abuses have
occurred and we condemn any acts that force anyone to leave because of ethnic

ident
ity.

-- 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.

CONVENTIONAL ARMED FORCES IN EUROPE (CFE) TREATY

-- The United States and our NATO Allies have for some time been looking at ways to address Russian and Ukrainian concerns about the Treaty's "flank" limits. Last week NATO Allies agreed on a proposal to be presented to Russia and Ukraine. Since the presentation of the proposal has not yet been made, it would not be appropriate to comment on its details.

-- The strategic picture has changed dramatically since the Treaty was signed in 1990. Now, neither the Warsaw Pact nor the Soviet Union exist and forces once deployed by the USSR as far west as Eastern Germany have been withdrawn to Russia. NATO Allies are looking at ways to respond to those changes, while maintaining the key elements of the Treaty, including its flank limits.

-- Allies have developed this proposal as part of a broader set of preparations for the CFE Review Conference, established by the Treaty for May, 1996. Our goal is to preserve the viability of the Treaty, which remains a cornerstone of European security.

-- The "flank" issue does not concern the overall equipment limit for Russia and Ukraine, but the restrictions which the Treaty places on the amount of equipment permitted in certain regions. Russia and Ukraine have participated fully in the Treaty's implementation over the past three years, destroying thousands of pieces of Treaty-limited equipment and submitting to hundreds of inspections under the terms of the Treaty.

-- It is not certain whether Russia will be prepared to negotiate a solution to the

flank issue on the
basis of the new NATO proposal. However, we and our Allies continue to reject
compl
etely the Russian
idea of an "exclusion zone" in its Caucasus region. There is no basis for such an "
exclusion zone" in the
Treaty.

-- Any solution must be acceptable to all Treaty parties. The forum for
negotiation
will be the
CFE Joint Consultative Group in Vienna.

(If asked about statement by Senator Helms staff that Treaty changes are not
likely
to be approved "anytime
soon":)

-- Any agreement along the lines of the NATO proposal would require the
approval of
Congress.

IRAN SANCTIONS: D'AMATO BILL

-- Believe D'Amato proposal tackles important issues, but we have only recently
rece
ived the text
of Senator D'Amato's bill and we will need a chance to explore it further.

-- We look forward to further consultations on this issue with the Congress.

(If pressed on whether Administration formally opposes)

-- As I said, we believe the bill deals with serious issues, but we need time to con
sider its
provisions in greater detail.

RUSSIA

Current Items

Embassy Moscow Attack

-- Continue to work with Russian authorities to determine who launched rocket-propelled grenade attack September 13. Security upgraded at Embassy and at consulates in St. Petersburg, Vladivostok and Yekaterinburg. Pursuing vigorous investigation.

Belarus Balloon Shoot-down

-- Two U.S. citizens killed September 12 when hot air balloon shot down in southwestern Belarus. Appreciate President Lukashenko's condolences and creation of high-level international commission to investigate.

-- Concerned, however, that Belarusian government took 24 hours to notify Embassy. Continue talking to the Belarus about how this incident occurred.

Yeltsin's Warning Against NATO Enlargement

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

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

Iranian Oil Swaps

-- As part of our policy of supporting independence and stability of Caucasus and Central Asia states, USG willing to consider allowing American companies to swap Caspian

oil with
Iran in
short-term while alternative reliable export pipelines are developed.

-- Long-term independence of these states depends on ability to export energy resources.

-- Bottlenecks in Russian pipeline system severely limit ability of Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan to export oil and gas. No other pipelines currently available.

-- Actively encouraging U.S. companies in region to develop alternative non-Iranian options for oil export, including pipelines through Caucasus to Turkey. That will take time.

Chevron Swap Deal with Iran

-- Chevron has not yet presented license application. We will review all applications on case-by-case basis.

General Items

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.

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.

Russian Banking Crisis

-- Good news is that Russian government and Central Bank effectively managed complex

short-term problems. Financial markets have stabilized.

-- After markets originally froze, government injected judicious amounts of capital to unblock freeze while minimizing inflationary pressures. No general run on deposits, and Aug
ust monthly
inflation rate of 4.6% lowest since 1992.

-- Expect additional bank closures and consolidations as weaker banks fold. If prud
ently
managed, will strengthen banking system. We encourage Russian to keep working with IMF and World Bank on bank reform, as it is already doing.

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.

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

IRELAND

U.S. Role

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

-- Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams met with National Security Advisor Anthony Lake September 13 for over an hour. The Vice President joined them for part of the meeting.

-- Mr. Lake and the Vice President met last Friday with UK Minister of State for Northern Ireland Michael Ancram.

-- We also remain in touch with the Irish Government and other parties.

-- Contacts with all the parties are continuing. I am not prepared to go into any detail.

U.S. Position

-- We see a basis for progress in the "twin-track" proposal to begin inclusive talks between the British and Irish Governments and the Northern Ireland political parties and to establish an international body to address the issue of decommissioning of paramilitaries' weapons.

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

Comment on Paisley Press Conference

-- Dr. Paisley is incorrect to say that the President's visit to Northern Ireland is in serious doubt. There has been no change in his plans, and in fact he is very much looking forward to the trip.

-- As for the possibility that there could be "serious trouble" during the President's visit, we sincerely hope that he will be welcome in Northern Ireland, where he will be bringing a message of peace and reconciliation.

-- We regret that Dr. Paisley did not accept Mr. Lake's invitation to discuss the situation in Northern Ireland face-to-face.

Comments on Adams Visit

-- In their meeting with Adams September 13, the Vice President and Mr. Lake expressed their satisfaction that Northern Ireland has enjoyed a year of peace, and reiterated that the best guarantee of a just and lasting peace is meaningful dialogue among the parties representing the people of Northern Ireland.

-- Both the Vice President and Mr. Lake said they saw merit in the "twin-track" strategy, establishing an international body to address the issue of decommissioning of weapons, and the importance of a serious discussion of decommissioning.

-- We have had a number of constructive discussions with all parties, including Sinn Fein, over the last week.

-- Those discussions are continuing, and continue to be constructive and productive.

British Stalling on Talks?

-- As we have said, we hope that momentum will have been restored to the process by the time the President visits Northern Ireland at the end of November.

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 flexi

bly 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
weapo
ns at new,
all-party talks rather than before them. He has said that decommissioning remains
a
n 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 thro
wn 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.

Election of new Ulster Unionist Party Chairman

-- David Trimble was elected UUP chairman on September 8.

-- Tony Lake called to congratulate him and to express our hope that he will visit Washington soon.

-- We hope to continue to build on the good relations with the UUP that we enjoyed during Mr. Molyneaux's tenure as party leader.

SOMALIA: AIDEED SEIZES BAIDOA

Q: What is the situation on the ground in Baidoa now?

A: According to available information, on September 17, General Aideed and about 600 members of his militia seized the southwestern city of Baidoa. We have no further details of the fighting that took place or casualties. We understand that the town is quiet today.

The United States views this as a significant setback to political reconciliation in Somalia.

Q: What will be the fate of aid workers who have been rounded up by Aideed's forces?

Are any Americans being held hostage?

A: We understand that approximately 18 aid workers, working for UN agencies and non-governmental relief organizations (NGOs) are being held at a compound in Baidoa by Aideed's forces.

Our immediate goal is to work for the immediate and safe release of all these personnel.

(If Asked): We understand that five American citizens are among those detained. We

e are in
close contact with the UN and NGO community in Nairobi, Kenya, which serves
as a base
for the
organizations which employ these persons.

Q: Does Aideed's seizing of Baidoa signal the beginning of a new offensive and a
return
to violence
in Somalia? What does this forebode for the humanitarian and political situation
in
Somalia?

A: We hope that there will be no further violence in Somalia and that the Somali
people
will return
to peaceful negotiations.

Political reconciliation at the local level was beginning to return in Somalia. This
is, in turn,
permitted the movement of both locally grown and imported food supplies.

It is too early to predict if this development forebodes a return to increased violence, but it is
not a good sign.

CHINA

CHINA - U.S.

Q: Is the U.S. negotiating a joint communiqué, with China, as the Wall Street
Journal
reported?

A: No. The Administration has made clear in a variety of ways that there has
been no
change in
our approach to China. We have maintained a "One China" policy, as have the
previous
five
administrations.

This point has been reiterated on numerous occasions, both public and private. It
is explicit in
the three joint communiqués already signed with China.

We do not see, therefore, a need for another communiqu , to say the same thing.

The Lee Teng-hui visit was a private and unofficial.

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.

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 w ere 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 Ir

aqis 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 Srinig ar this past weekend and troop movements by both India and Pakistan along the line of control (border) that s eparates 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.

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 19 September 95 09:04
FROM Bass, Peter E.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT RE: CPL [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Malley, Robert
CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE
TEXT_BODY

issue not raised.

From: Malley, Robert
To: Bass, Peter E.
CC: /R, Record at A1
Subject: RE: CPL [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Tuesday, September 19, 1995 08:47 AM

Peter - Sorry I never got back to you. I was in Haiti until today. Bill said he would take care of it. By the way - was the issue raised?

From: Bass, Peter E.
To: Malley, Robert
CC: /R, Record at A1; @LEGISLAT-Legislative Affairs
Subject: RE: CPL [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Thursday, September 14, 1995 09:15 AM

I NEED TO KNOW NOW IF YOU WANT TL TO RAISE THIS. ROB,
PLEASE COORDINATE
WITH BILL'S SHOP.

From: Malley, Robert
To: Bass, Peter E.; @NSA - Nat'l Security Advisor
CC: /R, Record at A1
Subject: CPL [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Wednesday, September 13, 1995 01:04 PM

Peter --

Wanted to give you a heads up on an issue that we might want to put on the agenda. It concerns Helms' hold on democracy and elections assistance money for Haiti.

Background

Senator Helms has put a hold on the obligation of \$3.0 million for the Elections Support Project and \$4.0 million for the Democracy Enhancement Project (of this latter request, Helms agreed to release the hold for \$500,000.) The hold has been justified by Helms' concern about the way the Haitian elections have been run, the charges of irregularities, the opposition's boycott, as well as other human rights issues in Haiti. In informing the Administration of the hold, Helms submitted a list of questions to which he demanded responses before making a decision. After some delay, these were provided to Helms last week.

At this point, State and AID have been unsuccessful in arranging a meeting with Helms' staff. If the hold does not get lifted by Friday at the latest, the money will be unavailable for these purposes (or, indeed, for any other since there would not be enough time to notify the hill of another reprogramming).

If we do not get a response from Helms' staff by COB today, we think this will need to be ratcheted up at the State level and strong representations made to Helms. The point we need to get across is that without this money, Haiti will not be able to run its presidential elections, and the transfer of power from Aristide to his successor will be in jeopardy. I will let you know by COB whether Helms has responded. In any event, we think State should know of now concern by your putting it on the agenda

Thanks..