

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. email	Robert Malley to Richard Clarke and Morton Halperin. Subject: Talking Points Berger / Nance. (3 pages)	09/23/1995	P1/b(1)
002. email	Robert Malley to Peter Bass, Kristen Cicio, Mary Emery et al. Subject: Berger/Nance Talking Points. (3 pages)	09/25/1995	P1/b(1)
003. email	Kristen Cicio to William Danvers. Subject: FW: Updated Talking Points. (3 pages)	09/25/1995	P1/b(1)
004. email	Robert Malley to Morton Halperin. Subject: Helms. (3 pages)	09/25/1995	P1/b(1)
005. email	Richard Nuccio to William Danvers. Subject: FW: Helms Memo. (4 pages)	09/26/1995	P1/b(1)
006. email	Morton Halperin to Robert Malley. Subject: Revised Draft. (4 pages)	09/26/1995	P1/b(1)
007. email	Robert Malley to William Danvers and Richard Nuccio. Subject: helms. (4 pages)	09/26/1995	P1/b(1)
008. email	Richard Nuccio to Robert Malley. Subject: My Revisions. (4 pages)	09/26/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[09/21/1995-09/27/1995]

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RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
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- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 21 September 95 19:43
FROM Wozniak, Natalie S.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT September 21 Press Guidance [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Beardsley, Tyler S.
Reed, George
Woolston, Ann E.
CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE
TEXT_BODY [[SEP21GUI.DOC : 4904 in SEP21GUI.DOC]]

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE** 21 September 95 19:41
**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME** SEP21GUI.DOC
FOREIGN AFFAIRS GUIDANCE

September 21, 1995

AFRICA
Somalia

LATIN AMERICA
Haiti
Honduras

EAST ASIA/PACIFIC
China

EUROPE
Bosnia/Croatia
French/U.S. Nuclear Cooperation
CFE
Ireland
NATO Enlargement
Russia
Turkey

NEAR EAST
Egyptian POW
Iran Sanctions
Peace Process

SOUTH ASIA
Kashmir

MISCELLANEOUS
CCW
CWE
Export Control Reform

SOMALIA: AIDEED SEIZES BAIDOA

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

A: According to available information, on September 21, the fighting touched off by General Aideed and his militia's seizure of the southwestern city of Baidoa has continued. We understand that the increased fighting and looting have caused the situation to deteriorate. We have no further details of the fighting or casualties.

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: Seven of the 21 aid workers have been released; all were women. Efforts are continuing to gain the immediate release of the remaining detainees.

(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

ret
urn 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
peo
ple will return
to peaceful negotiations.

Political reconciliation at the local level was beginning to return in Somalia. Th
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 viol
ence, but it is
not a good sign.

HAITI

Background: The second round of legislative elections as well as some reruns of
fir
st round elections (both
legislative and local) marred by irregularities were held on September 17. Turn-
out
was low (probably
around 20%) but process was free of violence and far better organized than the
first
round.

Points

-- As was the case for the first round, the elections held on September 17 were
free
of violence or
intimidation. In light of Haiti's recent history, this is a remarkable achievement.

-- In addition, the management and administration of the September 17 elections
were
significantly
better than those of the first round. Haitian authorities, with the help of the int
ernational community, took
effective steps to address many of the problems that arose on June 25.

-- Turn-out was low, however. While the reasons for this are unclear, it should be remembered that Haitians have now been to the polls three times in less than three months.

-- Efforts should now turn to the presidential elections which are scheduled for the end of 1995. They will result in the first transition between two democratically elected Presidents in Haiti's history.

HONDURAS

Background: The sense of Congress resolution recommends that the President order the expedited declassification of any documents in possession of the United States Government pertaining to persons who allegedly "disappeared" in Honduras and make such documents available to Honduran authorities. A number of agencies are processing extensive document requests from the Baltimore Sun through FOIA channels.

Points

-- We understand that agencies have already declassified significant quantities of documents regarding Honduras in response to FOIA requests and will continue to do so in accordance with standard procedures. The status of specific FOIA requests should be verified with relevant agencies.

-- Honduran authorities are undertaking their own investigation into human rights abuses. We have supported that effort through document reviews. Agencies are currently evaluating a more recent

request for assistance from the Honduran National Commissioner for Human Rights.

CHINA

CHINA - U.S.

Q: Is the U.S. negotiating a joint communiqu, 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 communiqu,s 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.

BOSNIA/CROATIA

Air Strikes

ù Last Thursday, NATO and UN commanders suspended air operations for 72 hours to monitor Serb compliance with their commitments to meet the UN/NATO conditions.

ù On Sunday, a further 72-hour pause was announced in view of the fact that the Serbs had withdrawn a substantial number of their heavy weapons from the exclusion zone and had allowed the opening of the Sarajevo airport and routes into the city.

ù The deadline for complete withdrawal of the heavy weapons is 4:00 p.m. today EDT.

ù UN spokesmen indicate that the Serb withdrawal is continuing, and that convoys and UN flights continue to reach Sarajevo without any difficulty.

ù The Bosnian Serbs should have no doubt, however, that NATO will resume the strikes if they do not follow through on their commitments, or if they resume attacks on Sarajevo or the other safe areas.

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 impetus to our common search for a lasting political settlement to the Balkan conflict, building on the September 8 agreement on "basic principles" of a settlement by the Foreign Ministers of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia.
If the Bosnian Serbs don't comply, air strikes will resume.

ù (If asked) While Bosnian Serb compliance was not conditional on Bosnian Government actions, the Bosnian

Government continues to abide by its pledge of 10 days ago that it would refrain from offensive actions in and around Sarajevo.

GoBH/Croatian Offensive toward Banja Luka

We have told the Bosnian and Croatian governments that military moves that risk drawing the Serbs into the conflict are very risky and unwise, and could lead to increased suffering for the civilian population. We believe all sides should refrain from offensive action.

We welcome the statement yesterday by Croatian President Tudjman that Croat forces have been ordered to end offensive action in Western Bosnia and will not attack Banja Luka.

We also welcome statements by Bosnian Government leaders that they do not plan to attack Banja Luka.

Will the Bosnian Offensive Derail U.S. Diplomatic Efforts?

We continue to believe that this conflict will not be settled on the battlefield, and that all parties should redouble their efforts to arrive at an early diplomatic solution. That remains the goal of our policy.

Next Steps

Holbrooke and his delegation are back in the U.S. for consultations and discussion with Principals of next steps before returning to the region. We cannot say when the next round of negotiations will begin.

(FYI only) The Delegation will meet with Principals tomorrow.

September 8 Geneva Meeting

Important progress was made at the September 8 Geneva meeting between the foreign ministers of Bosnia, Serbia and Croatia, and Contact Group representatives. Ambassador Holbrooke

and EU
negotiator Carl Bildt
co-chaired the meeting.

-- In specific, the three foreign ministers announced they had agreed to basic principles 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.

(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 last week that the Serbs
compromis
ed 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

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

-- Because of our concern for the safety of the pilots, we plan to make no further
c
omment.

CORE BOSNIA POINTS

-- From the outset, we have consistently worked to relieve the human suffering in
Bo
snia, 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 Bosnian-Croat Federation, and
preven
ted the war from spreading.
However, as we all know, the fighting continues and peace has been tragically
elusi
ve in Bosnia.

-- We are now at an important moment in the history of the Bosnian conflict. The
ev
ents of recent months

changed the situation on the ground in Bosnia and presented the sides with opportunities for peace that could disappear rapidly.

-- Since June, 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 decisive use of NATO air power.

-- And in early August, the President decided to launch a new diplomatic initiative aimed at achieving a comprehensive settlement, and sent his National Security Advisor, Anthony Lake, to Europe to consult with the Russians and our other European partners.

-- Assistant Secretary Richard Holbrooke and his team have now conducted three rounds of shuttle diplomacy in the region and have made important progress toward a settlement.

-- The September 8 meeting in Geneva of the three Foreign Ministers (Bosnia, Croatia, Serbia), where agreement was reached on "Agreed Basic Principles" of a Bosnia settlement -- was an important initial milestone on the road to peace.

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?

-- Cannot say what will be the size of the NATO force or the U.S. contribution.

-- The number of troops will 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. They have been very supportive, as has Serbian President Milosevic.

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 agreed upon in Geneva on September 8, and last week's Serb agreement to comply with UN/NATO conditions in Sarajevo.

-- 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 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.

-- Clearly reconstruction must emulate the Marshall Plan in one important aspect -- it must knit today's warring communities together in ways that encourage peaceful cooperation.

U.S. - FRENCH NUCLEAR COOPERATION

Q: Do you have any comment on the September 19 Washington Post article on U.S. - French nuclear cooperation.

A:

ù We have had and continue to have a cooperation program with France in the nuclear area.

ù The program with France is not intended to help France conduct nuclear tests. As the President has made clear, the United States regrets continued French nuclear testing.

ù Our program with France is designed to help ensure the safety and reliability of existing nuclear weapons under a true zero yield Comprehensive Test Ban (CTB) Treaty and not to aid the development of new nuclear weapons.

ù In this regard, we take note of President Chirac's strong commitment to sign a CTB Treaty banning all nuclear tests regardless of level no later than the fall of 1996.

[If asked: Has the United States offered to cooperate with France on nuclear simulation]

ù Yes. Again, this effort is focused on maintaining the safety and reliability of existing nuclear weapons under a zero yield CTB Treaty. There is no cooperation planned or envisioned to aid the development of new nuclear weapons.

[If asked about French overflights of the United States to the Mururoa test site]

ù Under the code of federal regulations, governments requesting overflight clearance are required to specify whether any hazardous materials are on board the aircraft.

ù We have granted overflight clearance to several French military missions to Mururoa in 1995.

ù The French informed us of the presence of small arms and ammunition on board one flight. The French did not indicate that hazardous materials -- which would include toxic chemicals, explosives, and

radioactive material -- would be transported on board any of the other aircraft.

[If asked whether the overflight of U.S. territory of aircraft transporting plutonium is prohibited by law]

The overflight of U.S. territory by aircraft transporting plutonium in any form from a foreign country to a foreign country is prohibited by Public Law 100-203 (1987), the "Murkowski Amendment."

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.

-- NATO has developed this proposal as part of its 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.

IRELAND

President Has Lost Interest?

-- No, the President remains deeply interested in the peace process in Northern Ireland, and the Administration continues actively to support the efforts of the British and Irish governments to move the process forward.

-- In fact, we have had a number of contacts over the 2 weeks about how to give the process

momentum.

-- 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 September 8 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 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.

NATO ENLARGEMENT STUDY AND RUSSIA

Reaction to NATO approval of enlargement study?

-- We welcome NATO approval on September 20 of its landmark study on enlarging the Alliance.

-- The study, which sets out the "how" and "why" of enlargement, will be made public when it is presented to members of the Partnership for Peace (composed of CEE and NIS countries, including Russia) in Brussels on September 28.

-- Individual presentations will also be made to members who request them. NATO will assess the presentations and decide on next steps at its December 5 ministerial meeting in Brussels.

-- The study was commissioned by NATO Foreign Ministers meeting at NATO headquarters in December 1994.

-- The study is part of a gradual, deliberate process leading to the enlargement of the Alliance.

-- Our goal is to extend the security and stability represented by NATO into the

new
democracies
that have arisen in Europe in the wake of the end of the Cold War.

-- By integrating them into NATO we hope to ensure the survival of their
democratic
and market
economic reforms.

-- No decisions have yet been taken on whom to invite. Nor is there any timetable
f
or when this
will occur. Enlargement will only occur when NATO is satisfied that prospective
mem
bers can contribute
to the overall security of the Alliance.

-- The "how" part of the study sets out a number of steps that interested potential
members must
take in order to be considered for membership. These include political and
military
steps that contribute
to the democratic goals and overall security of the Alliance.

-- We should stress that no Partnership for Peace members are a priori excluded
from
the
possibility of becoming NATO members.

The Russian Angle: Evans-Novak Call for Immediate Enlargement

-- In addition to enlargement, NATO is also pursuing establishment of a parallel
re
lationship with
Russia. This is being done in recognition of the important role Russia has to play
in European security.

-- We understand Russia has concerns about NATO enlargement. We are
working to over
come
these concerns, which we believe are misplaced.

-- NATO enlargement is not aimed at Russia. NATO is a purely defensive
organization
. Our goal
is to extend stability to areas of historic instability to ensure their future secur
ity.

-- Our purpose is to end the division of Europe, not to create new divisions.

-- At the same time, we have made clear to Moscow that enlargement will proceed in a gradual and transparent manner.

-- We strongly disagree with those who believe NATO should enlarge immediately just because Russia has concerns about enlargement.

-- Enlargement must be a deliberate process that takes into account our interests as well as those of our European partners and Allies.

RUSSIA

Current Items

Spring 1996 Summit in Moscow

-- As Canadian Prime Minister Chretien announced June 17, G-7 leaders and Russian President Yeltsin agreed in Halifax to hold summit on nuclear safety and security in Moscow in spring 1996.

-- Summit to cover two broad areas: safety of civilian nuclear power and security of nuclear materials. These are areas in which there is already substantial cooperation between U.S., G-7 and Russia. Summit will provide impetus to deepen cooperation.

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. It helps reformers succeed in building a democracy and a market economy, and it helps reduce nuclear threat to U.S. Not in our interest to cut this assistance.

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.

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

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.

TURKEY: MARCUS CASE

Any comment on the Washington Post article on the charges against Amcit Aliza
Marcus
, who works for Reuters?

-- We are well aware of this case, but do not have a privacy act waiver for Ms.
Marc
us and
cannot provide many details.

-- The matter is currently being actively considered by a Turkish court and under
th
e
circumstances we do not believe it would be appropriate to comment further at

this t
ime.

If pressed on what we are doing for Ms. Marcus:

-- As you would expect, we have discussed the case with Turkish authorities.

-- It is standard procedure to provide all necessary consular assistance to
American
citizens facing
difficulties abroad.

Background Info FYI Only: This case has been discussed with the Turkish
government
both in Ankara and
Washington. The GOT has told us that the case has been resolved, but has
provided n
o details. Our Embassy
does not want to risk compromising this resolution by publicly discussing it.

EGYPTIAN POW KILLINGS

Q: Do you have any comment on the reports that two mass graves have been
found in th
e Sinai
which contain the bodies of Egyptian POW's allegedly killed by Israeli troops?

A: This matter is now under discussion between the Egyptian and Israeli
governments.
I would
refer you to them for anything further on this matter.

(NOTE TO BRIEFER: Avoid any discussion of substantive "facts" regarding
Egyptian
discovery of graves.)

IRAN SANCTIONS: D'AMATO BILL

Background: The amendment in current form has mandatory and discretionary
sanctions
against foreign
companies that export oil and natural gas equipment and technology to Iran.

Mandato
ry sanctions prohibit
awarding U.S. Government contracts, granting licenses, and admitting senior
officer
s of such companies into the
U S. Discretionary sanctions include an import prohibition, a merger and
acquisitio
n prohibition, and a prohibition
from receiving EXIM bank financing or commercial bank loans.

Points

-- Believe the D'Amato proposal tackles important issues, but it has not yet been
fo
rmally
introduced.

-- We will look at it seriously.

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

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 diff
erences 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.

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.

CONVENTION ON CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS (CCW) REVIEW CONFERENCE (LANDMINES/LASERS)

- Primary U.S. objective at the Convention on Conventional Weapons (CCW) Review Conference, opening September 25, will be to strengthen the CCW's restrictions on the use of landmines. We are gravely concerned with humanitarian tragedy caused by the indiscriminate use of these weapons.
- Signed in 1980, the President obtained Senate advice and consent to CCW ratification in March of this year.

-- The U.S. has advanced the principle proposals to improve the CCW "landmines" protocol that will be considered at the Review Conference. These include, for example:

- requiring that all remotely delivered mines (those delivered by aircraft, rocket or artillery) used outside of marked and monitored minefields self-destruct after a relatively short period, so that they will not remain a threat to civilians after a conflict ends;

- requiring that all mines be detectable using commonly-available technology, to facilitate their clearing;

- expanding the scope of the "landmines" protocol to apply in internal armed conflicts, where the greatest civilian casualties have occurred; and

- requiring that the party laying the mines assume responsibility for clearing them, including a duty at the "cessation of active hostilities" to clear them or maintain them in controlled fields to protect civilians. Where the party laying the mines no longer controls the territory in which they were laid, it would have a duty to provide assistance for their clearance, to the extent possible.

-- (If asked) The U.S. will also be prepared to support a protocol prohibiting the use of so-called "blinding" lasers, provided it protects certain military requirements for the legitimate use of lasers on the battlefield, such as targeting and range-finding.

-- Ambassador Michael J. Matheson, Principal Deputy Legal Advisor to the Department of State, will lead our delegation.

ù

ù

VISIT OF SENIOR CHEMICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION
PREPARATORY COMMISSION OFFICIALS TO WASHINGTON

-- Three senior officials from the Chemical Weapons Convention Preparatory Commission are in Washington this week to discuss U.S. ratification of the international treaty outlawing chemical weapons -- the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC).

-- They have met with the National Security Adviser, the Secretary of State, the ACD, A Director, the Chairman of the JCS and 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. President Reagan negotiated it, President Bush completed and signed it, and President Clinton sent it to the Senate for advice and consent.

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

-- That is why we 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. But 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.

EXPORT CONTROL REFORM: COMPUTERS

Q: Is the Administration planning to loosen export controls so that high-powered computers could help our foes build nuclear and other high-tech weapons?

A: We are now reviewing the appropriate levels for export controls on computers. Our review will take all factors into account -- including our strong commitment to nonproliferation -- in seeking to establish a level that advances U.S. interests from a military and economic standpoint.

When we last revised U.S. computer thresholds, two years ago, we said we would need to revisit those levels within about two years. That is what we have been doing.

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 22 September 95 14:11
FROM Wozniak, Natalie S.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT Sperling as of 2:12 p.m. [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 [[SPERLING.DOC : 3650 in SPERLING.DOC]]

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE** 22 September 95 14:3

**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME** SPERLING.DOC

FOREIGN POLICY POINTS
FOR
SPERLING GROUP LUNCH

EUROPE
Ireland

MISCELLANEOUS
Chemical Weapons Convention

IRELAND

U.S. Role

-- We are committed to working with the two governments and the parties to help
in t

he search
for peace.

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

-- First time in a generation there is real hope for a lasting peace and a more prosperous future.
People of Belfast are finally living a normal life.

U.S. Meetings

-- 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 are hopeful a way can be found to move things forward. Contacts with all the parties are continuing. I am not prepared to go into any detail.

Twin Track

-- 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 (said your visit to Northern Ireland is in serious doubt and turned down Lake's invitation to meet.)

-- Not going to comment on Mr. Paisley's statements.

-- There has been no change in my plans, and I am very much looking forward to the trip.

British Stalling on Talks?

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

-- I believe Prime Minister Major is committed to doing all he can to achieve a lasting peace in Northern Ireland.

Position on Decommissioning:

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

Senator Mitchell to Chair Commission on Decommissioning?:

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

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

Election of hard-line Unionist David Trimble a setback?

-- Looking forward to working with Mr. Trimble as we have with the Unionists over the past year.

Deportations [Irish groups mounting a campaign against deportation of former IRA members, some who are married to U.S. citizens and/or have U.S. children. U.S. law provides no flexibility

y in prohibiting permanent residency to those linked to terrorism. We are looking into possible legislative waivers.]

-- Issue recently brought to my attention.

-- Law provides me no flexibility on many cases.

-- Have asked staff to review the issue.

CHEMICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION

-- Last week, my top foreign policy advisors (Lake, Christopher, Holum, Shalikashvili and White) met with the leadership of the international organization preparing for implementation of the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC).

-- This treaty is central to our efforts to fight the spread and future use of chemical weapons, including by terrorists. That is why I want to see it ratified and in force as soon as possible.

-- Earlier this month, the Senate adopted an amendment calling for prompt consideration of the CWC and START II. This followed an earlier House amendment urging prompt ratification of the Chemical Weapons Convention.

-- These votes underscore the fact that this treaty, which was negotiated by President Reagan and concluded and signed by President Bush, enjoys bipartisan support in the Congress.

-- I urge the Senate to provide its advice and consent to this vital treaty this fall.

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. Whatever the outcome, I believe 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:

-- We have made clear, through our words as well as our actions, that securing CWC ratification and entry into force is one of our highest priorities.

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

-- My 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, we appointed former Congressman Martin Lancaster as my "Special Advisor" on the Chemical Weapons Convention. Since then, Lancaster has met with over 90 Senators or their staff to urge ratification.

-- I have made clear on numerous occasions the priority I attach to the earliest possible CWC ratification and entry into force. It will make every American safer, and we need it now.

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.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. email	Robert Malley to Richard Clarke and Morton Halperin. Subject: Talking Points Berger / Nance. (3 pages)	09/23/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[09/21/1995-09/27/1995]

2006-1363-F

vz5607

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. email	Robert Malley to Peter Bass, Kristen Cicio, Mary Emery et al. Subject: Berger/Nance Talking Points. (3 pages)	09/25/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[09/21/1995-09/27/1995]

2006-1363-F

vz5607

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003. email	Kristen Cicio to William Danvers. Subject: FW: Updated Talking Points. (3 pages)	09/25/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[09/21/1995-09/27/1995]

2006-1363-F

vz5607

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004. email	Robert Malley to Morton Halperin. Subject: Helms. (3 pages)	09/25/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[09/21/1995-09/27/1995]

2006-1363-F
vz5607

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M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 26 September 95 11:01
FROM Tyler, John T.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Halperin, Morton H.
CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE
TEXT_BODY
[[6787-2A.DOC : 2902 in 6787-2A.DOC]]
**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE** 26 September 95 11:0
**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME** 6787-2A.DOC
6787
cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE
PATRICK GRIFFIN

SUBJECT: Response to Sen. Helms Letter of
September 8, 1995

Purpose

To respond to Senator Jesse Helm's offer to work with us on the issue of "reorganizing the State Department" (and the other foreign affairs agencies) and discuss how we deal with the pressure to consolidate the foreign affairs agencies.

Background

Following your meeting with him, Senator Helms wrote you on September 8th, offering to work with us and the State Department on the State Department Bill (i.e. on the issue of consolidation of the foreign affairs agencies). There has also been a follow-up meeting with Helm's staff and interagency legislative affairs representatives on procedural matters. Since then the situation has changed:

- ù Jesse Helms won a 57-43 vote on tabling his amendment to force consolidation -- he then withdrew his amendment.

- ù Bob Dole is now involved.

- ù John Kerry commented on the Senate floor that he was willing to see one of the agencies consolidated; and in the context of debate, he was not willing to offer a sense of the Congress amendment that we should get back to them with our plan.

- ù Issue has been raised by Leon Panetta and his feeling is that we have to solve the problem. The Vice President is the key player for the Administration on consolidation.

- ù We can no longer rely on "hanging tough." Helms will keep coming at us on CJS or Reconciliation and he is gathering Democratic support.

- ù The heads of the Agencies are neuralgic about the consolidation of their agency...it's a set of rice bowl issues for them.

- ù We have had a solid hang tough--all for one and one for all--position for months, which is identified with the Administration and especially with the Vice President.

We have an opportunity to make some progress. Senator Helms may be

ready to negotiate seriously; however, there is a lack of unanimity within the Administration, particularly, over consolidation issues. To protect your interests, the White House/NPR needs to be responsible for dealing with Senator Helms.

We need to "hang tough" for now. This is necessary to avoid open revolt by the Agencies and to avoid a Republican victory dance over our having agreed to "consolidation." In fact, lower appropriations numbers for Agency operating expenses and our own quest to balance the budget will probably stimulate significant re-engineering of the Agencies. It is better that we take the credit for it.

We should be aim for agreement with Senator Helms to mutate the consolidation issue to a report to the Congress on efficiencies in government due to the reinvention of the foreign affairs agencies. This would be in time for inclusion in the budget submission for Fiscal Year 1997, and would enable us to manage the inevitable, budget driven consolidation process. A small team led by Erskine Bowles (plus Leon Fuerth, Mort Halperin, and Gordon Adams) could manage any discussions with Senator Helms. We would see Senator Helms' agreement to proceed concurrently with his committee's normal business of confirming your Ambassadors and working with us on treaty ratification.

RECOMMENDATION

Erskine Bowles lead a small team to talk with Senator Helms.

That you sign the attached letter to Senator Helms.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____ [Optional]

Attachment

Tab [I or A] Letter to Senator Jesse Helms

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 26 September 95 11:08
FROM Tyler, John T.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT Helms[UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Halperin, Morton H.
CARBON_COPY Cooper, Kathleen H.
TEXT_BODY [[6787-3A.DOC : 2893 in 6787-3A.DOC]]This is the last of the three.

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE** 26 September 95 11:6

**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME** 6787-3A.DOC

Dear Senator Helms:

When we met last August, I did mention that I would get back to you on your State Department Bill. Since then, I am pleased that the staffs have been able to get together and begin work on critical procedural matters.

In this context, it is naturally important for the Committee to resume its work with us on Ambassadorial confirmations and other committee business.

If you are agreeable, I would propose that Erskine Bowles and a small group meet with you or your representatives and continue discussion on some of the issues raised in the foreign assistance authorization bill.

I continue to believe that it is critical for this nation to pursue a strongly bipartisan foreign policy and that the Congress provide the resources necessary to keep America's world leadership strong.

Sincerely,

[Name/Title in Initial Caps]
[Title/Senate/House in Initial Caps]
[Organization/Position - Initial Caps]
[Address - Initial Caps]

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
005. email	Richard Nuccio to William Danvers. Subject: FW: Helms Memo. (4 pages)	09/26/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[09/21/1995-09/27/1995]

2006-1363-F

vz5607

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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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)]

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

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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006. email	Morton Halperin to Robert Malley. Subject: Revised Draft. (4 pages)	09/26/1995	P1/b(1)
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COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[09/21/1995-09/27/1995]

2006-1363-F

vz5607

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
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b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
007. email	Robert Malley to William Danvers and Richard Nuccio. Subject: helms. (4 pages)	09/26/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[09/21/1995-09/27/1995]

2006-1363-F
vz5607

RESTRICTION CODES

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- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
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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).

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- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 26 September 95 14:53
FROM Tyler, John T.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT RE: Urgent Action [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Cooper, Kathleen H.
CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE
TEXT_BODY

Mort's added sentence in the "hanging tough" bullet is in the memo to the President, so Bill will have a chance to complain if he doesn't like it. We can add it to the memo to Tony without any guilt or angst as far as I'm concerned. Cheers from the meat locker.

From: Cooper, Kathleen H.
To: Tyler, J. T. (Tim)
CC: /R, Record at A1
Subject: FW: Urgent Action [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Tuesday, September 26, 1995 02:29 PM

<<Attached File: 6787-1A.DOC>>
<<Attached File: 6787-2A.DOC>>
<<Attached File: 6787-3A.DOC>>

Tim -- This is gone. kathy

From: Cooper, Kathleen H.
To: Clarke, Richard A.; Danvers, William C.; Bell, Robert G.
CC: /R, Record at A1; Lindsey, Wanda D.; Burrell, Christina L.; Kelly, Sandra L.
Subject: Urgent Action [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Tuesday, September 26, 1995 02:16 PM

Senator Helms has followed up his meeting with the President on the consolidation issue with a letter saying that he was waiting to hear back from the President.

I am sending you the attached package for coordination. Obviously several parts of the White House, including OVP and OMB, will need to be consulted before the package can go to the President.

Tony has asked that all packages related to consolidation be kept out of the

system and be very tightly held. I would, therefore, appreciate your holding this memo closely and e-mailing your comments/concurrence to me. Thanks.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
008. email	Richard Nuccio to Robert Malley. Subject: My Revisions. (4 pages)	09/26/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[09/21/1995-09/27/1995]

2006-1363-F
vz5607

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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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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- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 26 September 95 17:17
FROM Cooper, Kathleen H.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT FW: Urgent Action [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Halperin, Morton H.
Tyler, John T.
CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE
TEXT_BODY

See below. I will get hard copy.

From: Bell, Robert G.
To: Clarke, Richard A.; Cooper, Kathleen H.; Danvers, William C.
CC: /R, Record at A1; Burrell, Christina L.; Kelly, Sandra L.; Lindsey, Wanda D.
Subject: RE: Urgent Action [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Tuesday, September 26, 1995 05:12 PM

I would like to see more recognition in all three memos of the priority the President attaches to attaining Senate ratification of START II and CWC this session. In the TL memo, this priority is vaguely referenced as "normal committee business." In the POTUS memo, it is referenced as "treaty ratification" (no identification of which treaties (or treaty, singular?)). In the Helms letter, it appears to be subsumed under "other committee business". I will drop off a hard-copy mark-up that makes it clear what we want.

From: Cooper, Kathleen H.
To: Bell, Robert G.; Clarke, Richard A.; Danvers, William C.
CC: /R, Record at A1; Burrell, Christina L.; Kelly, Sandra L.; Lindsey, Wanda D.
Subject: Urgent Action [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Tuesday, September 26, 1995 02:16 PM

<<Attached File: 6787-1A.DOC>>
<<Attached File: 6787-2A.DOC>>
<<Attached File: 6787-3A.DOC>>

Senator Helms has followed up his meeting with the President on the consolidation issue with a letter saying that he was waiting to hear back from the President.

I am sending you the attached package for coordination. Obviously several

parts of the White House, including OVP and OMB, will need to be consulted before the package can go to the President.

Tony has asked that all packages related to consolidation be kept out of the system and be very tightly held. I would, therefore, appreciate your holding this memo closely and e-mailing your comments/concurrence to me. Thanks.

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 27 September 95 09:13
FROM Tyler, John T.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT RE: Urgent Action [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Cooper, Kathleen H.
Halperin, Morton H.
CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE
TEXT_BODY

Am I to understand that Bill is now the Vice President's link to the Chief of Staff on substance associated with NPR matters!

From: Cooper, Kathleen H.
To: Halperin, Morton H.; Tyler, J. T. (Tim)
CC: /R, Record at A1
Subject: FW: Urgent Action [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Wednesday, September 27, 1995 09:08 AM

FYI -- Bill's comments.

From: Danvers, William C.
To: Bell, Robert G.; Clarke, Richard A.; Cooper, Kathleen H.
CC: /R, Record at A1; Burrell, Christina L.; Kelly, Sandra L.; Lindsey, Wanda D.; @LEGISLAT-Legislative Affairs
Subject: RE: Urgent Action [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Tuesday, September 26, 1995 08:31 PM

I strongly recommend that we coordinate any response and/or strategy with Leon. He has a good process in place to deal with these issues, and I think our best approach is to discuss our suggestions with him first. This is particularly the case since there is high level interest in this issue.

I, therefore, want to clear possible responses (at least the details) with him to make sure we are in sync.

From: Cooper, Kathleen H.
To: Bell, Robert G.; Clarke, Richard A.; Danvers, William C.
CC: /R, Record at A1; Burrell, Christina L.; Kelly, Sandra L.; Lindsey, Wanda D.
Subject: Urgent Action [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Tuesday, September 26, 1995 02:16 PM

<<Attached File: 6787-1A.DOC>>

<<Attached File: 6787-2A.DOC>>

<<Attached File: 6787-3A.DOC>>

Senator Helms has followed up his meeting with the President on the consolidation issue with a letter saying that he was waiting to hear back from the President.

I am sending you the attached package for coordination. Obviously several parts of the White House, including OVP and OMB, will need to be consulted before the package can go to the President.

Tony has asked that all packages related to consolidation be kept out of the system and be very tightly held. I would, therefore, appreciate your holding this memo closely and e-mailing your comments/concurrence to me. Thanks.

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 27 September 95 10:23
FROM Halperin, Morton H.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT FW: Urgent Action [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Danvers, William C.
CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE
TEXT_BODY

I fully intent to coordinate with Leon before going to Tony. However, before talking to him I wanted to get the views of other concerned NSC directorates and be sure that we had a unified position. I have Bob's comments which I will incorporate. Do you have any comments before I discuss with Leon?

From: Cooper, Kathleen H.
To: Halperin, Morton H.; Tyler, J. T. (Tim)
CC: /R, Record at A1
Subject: FW: Urgent Action [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Wednesday, September 27, 1995 09:08 AM

FYI -- Bill's comments.

From: Danvers, William C.
To: Bell, Robert G.; Clarke, Richard A.; Cooper, Kathleen H.
CC: /R, Record at A1; Burrell, Christina L.; Kelly, Sandra L.; Lindsey, Wanda D.; @LEGISLAT-Legislative Affairs
Subject: RE: Urgent Action [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Tuesday, September 26, 1995 08:31 PM

I strongly recommend that we coordinate any response and/or strategy with Leon. He has a good process in place to deal with these issues, and I think our best approach is to discuss our suggestions with him first. This is particularly the case since there is high level interest in this issue.

I, therefore, want to clear possible responses (at least the details) with him to make sure we are in sync.

From: Cooper, Kathleen H.
To: Bell, Robert G.; Clarke, Richard A.; Danvers, William C.
CC: /R, Record at A1; Burrell, Christina L.; Kelly, Sandra L.; Lindsey, Wanda D.
Subject: Urgent Action [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Tuesday, September 26, 1995 02:16 PM

<<Attached File: 6787-1A.DOC>>

<<Attached File: 6787-2A.DOC>>

<<Attached File: 6787-3A.DOC>>

Senator Helms has followed up his meeting with the President on the consolidation issue with a letter saying that he was waiting to hear back from the President.

I am sending you the attached package for coordination. Obviously several parts of the White House, including OVP and OMB, will need to be consulted before the package can go to the President.

Tony has asked that all packages related to consolidation be kept out of the system and be very tightly held. I would, therefore, appreciate your holding this memo closely and e-mailing your comments/concurrence to me. Thanks.

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 27 September 95 14:09
FROM Halperin, Morton H.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT FW: Halperin Package [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Tyler, John T.
CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE
TEXT_BODY

I took a quick look at the changes and they seem ok. Pls take a look and let me know what you think.

From: Danvers, William C.
To: Bell, Robert G.; Clarke, Richard A.; Halperin, Morton H.
CC: /R, Record at A1; Cooper, Kathleen H.; Kelly, Sandra L.; Lindsey, Wanda D.; @LEGISLAT-Legislative Affairs
Subject: FW: Halperin Package [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Wednesday, September 27, 1995 01:49 PM

[[6787-1A.DOC : 3597 in 6787-1A.DOC]][[6787-2A.DOC : 3598 in 6787-2A.DOC]][[6787-3A.DOC : 3599 in 6787-3A.DOC]]

Some changes.

From: Burrell, Christina L.
To: Danvers, William C.
CC: /N, NonRecord at A1
Subject: Halperin Package [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Wednesday, September 27, 1995 01:36 PM

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE** 27 September 95 13:20

**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME** 6787-1A.DOC

6787

LIMITED ACCESS

D R A F T

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: MORTON H. HALPERIN

FROM: TIM TYLER

SUBJECT: Helms Letter to POTUS on Consolidation

Following their meeting, Senator Helms sent a letter to the President on September 8th offering to work with us and with the State Department on the authorization bill. We need to respond to the letter -- after we decide what to do.

There has been one subsequent meeting between Helms' staff and the interagency (State, USAID, ACDA, USIA and NSC) legislative affairs offices. That meeting was limited to discussion about procedures, i.e. deal with restrictions on presidential prerogatives first, then the numbers and then with the consolidation issue. Since then the context has changed.

ù Jesse Helms won a 57-43 vote on tabling his amendment to force consolidation -- he then withdrew his amendment.

ù Bob Dole is now involved.

ù John Kerry commented on the Senate floor that he was willing to see one of the agencies consolidated.

ù Issue has been raised by Leon Panetta at his staff meeting: his feeling is that we have to solve the problem.

ù "Hanging tough is an increasingly difficult strategy." Helms will keep coming at us and he has some Democratic support.

ù The heads of the Agencies remain opposed to consolidation.

ù We have had a solid hang tough--all for one and one for all--

position for months, which is identified with the Vice President. A shift from that position could move Helms to claim victory.

We need to decide how to proceed once we have an agreed upon position. We suggest that there be a VP-led meeting of concerned agency heads, bringing them on board. We should then get back to our Democrats in the Senate and House to let them know what we want to do. Finally, contact should be made with Helms and Gilman, presenting our proposal. The issue remains as to what our "proposal" will be. The most workable solution is to tell Helms and Gilman that we will get back to them with a specific

reorganization plan by a date certain.

Our end game is simple:

- ù Respond to Helms;

- ù Avoid forced, mandated consolidation; and

- ù Use the budget context to force a hard look at the reinvention of the foreign affairs agencies and move toward acceptance of the position developed through the NPR review of the four agencies.

We have attached a memo to the President (Tab I) and a letters from the President to Senator Helms (Tab A) reflecting this position.

Concurrence by: Richard Clarke; Bill Danvers; Bob Bell

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum for the President

Tab A Letter to Senator Helms

Tab B Letter from Senator Helms

ATTACHMENT FILE DATE

27 September 95 13:33

ATTACHMENT FILE NAME

6787-2A.DOC

6787

LIMITED ACCESS

cc: Vice President

Chief of Staff

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE
PAT GRIFFIN

SUBJECT: Response to Sen. Helms Letter of
September 8, 1995

Purpose

To respond to Senator Jesse Helms' offer to work with us on the issue of "reorganizing the State Department" and the other foreign affairs agencies.

Background

Following your meeting with him, Senator Helms wrote you on September 8th, offering to work with us and the State Department on the State Department Bill (i.e. on the issue of consolidation of the foreign affairs agencies). There has also been a follow-up meeting with Helms' staff and interagency legislative affairs representatives on procedural matters. Since then the situation has changed:

ù Jesse Helms won a 57-43 vote on tabling an amendment he sponsored with Senator Dole to force consolidation last week during Senate consideration of the Foreign Operations Appropriations bill. He subsequently withdrew his amendment.

ù Senator Helms has stated publicly on several occasions that he is waiting for a response from you to your meeting with him and that he will hold up nominations and consideration of treaties, particularly START II and the Chemical Weapons Convention; nominations; and other Committee business until he has an up or down vote on his proposal.

ù There is some Democratic support for consolidation. Three Democrats voted against the motion to table the Helms amendment last week. Senator Kerry stated on the Senate floor that he is willing to see one of the agencies consolidated, a position he took during Senate Foreign Relations Committee deliberations on this issue.

On the other side of this issue, Agencies targeted by the Helms legislation continue to oppose any consolidation. There are also key Democrats who are willing to back us in our resistance to the Helms plan. We believe that in order to try to get the Foreign Relations Committee business moving again, we should respond to Senator Helms by telling him that we will present to Congress by a date certain a reorganization plan. This will allow us and our

supporters to be able to say that we have responded to the Senator and that he should now allow the SFRC to meet to conduct its business.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached letter to Senator Helms.

Attachments

Tab A Letter to Senator Jesse Helms

Tab B Letter from Senator Helms

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE**

27 September 95 13:16

**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME**

6787-3A.DOC

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I wanted to get back to you following our meeting to discuss your proposal to reorganize the foreign affairs agencies. Since then, I am pleased that representatives from the Administration have met with your staff as a follow on to that discussion.

I am asking the Vice President to submit to you and Representative Gilman a proposal that we will get back to you by a date certain our detailed plan for reorganizing the foreign affairs agencies.

As you know, I strongly believe that the organization of the federal government is the prerogative of the Executive branch, although I think it is important to take into consideration Congressional concerns and ideas as we complete this process.

I ask that in the interim the Committee resume its work with us on treaties such as START II and the Chemical Weapons Convention, Ambassadorial confirmations and other committee business.

I continue to believe that it is critical for this nation to pursue a strongly bipartisan foreign policy and that the Congress provide the resources necessary to keep America's world leadership strong.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Jesse Helms
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 27 September 95 17:06
FROM Halperin, Morton H.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT FW: RESPONSE TO HELMS ON CONSOLIDATION [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Tyler, John T.
CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE

TEXT_BODY

Dick called me and signed off on the package. As you see I sent it on to Leon.

From: Halperin, Morton H.
To: Fuerth, Leon S.
CC: /R, Record at A1; Wise, William M.
Subject: RESPONSE TO HELMS ON CONSOLIDATION [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Wednesday, September 27, 1995 04:31 PM

[[6787A.DOC : 4387 in 6787A.DOC]][[6787B.DOC : 4388 in 6787B.DOC]][[6787C.DOC : 4389 in 6787C.DOC]]

Attached is the package to respond to the Helms letter to POTUS on consolidation. It tracks what we have discussed. Since much time has passed since we received it I thought I should start moving it along.

I would like to get your response on this substance as well as process. How should the package move forward to get the necessary concurrences including the VP and Tony?

Any word on the meeting? I have alerted Tony.

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE**

27 September 95 16:22

**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME**

6787A.DOC

6787

LIMITED ACCESS

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: MORTON H. HALPERIN

FROM: TIM TYLER

SUBJECT: Helms Letter to POTUS on Consolidation

Following their meeting, Senator Helms sent a letter to the President on September 8th offering to work with us and with the State Department on the authorization bill. We need to respond to the letter -- after we decide what to do.

There has been one subsequent meeting between Helms' staff and the interagency (State, USAID, ACDA, USIA and NSC) legislative affairs offices. That meeting was limited to discussion about procedures, i.e. deal with restrictions on presidential prerogatives first, then the numbers and then with the consolidation issue. Since then the context has changed.

ù Jesse Helms won a 57-43 vote on tabling his amendment to force consolidation -- he then withdrew his amendment.

ù Bob Dole is now involved.

ù John Kerry commented on the Senate floor that he was willing to see one of the agencies consolidated.

ù Issue has been raised by Leon Panetta at his staff meeting: his feeling is that we have to solve the problem.

ù "Hanging tough is an increasingly difficult strategy." Helms will keep coming at us and he has some Democratic support.

ù The heads of the Agencies remain opposed to consolidation.

ù We have had a solid hang tough--all for one and one for all--position for months, which is identified with the Vice President. A shift from that position could move Helms to claim victory.

We need to decide how to proceed once we have an agreed upon position. We suggest that there be a VP-led meeting of concerned

agency heads, bringing them on board. We should then get back to our Democrats in the Senate and House to let them know what we want to do. Finally, contact should be made with Helms and Gilman, presenting our proposal. The issue remains as to what our "proposal" will be. The most workable solution is to tell Helms and Gilman that we will get back to them with a specific reorganization plan by a date certain.

Our end game is simple:

ù Respond to Helms;

ù Avoid forced, mandated consolidation; and

ù Use the budget context to force a hard look at the reinvention of the foreign affairs agencies and move toward acceptance of the position developed through the NPR review of the four agencies.

We have attached a memo to the President (Tab I) and a letters from the President to Senator Helms (Tab A) reflecting this position.

Concurrence by: Richard Clarke; Bill
Danvers; Bob Bell

Attachments
Tab I Memorandum for the President
Tab A Letter to Senator Helms
Tab B Letter from Senator Helms

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE**

27 September 95 16:23

**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME**

6787B.DOC

6787

LIMITED ACCESS

cc: Vice President

Chief of Staff

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE
PAT GRIFFIN

SUBJECT: Response to Sen. Helms Letter of
September 8, 1995

Purpose

To respond to Senator Jesse Helms' offer to work with us on the issue of "reorganizing the State Department" and the other foreign affairs agencies.

Background

Following your meeting with him, Senator Helms wrote you on September 8th, offering to work with us and the State Department on the State Department Bill (i.e. on the issue of consolidation of the foreign affairs agencies). There has also been a follow-up meeting with Helms' staff and interagency legislative affairs representatives on procedural matters. Since then the situation has changed:

- ù Jesse Helms won a 57-43 vote on tabling an amendment he sponsored with Senator Dole to force consolidation last week during Senate consideration of the Foreign Operations Appropriations bill. He subsequently withdrew his amendment.

- ù Senator Helms has stated publicly on several occasions that he is waiting for a response from you to your meeting with him and that he will hold up nominations and consideration of treaties, particularly START II and the Chemical Weapons Convention; nominations; and other Committee business until he has an up or down vote on his proposal.

- ù There is some Democratic support for consolidation. Three Democrats voted against the motion to table the Helms amendment last week. Senator Kerry stated on the Senate floor that he is willing to see one of the agencies consolidated, a position he took during Senate Foreign Relations Committee deliberations on this issue.

On the other side of this issue, Agencies targeted by the Helms legislation continue to oppose any consolidation. There are also key Democrats who are willing to back us in our resistance to the Helms plan. We believe that in order to try to get the Foreign Relations Committee business moving again, we should respond to

Senator Helms by telling him that we will present to Congress by a date certain a reorganization plan. This will allow us and our

supporters to be able to say that we have responded to the Senator and that he should now allow the SFRC to meet to conduct its business.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached letter to Senator Helms.

Attachments

Tab A Letter to Senator Jesse Helms

Tab B Letter from Senator Helms

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE**

27 September 95 16:24

**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME**

6787C.DOC

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I wanted to get back to you following our meeting to discuss your proposal to reorganize the foreign affairs agencies. Since then, I am pleased that representatives from the Administration have met with your staff as a follow on to that discussion.

I am asking the Vice President to submit to you and Representative Gilman a proposal that we will provide you by a date certain our detailed plan for reorganizing the foreign affairs agencies.

As you know, I strongly believe that the organization of the federal government is the prerogative of the Executive branch, although I think it is important to take into consideration Congressional concerns and ideas as we complete this process.

I ask that in the interim the Committee resume its work with us on treaties such as START II and the Chemical Weapons Convention, Ambassadorial confirmations and other committee business.

I continue to believe that it is critical for this nation to pursue a strongly bipartisan foreign policy and that the Congress provide the resources necessary to keep America's world leadership

strong.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Jesse Helms
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510