

## M S M a i l

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**FROM** Wozniak, Natalie S.  
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**TO** Beardsley, Tyler S.  
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**ATTACHMENT  
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NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS GUIDANCE

October 31, 1995

CANADA  
Quebec

EUROPE  
Bosnia/Croatia  
Ireland  
NATO Enlargement  
Russia  
Eximbank and Ilyushin Aircraft  
CFE  
Norway

MIDDLE EAST  
Iraq Sanctions  
Dole-Jerusalem Bill  
Algeria  
Amman Economic Summit

Syria-Christopher

AFRICA  
Tanzania

MISCELLANEOUS  
CIA  
UK-French Nuclear Cooperation  
CWC  
Defense Appropriations

QUEBEC

Chretien Phone Call

-- President Clinton talked by phone to Canadian Prime Minister Chretien about the outcome of the Quebec referendum at about 10:30 last night. (Insert YES or NO guidance.)

-- During the call, the two leaders discussed how important the vote was for the people of Quebec and Canada. Specifically, the President expressed his admiration for a strong and united Canada and how much the United States looks forward to working together with Canada to develop an even stronger relationship in the future.

U. S. Position on the Quebec Referendum

(If Quebec votes no)

-- The President has expressed his admiration for strong and united Canada, We look forward to a continuing close relationship with all Canadians in years to come.

BOSNIA/CROATIA

House Resolution

ù The President has already stated that he would welcome, encourage and, at the appropriate time, request an expression of support by Congress promptly after a peace agreement is reached.

ù The Resolution of the House last night was unfortunate.

ù At a time when all efforts should be made to support the upcoming negotiations, this resolution was not helpful.

ù The President expects the support of Congress in resolving this long terrible conflict.

#### Sanctions

ù We and our European Allies are unified on our views on lifting sanctions.

ù Our policy has not changed -- UN-imposed economic sanctions will be suspended once a peace agreement is signed. Lifting of sanctions would occur when the settlement is implemented.

#### Atrocities

ù Continue to condemn these gross violations of human rights.

ù Led vigorous effort to uncover/publicize evidence of war crimes in Balkans.

ù Shattuck three times raised issue with Serbs.

ù President (October 15) said we fully support war crimes International Tribunal.

ù Actively support investigating international organizations (UNHCR , Red Cross)

ù Stopping atrocities one main reason for active U.S. role in the peace negotiations

#### Srebrenica

ù Did not know anymore than UN about the Bosnian Serb's intent to attack Srebrenica

ù Did not have prior information on BSA intent to commit atrocities.

#### 12-Month IFOR Time Limit

ù U.S. position: IFOR military aspects should have finite duration (NATO/NAC agreed)

ù Believe military aspects accomplished in about one year.

- ù Will not make final decision on duration until final peace agreement/completed OI AN.
- ù 12 months NATO planning figure not been formally adopted by Alliance.
- ù One year sufficient to establish stable ground situation.
- ù Desire to create stable balance through arms reductions, but this will also require some military support for Federation forces to ensure they have an effective self-defense capability.

#### Russian IFOR Participation

- ù Russia will participate in the multilateral effort to implement a peace agreement in Bosnia. This is consistent with the important role Russia played in diplomatic process.
- ù Prefer NATO/Russian forces not separated between Federation and Serb areas.
- ù Major Hyde Park topic of discussion.
- ù Last week Perry/Grachev met to discuss Russian roles/functions in IFOR. Talks productive, progress made.
- ù French understand our position. Wrote letter to Chirac to this effect Oct 20

#### Diplomatic Track: Next Steps

- ù Cease-fire remains in effect and fighting stopped throughout most of Bosnia.
- ù President reviewed preparations for peace talks with Russian President Yeltsin at Hyde Park, as well as Russia's role in the implementation last Monday.
- ù Our negotiating team was in New York Friday completing preparations for proximity talks that will begin November 1 in Dayton, Ohio.
- ù President met Izetbegovic and Tudjman, last Tuesday, in New York to encourage flexibility in talks/importance of strengthening cooperation within Bosnian-Croat Federation.

#### Proximity Talks

- ù Today the U.S. negotiating team departed for Dayton, Ohio to begin proximity talks tomorrow.

- ù As the President said, this is a defining moment in Bosnia.
  - ù Only the parties to this terrible conflict can end it.
  - ù In Dayton, our diplomats face a tremendous challenge. There is no guarantee they will succeed.
  - ù But we will succeed if America continues to lead.
  - ù Talks co-chaired by Holbrooke/Bildt. Goal to secure final peace agreement that parties will initial in Dayton.
  - ù Balkan parties: Presidents Izetbegovic, Tudjman, and Milosevic plus Contact Group partners.
  - ù Intensive U.S. /CG diplomacy - parties agreed Geneva (9/8/95)/New York (9/26/95) to settlement basic principles: Bosnia as single state; 51/49 basis for territorial solution; constitutional structure; democratic elections; and subsequently to cease-fire.
  - ù Difficult issues still to be resolved: (i) internal boundary for Bosnian-Croat Federation/Serb Republic; (ii) Sarajevo status; (iii) practical steps to separate forces /ceasing hostilities; (iv) election procedures.
  - ù Dayton will not focus on Eastern Slavonia.
  - ù After Dayton, next steps: Paris international peace conference and implementation conference in London. May be meetings after Paris before final settlement signed.
  - ù U.S./CG continue to do everything to press for peace.
  - ù No set duration.
- Peace Plan Implementation**
- ù NAC approved concept of ops for IFOR.
  - ù Detailed planning by NATO Military Authorities will proceed.
  - ù Joulwan briefed President and national security team last week on state of NATO's plans.
  - ù Number of forces for operation not determined - will depend on peace agreement realities.
  - ù NATO briefed UN, UN Peace Force contributors, and interested PFP countries this

st week, contributions  
by non-NATO countries would be welcome.

ù Churkin attended "16-plus-one" with NAC last week to discuss NATO's planning.

ù Concept of ops 5 phases:

- Phase I: Preparation Phase. Presently in this phase now.

- Phase II: Entry. Begin after signing of peace agreement. Military forces would  
deploy to area  
by sea/land.

- Phase III: Implementation. Deployment of forces in country to secure critical ar  
eas and man  
outposts.

- Phase IV: Transition to Peace. Initial robust forces slowly drawdown over year a  
s peace  
agreement took affect.

- Phase V: Exit. Orderly hand over of commitments to appropriate civilian organiza  
tions and  
withdrawal of IFOR and equipment.

#### Congressional Approval

ù Last week, letter to Byrd, President told Congress he would request endorsement a  
the appropriate time.

ù Our position regarding President's constitutional prerogatives has not changed.

#### War Criminals

ù IFOR mission is to implement the peace agreement.

ù Pursuing war criminals not in mission, but will take into custody if come into con  
tact.

#### Military Stabilization

ù Our goal to establish stability on ground by time IFOR completes mission. One of  
the keys to ensuring  
settlement does not break down after IFOR leaves.

ù Preference for balance of forces between Federation/Bosnian Serbs through arms c  
trol measures that

provide for a "build-down."

- ù Arms control by itself unlikely to achieve stable balance, prepared to equip/train Federation forces to ensure effective self-defense capability.

- ù Effort separate from NATO-led implementation force. First step: lifting of arms embargo.

#### New Ethnic Cleansing/Reports of Mass Graves

- ù U.S. has/will continue to investigate and provide information to UN/War Crimes Tribunal regarding violations of international human rights and humanitarian law

Shattuck has documented evidence of Bosnian Serb atrocities. Last August, he went to Central/Northeastern Bosnia, collected eyewitness accounts of mass executions, beatings, rape and other violations of human rights and international humanitarian law. Shattuck just returned to region to interview refugees in Zenica.

- ù Albright presented to UN Security Council compelling evidence gathered by US. Evidence based on US intelligence and photographic intelligence, strongly suggested mass grave sites in Srebrenica.

- ù Actively support international organizations like UNHCR and Red Cross to document fate and whereabouts of missing persons.

#### IRELAND

##### U.S. Role

- ù We are committed to working with the two governments and the parties to help in the search for peace.

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

- ù 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.

- ù One can literally say that there are individuals walking the streets in Belfast at

ive today who would not be  
had we not gotten involved. American engagement has been an essential ingredient i  
the search for  
peace.

#### U.S. Meetings

ù We have had a number of contacts over the last several weeks about how to move  
e peace process  
forward.

ù Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams recently met with National Security Advisor An  
y Lake. The Vice  
President joined them for part of the meeting.

ù The Vice President and Mr. Lake met with UK Minister of State for Northern Irela  
Michael Ancram.

ù On September 29, the President saw Irish Deputy Prime Minister, Dick Spring, wh  
as at the White  
House for a meeting with the Vice President.

ù The Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Nancy Soderb  
rg, recently conducted  
a round of consultations with all parties in Ireland and the UK.

ù The National Security Advisor, Anthony Lake, held consultations in London with  
British Government  
on Bosnia, Northern Ireland and other issues October 16-19. While there, he also me  
t Northern Ireland  
political leaders, David Trimble of the UUP and John Hume of the SDLP..

ù We are hopeful a way can be found to move things forward. Contacts with all the p  
arties are continuing.  
We are not prepared to go into any detail.

#### NSA Lake's Trip to London

ù NSA Lake was in London week October 16-19. He was there for consultations wit  
e British  
Government on Bosnia, Northern Ireland, the President's trip, and other issues. Whi  
le there, he also met  
with Northern Ireland political leaders.

ù If asked: Mr. Lake was accompanied by Deputy NSA Nancy Soderberg and Direct  
European  
Affairs Mary Ann Peters.

### Twin Track

ù 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 the paramilitaries' weapons.

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

### British Stalling on Talks?

ù 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.

ù We believe Prime Minister Major is committed to achieving a lasting peace in Northern Ireland.

### Position on Decommissioning:

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

### Senator Mitchell to Chair Commission on Decommissioning?:

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

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

### Comments of new UUP leader Trimble on twin track?

ù Trimble's speech of October 21 represented no change in the unionist position of opposition to the twin track approach.

ù Our view is that twin track strategy of the British and Irish Governments offers the best prospect for moving the peace process forward.

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

ù Looking forward to Mr. Trimble's visit to Washington next week.

(If asked):

ù Details of Trimble's schedule not yet finalized.

Paisley Visit

ù Paisley met with NSA Lake and VP Gore Friday.

Deportations

[Irish groups mounting a campaign against deportation of former IRA members, some are married to U.S. citizens and/or have U.S. children. U.S. law provides no flexibility in prohibiting permanent residency to those linked to terrorism. We are looking into possible legislative waivers.]

ù Issue recently brought to our attention.

ù Law provides no flexibility on many cases.

ù Staff reviewing issue.

## NATO ENLARGEMENT STUDY AND RUSSIA

Reaction to NATO enlargement study?

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

ù The study, which sets out the "how" and "why" of enlargement, was presented on Thursday (September 28) in Brussels to members of the Partnership for Peace (composed of CEE and CIS countries, including Russia). The general reaction was highly favorable.

ù 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.

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

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

ù 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.

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

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

ù 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.

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

#### Russian Reaction to NATO Enlargement

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

ù We are aware that Russia has concerns about NATO enlargement. Russian Ambassador Churkin repeated these concerns following the enlargement briefing in Brussels on Thursday (September 28). We will continue working to overcome these concerns, which we believe are misplaced.

ù 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 security.

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

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

ù We strongly disagree with those who believe NATO should enlarge immediately.

ecause Russia has  
concerns about enlargement.

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

#### NATO Adopts Go-Slow Approach on Enlargement

Can you comment on press reports from Williamsburg that NATO has adopted a go-slow approach to enlargement due to concerns over Russia? Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev even welcomed the reports.

ù As Secretary Perry has made clear, this is a false report. NATO has not adopted a go-slow approach to

enlargement but is pursuing the "gradual, deliberate and transparent process" leading to enlargement that was foreseen by the Alliance from the very beginning.

ù There has been no acceleration or deceleration to the process.

ù NATO's approach to enlargement is spelled out clearly in the NATO enlargement strategy which was approved by NATO on September 20 and presented to members of the Partnership for Peace in Brussels on September 28.

ù No timetable exists at present, but NATO is committed to moving ahead. NATO enlargement is not a question of "if"; that issue has already been resolved.

#### RUSSIA/NIS

##### Current Items

##### Yeltsin Heart Problem

-- President Yeltsin remains hospitalized. Senior aides have said October 26 episode similar to ischemic attack Yeltsin suffered last July and that Yeltsin will be under medical supervision through November.

-- Embassy Moscow in regular touch with senior Russian officials. What Embassy has heard

about Yeltsin's condition tracks with what Russian officials saying publicly.

-- President's thoughts with Yeltsin, as are our wishes for full and speedy recovery

(Impact on U.S.-Russian Relations)

-- Won't speculate. Engagement, cooperative relationship in interests of both countries.

Disqualification of Yabloko, Derzhava Blocs from December 17 Duma Elections

-- Central Electoral Commission, citing technical violations of rules, barred Yabloko and Derzhava blocs from party-list election, which will decide 225 of 450 Duma seats.

-- Decision to disqualify Yabloko has drawn fire from across political spectrum in Russia. Prime Minister Chernomyrdin criticized decision as "ill-considered and harmful, not only for the election campaign but also for democracy in this country." Senior Central Electoral Commission official has suggested Commission could re-examine question.

-- Following matter closely. Embassy has spoken with responsible Russian officials, who indicate Yabloko situation should soon be on way to resolution.

-- In Russia as elsewhere, strongly support free and fair elections, in which voters have choice among parties representing all view-points.

Perry-Grachev Talks

-- Presidents Clinton and Yeltsin agreed at Hyde Park on importance of Russian participation in Bosnia implementation force. They made some progress on specifics and agreed that Secretary Perry and Minister Grachev should continue to work this issue.

-- Perry and Grachev have agreed to create special unit comprised of Russian and American troops, plus troops from other countries, to perform critical tasks such as engineering and transportation. Unit will report directly to U.S. General Joulwan. Russian General Leonid Shevtsov will serve as Joulwan's deputy in overseeing unit.

-- Perry and Grachev also agreed to continue discussions next month with aim of working out formula for how Russian combat troops could participate directly in IFOR.

-- Consider Russian participation in Bosnia peace implementation important and desirable. Thus, pleased with understanding reached by Defense Ministers.

(CFE -- see points provided separately by Ann Witkowski)

### General Items

#### Hyde Park Meeting

-- President and Yeltsin had warm, productive meeting at Hyde Park on October 23. Meeting underscored stability, inner strength of U.S.-Russia partnership; reaffirmed both Presidents' strong commitment to engagement.

-- Presidents spent majority of time on Bosnia. Full agreement on need to support peace process, which enters new stage when proximity talks begin next week. Presidents also agree on importance of Russian participation in Bosnia implementation force. Had good exchange of views on how Russian forces could participate. Made some progress; decided Secretary Perry and Defense Minister Grachev would discuss further.

-- Presidents agreed to push hard for ratification of START II in both countries.

-- Presidents agreed to work together to get zero-yield CTBT in 1996.

-- U.S.-Russian agreement on scope of CTBT's obligations (i.e., whether Treaty would ban all nuclear tests or set threshold under which nuclear tests would be allowed) represents major breakthrough; helps clear way for completing Treaty by next spring so that it can be signed next fall.

-- Presidents reaffirmed importance they attach to ensuring security of nuclear weapons and materials. Welcomed joint report prepared by Vice President and Prime Minister Chernomyrdin outlining specific measures to strengthen security of nuclear materials and directed its speedy implementation.

-- Presidents agreed on overall concept for resolving CFE flank zone issue. Concept

based on  
 realignment of map of Treaty flank areas. Scope of realignment and other specifics  
 must be worked  
 out and agreed by all 30 CFE parties in Vienna. U.S. and NATO allies seeking agree-  
 ment by November  
 17, when CFE limits take effect.  
 U.S. Stake in Relationship

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

-- Long-term strategy. Transformation underway will be complex, protracted. Struggle  
 going on  
 between those who support reform and those who oppose or fear change.

-- Engagement 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.

#### Russian Concerns about NATO Enlargement

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

-- 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 NA-  
 Russia  
 relationship in interests of U.S., Europe and Russia.

#### Iran Reactor Sale

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

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

#### Chechnya

-- Have seen reports that Russians will resume peace negotiations; cannot confirm yet. Do not expect recent changes in Russian team to affect negotiations. Welcome Prime Minister Chernomyrdin's reaffirmation of commitment to pursue negotiated settlement.

-- Talks were suspended over Chechen attacks, including attempt to assassinate Russian force commander in Grozny. Condemn attacks like that, whose purpose is to undermine the fragile effort to find negotiated settlement.

-- Dispute in Chechnya can only be resolved by negotiated settlement. Urge sides to work together to implement military agreement and to find political solution.

#### EXIMBANK AND ILYUSHIN AIRCRAFT

Background: Last year, Pratt & Whitney applied for Export-Import Bank financing to support the export of U.S. engines and avionics, valued at \$1 billion, for 20 Russian-made IL-96 aircraft to be purchased by Aeroflot Russian International Airlines (ARIA). Eximbank is examining the financial merits of Pratt's application. In addition, Eximbank asked the Administration for policy guidance on the impact of the IL-96 project on the broad commercial interests of the U.S.

Although this is not yet public, the Administration is considering whether to support Eximbank financing for this particular transaction in exchange for an agreement on the part of the Russian government to suspend tariffs and non-tariff barriers that currently impede the sale of U.S. aircraft to Russian airlines. This support would be highly exceptional and would not serve as a precedent for any future requests for support of component sales into

Russia/CIS. Boeing and McDonnell Douglas would likely withdraw their opposition the IL-96 project under such conditions.

#### Points

(If asked) What about reports that Eximbank's Board of Directors will convene soon to give a green light to Pratt & Whitney and the IL-96 project?

-- As you know, the Gore-Chernomyrdin Commission has managed to secure billions of U.S. investment in Russia to the benefit of the U.S. and Russian economies.

-- We've also been very clear that U.S. investments must go hand in hand with actions by the Russians to open their markets to U.S. products.

-- On the particular issue of IL-96, Eximbank has asked the Administration for its policy guidance on the Pratt application. However, the Administration is still examining the issue and has not yet provided its guidance. We do not anticipate providing that guidance in the immediate future.

#### CONVENTIONAL ARMED FORCES IN EUROPE (CFE) TREATY

ù Over the past weeks, the U.S., together with its Allies, has been actively seeking a solution to the CFE flank issue, in Vienna, in Brussels, and in our bilateral discussions.

ù In this context, during the Grachev visit the two sides held extensive discussions on this crucial issue.

ù Grachev sought an informal U.S. reaction to various ideas Russia was considering, in terms of its response in Vienna to the proposal NATO had tabled on September 22.

ù In the course of these discussions, Grachev and Perry reached an understanding that Russia would not propose to exclude from the flank zone -- and thus from the flank limits -- the Leningrad oblast, which contains over 1900 tanks, artillery pieces and armored combat vehicles. For its part, the U.S. agreed to be

flexible with regard to other oblasts in the south Russia will propose be exempted from the flank zone.

ù Secretary Perry emphasized that any change to the flank zone can only be implemented if it is approved by all 30 states party to the CFE Treaty.

ù In coordination with NATO Allies, the U.S. now looks forward to a discussion of the Russian proposal with the other CFE states, with the objective of concluding flank negotiations by November 17 -- the date when the flank limits take effect under the treaty.

## NORWAY

King Harald V and Queen Sonja

-- Ascended to throne Jan 91 upon death of father, Olav V.

-- 58 Years old.

-- Lived in Washington area (Pooks Hill) where his family took refuge from the Nazis at the invitation of President Roosevelt from 1940 through end of WWII. They were frequent guests at the White House in those years.

-- Stay overnight in family quarters. Had private dinner with the Clintons.

-- WH visit caps three-week visit to Norwegian-American communities (3-4 million people) in the U.S. -- Chicago, Fargo, Minneapolis, Morehead, MN, San Francisco, and Seattle.

## IRAQ SANCTIONS

Background: On October 17, President Zayid of the UAE called for the lifting of UN sanctions on Iraq. His remarks were quickly echoed by the Secretary General of the Arab League and the Iraqi government.

Q: What is your reaction to recent demands from certain Arab leaders for the lifting of sanctions on Iraq?

A: We remain strongly opposed to any modification of the current sanctions against Iraq until it is in full compliance with all United Nations Security Council resolutions.

With regard to the humanitarian problems in Iraq, we are convinced that these are problems created by the Iraqi regime, and not by the sanctions.

The United Nations has made provisions by which Iraq could sell oil to buy food and medicine for its population, but the regime has refused to exercise this option.

The Iraqi regime has purposely refrained from providing its population with the food and medicine they need to try to score propaganda points.

#### THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary  
(New York, New York)

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For Immediate Release October 24, 1995

#### STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

Both houses of Congress today passed by overwhelming margins bills that require the relocation of our Embassy in Israel to Jerusalem by 1999. The President opposed this legislation. He is convinced its passage at this sensitive time in the Israeli-Palestinian negotiations is a mistake.

The President said, "We have made more progress in less time on the Middle East peace process over the last two years than at any time in the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict. A step such as this could hinder the peace process. I will not let this happen, and will use the legislation's waiver authority to avoid damage to the peace process."

The President's personal views on Jerusalem are a matter of public record and have not changed. His record of friendship and support for Israel is clear and of long standing. But he remains convinced that it is unwise for the United States to take actions that could be interpreted as prejudicing sensitive matters, such as Jerusalem, that the parties themselves have agreed should be decided in final status talks.

The legislation passed this week contradicts that principle. As such, the President would not have hesitated under different circumstances to veto it. But given the virtually unanimous votes by which these bills were adopted, exercising that option in this case would not alter the outcome; it would only prolong a divisive debate and risk further damage to the peace process.

The President will not, however, sign this legislation. To do so would be inconsistent with his pledge to take no action which would undermine a peace process that shows so much promise of creating a better future for Israel and its neighbors. Therefore, when the bills passed this week become law, the President will use their waiver provisions to prevent the legislation from adversely affecting the Middle East peace process.

The Clinton Administration will continue to be a strong and fair-minded partner in support of all those who take risks for peace. President Clinton will not allow the legislation passed this week to interfere with that role.  
# # #

## ALGERIA

Q: Any reaction to the upcoming Algerian presidential elections?

A: We have made clear our belief that Algeria's crisis can only be resolved through political dialogue between all elements who disavow violence and terror.

We hope that political developments, including elections, take place in a manner which contribute to this process of national reconciliation.

## AMMAN ECONOMIC SUMMIT

Q: What is the significance of the Amman Economic Summit

A: The Summit is expected to greatly contribute to the economic integration of the region through the development of cross-national economic ties, and regional projects.

Economic prosperity will be an important aspect of peace in the Middle East and North Africa.

By facilitating this prosperity, the Summit will lay the economic foundations for a lasting peace.

Q: Where does the Middle East Development Bank (MEDB) stand? Are the Europeans committed to the creation of the MEDB

A: The President strongly supports the creation of a soundly structured regional bank.

There is wide support for the MEDB from regional states and from key potential contributors such as Japan and members of the EU. Details remain to be worked out on some issues regarding the Bank's structure and operations.

Q: What is happening at the Summit in Amman? (Background: Secretary of State Christopher and Secretary of Commerce Brown led the US delegation.)

A: We are very pleased by developments yesterday and today. There has been heavy attendance by both businessmen and government officials from over sixty countries. This participation will help promote progress toward our major goal, the development of a private-public partnership for economic development of the entire region.

In particular, we are pleased with the agreement to launch the Middle East and North African Development Bank. We believe the Bank can play a major role in multinational cooperation to develop the region.

CHRISTOPHER MEETING WITH ASAD

Q: What can you tell us about the Secretary's meeting with President Asad today?

A: I don't have anything for you on such a recent meeting. I understand the Secretary characterized it as a "useful review" before departing Damascus.

The Secretary has noted he did not expect any breakthroughs in this meeting. He saw it as an opportunity to "touch base" with Asad.

## TANZANIA ELECTIONS

Background: Tanzania's elections for a 232-seat parliament and to replace President Mwinyi, who is stepping down after serving the maximum two terms, have hit several snags. According to African Embassy sources, problems ranging from complete disarray at the more than 40,000 polling stations to charges of vote rigging have led the National Electoral Commission (NEC) to nullify the elections in Dar es Salaam, the capital. Voting in other parts of the country continues. The NEC announced this morning that new elections, for Dar es Salaam, would be attempted again next week.

Q: What information do we have regarding problems which have developed in the Tanzanian elections (both on the mainland and on Zanzibar)? What is the status of those elections?

A: Zanzibar elections were held on October 22 for the Zanzibar President, Parliament and local government. National elections for the Tanzanian President and Parliament, in which Zanzibaris also voted, were held on October 29. Both elections were part of the first multiparty elections conducted in Tanzania.

The National elections held on Sunday, October 29, our Embassy in Dar es Salaam reports that there were many complaints that voting materials and election officials were often late in arriving at polling stations or did not arrive at all.

All parties in the election have publicly criticized the procedural breakdown.

As a result of the disorganization, the Tanzanian National Electoral Commission has

nullified the elections in Dar es Salaam's seven constituencies and announced that new elections will be held in those constituencies next week on a date yet to be determined.

Meanwhile, voting has been extended through October 31 in constituencies outside Dar es Salaam that also experienced problems of organization.

Q: Does the U.S. government have any comment with respect to the national election held on October 29? Are we doing anything to help?

A: We are concerned that procedural problems have developed and will monitor the situation closely.

The United Nations has an official election observation team in Tanzania, which includes 24 Americans.

To the extent possible, and subject to budgetary constraints, some of our embassy personnel also traveled to various polling stations around the country to observe the elections in an unofficial capacity.

The United States funded the participation of 24 American election monitors and some small (less than \$10,000 each) voter education projects prior to the elections.

We did not provide any direct support for the elections.

Other donors contributed about \$15 million for the elections, which covered about half of the estimated cost.

Q: Who is the American Ambassador?

A: Our Ambassador is Mr. Brady Anderson. He is a non-career ambassador with substantial experience in Tanzania, having lived and worked there for four years with the Summer Institute of Linguistics, and international organization which facilitates literacy and translation of mother-tongue materials worldwide.

Q: How many Americans are in Tanzania? Do the elections pose any problems for them?

There are approximately 2,000 Americans in Tanzania.

The elections themselves resulted in only a few isolated disturbances on the afternoon of October 29, the capital city of Dar es Salaam. Life in Dar es Salaam appeared normal on October 30.

We issued a public announcement early in October urging American citizens to exercise caution and to avoid all political rallies. This announcement remains in effect.

## AMES

### Points

ù The report presented by John Deutch to the Congressional Oversight Committees today provides an in-depth look at the severity of the damage caused by Aldrich Ames. In response, the DCI is taking a number of corrective actions to prevent this from ever happening again.

ù We applaud the DCI's efforts and his commitment to upholding high standards of accountability and professional conduct.

Q: Has the President been briefed on the Ames damage assessment?

A: DCI Deutch presented his views to the President last week as soon as his own review was completed.

Q: What action will be taken on the IG recommendation for disciplinary action against three former DCIs?

A: We would refer questions regarding specific actions to CIA.

Q: Is the DCI planning to reopen the disciplinary actions taken by then-DCI Woolsey?

A: DCI Woolsey's actions were taken based on an initial review of the damage. Those actions are closed. The IG report examined the full range of the damage caused by Ames, including the impact on the dissemination of agents' reports. The current disciplinary actions, although li

mitted by retirement of  
all but one of the individuals, pertain only to that IG report.

Q: What steps are being implemented to ensure the President does not receive "disinformation" in the future?

A: Concrete steps are being taken in this regard, including the establishment of a new, independent Customer Review Process for sensitive human reporting. This board will assess the validity of reporting and the possibility of hostile control.

#### UK-FRENCH NUCLEAR COOPERATION

Q: What reaction do you have to the announcement in London Monday that the UK will pursue closer cooperation on nuclear issues?

A: We understand that Britain and France are examining ways to deepen their cooperation on nuclear issues.

We also understand that such cooperation would not duplicate or undermine existing nuclear arrangements within the NATO alliance.

Within this framework, we welcome such cooperation between our close allies.

#### RUSSIAN CHEMICAL WEAPONS PROLIFERATION INVESTIGATION

Background: There have been press reports in recent days that Russian authorities are investigating the possibility that a former Russian General, Anatoli Kuntsevich, illegally provided chemical weapons materials to buyers in the Middle East. In a letter to the President this week, Senator Helms seized on the issue as a (new) justification for continuing to hold the Chemical Weapons Convention hostage.

Q: Do you have any further information on press reports that Russia is investigating the possible smuggling of chemical weapons materials by former General Kuntsevich?

A: We too have seen press reports about the investigation.

They indicate that Russian authorities are conducting a criminal investigation of the matter.

Accordingly, it might be more appropriate to direct inquiries to the Russian Government on this.

Q: Is the U.S. assisting the investigation?

A: The smuggling of materials for weapons of mass destruction, whether nuclear, chemical or biological, is of vital concern to the U.S.

Press reports indicate that Russian law enforcement authorities are investigating the matter. If there is anything we can do to be of assistance, we obviously would be prepared to consider it.

Q: Is it true that the chemical materials were smuggled to the Middle East?

A: The Russian Government has this matter under investigation.

We do not know what the outcome of that investigation will be.

Q: Is it true that Senator Helms is holding the Chemical Weapons Convention hostage over this issue?

A: Senator Helms has expressed concern over this issue.

We share those concerns.

That said, rather than being an argument against the CWC, this underscores why it is so important for the U.S. to ratify it quickly.

Q: How does the CWC help deal with problems such as this?

A: The CWC imposes a legally-binding prohibition on assisting others to acquire chemical weapons.

In addition, it requires Parties to monitor and report on transfers of the chemicals that can be used to make chemical weapons.

It also prohibits Parties from transferring to non-Parties key chemical weapons pre

cursors.

The treaty also requires that Parties enact domestic legislation imposing real penalties on those who violate these or any other treaty obligations.

Perhaps most importantly, the treaty's routine and challenge inspection provisions will provide access to information that could reveal or even confirm a potential transfer problem.

In sum, if the CWC were in force today in Russia and other countries, it would be both more difficult and more costly for proliferators to carry out the activities for which Kuntsevich reportedly is being investigated.

As the President has done on repeated occasions, we urge the Senate to move forward with ratification of this vital treaty.

## CONGRESSIONAL CONFERENCE REPORT ON DEFENSE APPROPRIATION

Background: On September 29, the House rejected by a wide margin the conference report on the FY 1996 Defense Appropriations Bill. As reported by the conferees, the bill would have provided for a \$243 billion defense budget for next year -- \$6.7 billion more than requested by the Administration. The bill's defeat in the House was attributable to a strong bloc of "pro-life" Members concerned by the watering down of the House-passed provision in the bill on abortion and other Members opposed to the increase in spending for programs such as the B-2 and National Missile Defense.

### Points

-- Committed to maintaining best trained, best equipped, most ready armed forces in the world.

-- The Administration's budget protects readiness and ensures we are prepared to defend American interests.

-- Although the conferees did remove objectionable policy provisions and other unacceptable restrictions on my prerogatives as Commander in Chief and they did fund several im

ortant programs  
of priority interest to this Administration (e.g., Nunn-Lugar and TRP), I am very concerned by the  
inclusion of almost \$7 billion for procurement and R&D spending we did not request

-- With the defeat of the Conference Report by the House, the bill now goes back to the  
conference to be reworked. As the conferees consider how to revise the bill to improve its prospects  
of ever being enacted into law, it is important that they understand that absent a broader agreement with  
Congress that provides adequate funding for crucial domestic programs that are underfunded in other  
appropriations bills, the President will veto any defense appropriations bill that adds extra billions for  
defense programs not in my request.

## M S M a i l

---

**DATE-TIME** 31 October 95 11:35  
**FROM** Danvers, William C.  
**CLASSIFICATION** UNCLASSIFIED  
**SUBJECT** [UNCLASSIFIED]  
**TO** Andricos, George M.  
Bendick, Gordon L.  
Burrell, Christina L.  
Danvers, William C.  
**CARBON\_COPY** NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE  
**TEXT\_BODY**

Chris:

Here are the pieces:

[[ BOSBC4.DOC : 2820 in BOSBC4.DOC ]][[ BOSTL4.DOC : 2821 in  
BOSTL4.DOC ]][[  
CONGBC.DOC : 2822 in CONGBC.DOC ]][[ STCWC.DOC : 2823 in  
STCWC.DOC ]]

Thanks.

**ATTACHMENT  
FILE DATE** 31 October 95 11:25

**ATTACHMENT  
FILE NAME** BOSBC4.DOC

7981

cc: Vice President

Chief of Staff

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE  
PAT GRIFFIN

SUBJECT: Meeting with Senators Daschle and Dole,  
Speaker Gingrich and Representative Gephardt.

You are scheduled to meet with Senators Daschle and Dole,  
Representative Gephardt and Speaker Gingrich at 2:30 PM in the Oval  
office to discuss Bosnia. Talking points for the meeting are  
attached (Tab A).

Senator Dole has continued to be critical of our policy, asking a  
number of questions about our intentions-- how many troops; how long  
will they be there and how much will it cost. He has also written  
a letter cosigned by a number of Senators (Tab B) urging a prior  
authorization before sending U.S. troops as part of a NATO-led  
implementation force (IFOR). You recently sent a letter to Senator  
Byrd on this issue (Tab C).

Speaker Gingrich has been somewhat more supportive although he has  
had difficulty preventing newer Members from trying to prevent our  
involvement in Bosnia. He sent a letter cosigned by a number of his  
colleagues (Tab D) asking a series of questions about our policy.  
The House recently passed a Sense of the House resolution (Tab E)  
regarding possible U.S. participation in Bosnia. Senator Daschle's  
and Representative Gephardt's offices have been helpful to us as we  
continue with our efforts to talk to various Members and Senators  
about Bosnia.

We have also attached talking points on START II and the Chemical  
Weapons Convention (CWC) (Tab F) for you to use with Senators Dole  
and Daschle to help get the treaties ratified in the Senate.  
Senator Helms has refused to consider START II or the CWC until we  
have accepted his reorganization plan.

Attachment

Tab A Bosnia talking points  
Tab B Letter from Senator Dole and others  
Tab C Letter from the President to Senator Byrd  
Tab D Letter from the Speaker and others  
Tab E House passed resolution on Bosnia  
Tab F Talking points on START II

ATTACHMENT  
FILE DATE

31 October 95 10:39

ATTACHMENT  
FILE NAME

BOSTL4.DOC

The President is scheduled to meet with Senators Dole and Daschle,

Speaker Gingrich and Rep. Gephardt on Wednesday at 2:30 PM in the Oval office to discuss Bosnia.

Attached is a memo from the President (Tab I); talking points for the meeting (Tab A); a letter from Sen. Dole and others on the need for Congressional approval of our participation in an IFOR (Tab B); a letter from the President to Senator Byrd on the issue of Congressional approval (Tab C); a letter from the Speaker and a number of other Members asking specific questions about our Bosnia policy; and a copy of the House-passed resolution on Bosnia.

**ATTACHMENT  
FILE DATE**

31 October 95 11:21

**ATTACHMENT  
FILE NAME**

CONGBC.DOC

Why U.S. Must Press for Settlement and Help Secure It

ù This is best chance we have had for peace in Bosnia since war began four years ago

. May be last chance for a long time. Vital that we seize it and stand up for what's right -- for the people of Bosnia; for the region; for Europe; for NATO; for the United States.

ù End the Suffering: If we secure peace, the toll of a terrible war -- in innocent lives lost and futures destroyed -- will climb no higher. Already, we have witnessed ethnic cleansing, concentration camps, mass executions, campaigns of systematic rape and terror, terrible suffering caused by shortages of food, medicine, shelter, heat, clothing. The best way -- the only way -- to stop these horrors for good is to secure peace.

ù Stop War from Spreading and Drawing In America: If we secure peace, a war we have managed to contain within Bosnia will not explode into neighboring nations and ignite an even larger conflict. That, in turn, could involve our sons and daughters. We fought two world wars and a cold war in Europe to defend freedom at great cost. To avoid possibility of Americans fighting another war in Europe, we must secure the peace in Bosnia.

ù Demonstrate NATO's Importance for Next 50 Years: If we secure peace, NATO -- free  
dom's shield for 45  
years -- will demonstrate its value and vitality for the next half century. NATO kept peace in Europe by  
deterring direct assaults against its members. Now, threat of direct assault gone -  
- new danger is spread  
of instability to former Communist countries. NATO must help end most  
dangerous conflict in Europe since  
WWII -- a conflict which, if left unchecked, could spread to its members.

ù Help Realize Vision of Peaceful Europe: If we secure peace, our vision of an  
integrated, peaceful, democratic  
Europe -- with all the benefits that would bring for America's long term security  
and  
prosperity -- will move  
one step closer to realization. An expanding NATO and Partnership for Peace are  
key  
to extending security to  
Europe's eastern half.

ù Leadership: If we secure peace, we will demonstrate once again that American  
leadership -- a key source of  
our strength at home and our success around the world -- gets results. We see the  
benefits of our leadership  
all over -- in reducing the nuclear threat; in bringing democracy to Haiti; in helping former enemies make  
peace in the Middle East and Northern Ireland. The burdens of leadership are real  
-  
- but its benefits are even  
greater.

#### Proximity Talks in Dayton, Ohio

ù Presidents of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia meeting in Dayton starting 11/1/95 for  
first direct peace negotiations.  
U.S. and Contact Group (Russia - UK - France - Germany) will host and mediate.  
Goal  
is to secure final  
peace agreement that parties will initial in Dayton.

ù Thanks to intensive U.S. and CG diplomacy, parties agreed in Geneva (9/8/95)  
and New  
York (9/26/95) to

basic principles of settlement (preserve Bosnia as single state; 51/49 as basis for fair territorial solution; constitutional structure; democratic elections), and subsequently to ceasefire.

ù Many difficult issues still to be resolved: (i) internal boundary between Bosnian-Croat Federation and Serb Republic; (ii) status of Sarajevo; (iii) practical steps for separating forces and easing hostilities; (iv) procedures for elections.

ù After Dayton, next steps will be international peace conference in Paris and conference on implementation in London.

ù U.S. + CG will continue to do everything in our power to press for peace. But only parties themselves can make it. Eyes of world are on them in Dayton.

#### Implementation

ù If and when parties reach peace agreement, NATO should help secure it. Peace will not take hold without credible international military presence in Bosnia to give parties confidence. NATO is strongest, most effective force in the world.

ù U.S., as NATO's leader, must take part in implementation. We would supply about 1/3 of force. If we don't contribute, partners will reconsider their commitments, U.S. will sacrifice leadership of NATO.

ù Since February 1993, the President has stated repeatedly that the United States is committed to supporting a

peace settlement in the Balkans through participation in a NATO-led peace implementation force.

ù He recently wrote Senator Byrd that he is committed to consulting closely with you and other Congressional leaders as the process moves forward; I would welcome, encourage and, at the

appropriate time, request an expression of support by Congress promptly after a peace agreement is reached

ù We have not yet determined the precise number of troops that will be involved. However, initial planning estimates call for approximately 60,000 ground troops, with the U.S. component numbering about 20,000 troops. Whatever the final number, this will be a robust force capable not only of implementing a peace agreement but also amply capable of defending itself.

ù The implementation force mission will have a finite duration. But until we have a final peace agreement and final implementation plan, we will preserve our flexibility on the exact duration of the mission while continuing to use 12 months as the planning figure. We believe this time period will be adequate to accomplish the needed tasks that will allow the peace to become self-sustaining.

ù But participation in implementation contingent on details of peace plan and structure of IFOR. President Clinton: (i) will not ask them to enforce plan that cannot be enforced; (ii) will insist on clear NATO command & control that protects safety of troops and ensures effectiveness of operation -- i.e. no "dual key"; (iii) will insist on robust rules of engagement and exit strategy.

ù IFOR will maintain ceasefire; ensure that settlement terms upheld and that parties withdraw forces. Goal is to establish stability on ground so settlement does not break down.

ù Consider Russian participation in Bosnia peace implementation important and desirable. Thus, pleased with understanding reached by Defense Ministers Perry and Grachev.

ù Perry and Grachev agreed to create special unit comprised of Russian and American troops, plus troops from other countries, to perform critical tasks such as engineering and transportation. Unit will report directly to

U.S. General Joulwan. Russian General Leonid Shevtsov will serve as Joulwan's deputy in overseeing unit.

ù Perry and Grachev also agreed to continue discussions next month with aim of working out formula for how Russian combat troops could participate directly in IFOR.

ù In parallel with military implementation, civilian-led efforts will safeguard human rights; assist in refugee return; help establish political institutions; deliver humanitarian aid. Regional economic reconstruction program will begin. Federation forces will be equipped and trained so they have effective self-defense capability. Arms control efforts will seek to promote overall "build-down" of force.

**ATTACHMENT  
FILE DATE**

31 October 95 11:32

**ATTACHMENT  
FILE NAME**

STCWC.DOC

Insert for Wednesday's Meeting with Congressional Leadership

**START II/CWC**

Strobe Talbott and Ralph Earle met with Senator Lugar last week to discuss prospects for START II and CWC ratification. Senator Lugar made clear that the Foreign Relations committee process has broken down and that our best (and perhaps only) chance to get these two treaties ratified this year was for you to directly engage the Majority Leader. With this in mind, recommend you take this opportunity to push for START II and CWC ratification, either privately with Dole immediately after the meeting or as an additional point at the end of the meeting. Secretary Christopher will then call Dole to underscore your points.

**Points to be Made**

ù Want to raise with you the status of START II and CWC in the Senate.

ù Ratification of START II and CWC is vital to security of our citizens and U.S. credibility as leader in fighting proliferation.

ù Deeply concerned that final Senate action on these two treaties -- which enjoy strong bipartisan support in the Congress -- continues to be blocked by linkage to unrelated issues.

ù This is one area where we must set politics aside and together move quickly to bring START II and CWC to a vote in the Senate.

ù American people will simply not understand why the Senate failed to act on bipartisan agreements so clearly in our national interest.

ù No question that START II and CWC are ready for Senate passage. Need your leadership and commitment to move these treaties forward before end of session.

## M S M a i l

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**DATE-TIME** 01 November 95 18:48  
**FROM** Schmidt, John R.  
**CLASSIFICATION** UNCLASSIFIED  
**SUBJECT** RE: DAILY GUIDANCE UPDATE [UNCLASSIFIED]  
**TO** Wozniak, Natalie S.  
**CARBON\_COPY** Cullin, Brian P.  
Feeley, John F.  
Fetig, James L.  
Flanagan, Stephen J.  
Gardner, Anthony  
Johnson, David T.  
Marshall, Betty A.  
Maxfield, Nancy H.  
Naplan, Steven J.  
Peters, Mary A.  
Schmidt, John R.  
Schuker, Jill A.  
Vershbow, Alexander R.

**TEXT\_BODY**

Change to the section on the Lubber/Ellemann-Jensen candidatures for NATO Secretary General.

[[ LUBELPG.DOC : 4692 in LUBELPG.DOC ]]

From: Wozniak, Natalie S.  
To: @NSC - NSC Staff  
CC: /R, Record at A1  
Subject: DAILY GUIDANCE UPDATE [UNCLASSIFIED]  
Date: Wednesday, November 01, 1995 06:26 PM

<<Attached File: NOV01GUI.DOC>>

Please review and forward your updates IN BOLD to @PRESS by 10:00 a.m. Thursday, November 2. Please remember to use the attached document as it has been edited.  
Thanks.

**ATTACHMENT**

1 November 95 18:43

**FILE DATE**

**ATTACHMENT  
FILE NAME**

LUBELPG.DOC  
NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS GUIDANCE

November 1, 1995

EUROPE

Bosnia/Croatia

Ireland

NATO Enlargement

NATO Secretary General

Russia

CFE

Norway

MIDDLE EAST

PLO/Helms

Iraq Sanctions

Amman Economic Summit

Syria-Christopher

AFRICA

Nigeria

Tanzania

MISCELLANEOUS

CIA

Intelligence Sharing with UN

CBW Terrorism

Loose Nukes

UK-French Nuclear Cooperation

CWC

Defense Appropriations

BOSNIA/CROATIA

Diplomatic Track: Next Steps

ù Cease-fire remains in effect and fighting stopped throughout most of Bosnia.

ù President reviewed preparations for peace talks with Russian President Yeltsin at Hyde Park, as well as Russia's role in the implementation last Monday.

ù President met Izetbegovic and Tudjman, last Tuesday, in New York to encourage flexibility in talks/importance of strengthening cooperation within Bosnian-Croat Federation.

#### Proximity Talks

ù Yesterday the U.S. negotiating team departed for Dayton, Ohio to begin proximity talks today.

ù As the President said when he sent the team off, this is a defining moment in Bosnia.

ù Only the parties to this terrible conflict can end it.

ù In Dayton, our diplomats face a tremendous challenge. There is no guarantee they will succeed. American leadership key to success.

ù Talks co-chaired by Holbrooke/Bildt. Goal to secure final peace agreement that parties will initial in Dayton.

ù Balkan parties: Presidents Izetbegovic, Tudjman, and Milosevic plus Contact Group partners.

ù Intensive U.S. /CG diplomacy - parties agreed Geneva (9/8/95)/New York (9/26/95) to settlement basic principles: Bosnia as single state; 51/49 basis for territorial solution; constitutional structure; democratic elections; and subsequently to cease-fire.

ù Difficult issues still to be resolved: (i) internal boundary for Bosnian-Croat Federation/Serb Republic; (ii) Sarajevo status; (iii) practical steps to separate forces /ceasing hostilities; (iv) election procedures.

ù Dayton will not focus on Eastern Slavonia.

ù After Dayton, next steps: Paris international peace conference and

implementation  
conference in London. May  
be meetings after Paris before final settlement signed.

ù U.S./CG continue to do everything to press for peace.

ù No set duration.

#### Peace Plan Implementation

ù NAC approved concept of ops for IFOR.

ù Detailed planning by NATO Military Authorities will proceed.

ù Joulwan briefed President and national security team last week on state of  
NATO'S  
plans.

ù Number of forces for operation not determined - will depend on peace  
agreement mod  
alities.

ù NATO briefed UN, UN Peace Force contributors, and interested PFP countries  
this la  
st week, contributions  
by non-NATO countries would be welcome.

ù Churkin attended "16-plus-one" with NAC last week to discuss NATO's  
planning.

ù Concept of ops 5 phases:

- Phase I: Preparation Phase. Presently in this phase now.

- Phase II: Entry. Begin after signing of peace agreement. Military forces would  
deploy to area  
by sea/land.

- Phase III: Implementation. Deployment of forces in country to secure critical ar  
eas and man  
outposts.

- Phase IV: Transition to Peace. Initial robust forces slowly drawdown over year  
a  
s peace  
agreement took affect.

- Phase V: Exit. Orderly hand over of commitments to appropriate civilian  
organiza

tions and  
withdrawal of IFOR and equipment.

#### Congressional Approval

ù Last week, letter to Byrd, President told Congress he would request endorsement at the appropriate time.

ù Our position regarding President's constitutional prerogatives has not changed.

#### War Criminals

ù IFOR mission is to implement the peace agreement.

ù Pursuing war criminals not in mission, but will take into custody if come into contact.

#### Military Stabilization

ù Our goal to establish stability on ground by time IFOR completes mission. One of the keys to ensuring settlement does not break down after IFOR leaves.

ù Preference for balance of forces between Federation/Bosnian Serbs through arms control measures that provide for a "build-down."

ù Arms control by itself unlikely to achieve stable balance, prepared to equip/train Federation forces to ensure effective self-defense capability.

ù Effort separate from NATO-led implementation force. First step: lifting of arms embargo.

#### New Ethnic Cleansing/Reports of Mass Graves

ù U.S. has/will continue to investigate and provide information to UN/War Crimes Tribunal regarding violations

of international human rights and humanitarian law

Shattuck has documented evidence of Bosnian Serb atrocities. Last August, he went t

o Central/Northeastern

Bosnia, collected eyewitness accounts of mass executions, beatings, rape and other

violations of human rights

and international humanitarian law. Shattuck just returned to region to interview refugees in Zenia.

ù Albright presented to UN Security Council compelling evidence gathered by US. Evidence based on US

intelligence and photographic intelligence, strongly suggested mass grave sites in Srebrenica.

ù Actively support international organizations like UNHCR and Red Cross to document fate and whereabouts of missing persons.

House Resolution

ù The Resolution of the House on October 30 was unfortunate.

ù At a time when all efforts should be spent to support the upcoming negotiations, this resolution was not helpful.

Sanctions

ù We and our European Allies are unified on our views on lifting sanctions.

ù Our policy has not changed -- UN-imposed economic sanctions will be suspended on

ce a peace agreement is signed. Lifting of sanctions would occur when the settlement is implemented.

Atrocities

ù Continue to condemn these gross violations of human rights.

ù Led vigorous effort to uncover/publicize evidence of war crimes in Balkans.

ù Shattuck three times raised issue with Serbs.

ù President (October 15) said we fully support war crimes International Tribunal.

ù Actively support investigating international organizations (UNHCR, Red Cross)

ù Stopping atrocities one main reason for active U.S. role in the peace

negotiations

Srebrenica

ù Did not know anymore than UN about the Bosnian Serb's intent to attack Srebrenica.

ù Did not have prior information on BSA intent to commit atrocities.

12-Month IFOR Time Limit

ù U.S. position: IFOR military aspects should have finite duration (NATO/NAC accept ed)

ù Believe military aspects accomplished in about one year.

ù Will not make final decision on duration until final peace agreement/completed OPL AN.

ù 12 months NATO planning figure not been formally adopted by Alliance.

ù One year sufficient to establish stable ground situation.

ù Desire to create stable balance through arms reductions, but this will also require some military support for Federation forces to ensure they have an effective self-defense capability.

Russian IFOR Participation

ù Russia will participate in the multilateral effort to implement a peace agreement in Bosnia. This is consistent with the important role Russia played in diplomatic process.

ù Prefer NATO/Russian forces not separated between Federation and Serb areas.

ù Major Hyde Park topic of discussion.

ù Last week Perry/Grachev met to discuss Russian roles/functions in IFOR. Talks productive, progress made. Will meet again November 8 in Belgium to continue their discussion.

ù Russia and U.S. will participate in a special force that will deploy 30 days after IFOR. That force will work on

transport, logistics.

## IRELAND

### U.S. Role

ù We are committed to working with the two governments and the parties to help in the search for peace.

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

ù 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.

ù One can literally say that there are individuals walking the streets in Belfast alive today who would not be had we not gotten involved. American engagement has been an essential ingredient in the search for peace.

### U.S. Meetings

ù UUP leader Trimble met with the Vice President today. Part of our continuing efforts to maintain contacts with all of the parties.

ù We have had a number of contacts over the last several weeks about how to move the peace process forward.

ù Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams recently met with National Security Advisor Anthony Lake. The Vice President joined them for part of the meeting.

ù The Vice President and Mr. Lake met with UK Minister of State for Northern Ireland Michael Ancram.

ù On September 29, the President saw Irish Deputy Prime Minister, Dick Spring, who was

as at the White  
House for a meeting with the Vice President.

ù The Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Nancy Soderberg, recently conducted a round of consultations with all parties in Ireland and the UK.

ù The National Security Advisor, Anthony Lake, held consultations in London with the British Government on Bosnia, Northern Ireland and other issues October 16-19. While there, he also met Northern Ireland political leaders, David Trimble of the UUP and John Hume of the SDLP..

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

#### NSA Lake's Trip to London

ù NSA Lake was in London week October 16-19. He was there for consultations with the British Government on Bosnia, Northern Ireland, the President's trip, and other issues. While there, he also met with Northern Ireland political leaders.

ù If asked: Mr. Lake was accompanied by Deputy NSA Nancy Soderberg and Director for European Affairs Mary Ann Peters.

#### Twin Track

ù 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 the paramilitaries' weapons.

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

### British Stalling on Talks?

ù 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.

ù We believe Prime Minister Major is committed to achieving a lasting peace in Northern Ireland.

### Position on Decommissioning:

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

### Senator Mitchell to Chair Commission on Decommissioning?:

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

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

### Comments of new UUP leader Trimble on twin track?

ù Trimble's speech of October 21 represented no change in the unionist position of opposition to the twin track approach.

ù Our view is that twin track strategy of the British and Irish Governments offers the best prospect for moving the peace process forward.

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

### Paisley Visit

ù Paisley met with NSA Lake and VP Gore Friday.

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

- ù Issue recently brought to our attention.

- ù Law provides no flexibility on many cases.

- ù Staff reviewing issue.

## NATO ENLARGEMENT STUDY AND RUSSIA

### Reaction to NATO enlargement study?

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

- ù The study, which sets out the "how" and "why" of enlargement, was presented on Thursday (September 28) in Brussels to members of the Partnership for Peace (composed of CEE and CIS countries, including Russia). The general reaction was highly favorable.

- ù 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.

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

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

- ù 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.

ù By integrating them into NATO we hope to ensure the survival of their  
democratic a  
nd market economic  
reforms.

ù No decisions have yet been taken on whom to invite. Nor is there any timetable  
fo  
r when this will occur.  
Enlargement will only occur when NATO is satisfied that prospective members  
can cont  
ribute to the  
overall security of the Alliance.

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

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

#### Russian Reaction to NATO Enlargement

ù In addition to enlargement, NATO is also pursuing establishment of a parallel  
rel  
ationship with Russia.  
This is being done in recognition of the important role Russia has to play in  
Europe  
an security.

ù We are aware that Russia has concerns about NATO enlargement. Russian  
Ambassador  
Churkin repeated  
these concerns following the enlargement briefing in Brussels on Thursday  
(September  
28). We will  
continue working to overcome these concerns, which we believe are misplaced.

ù 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 security.

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

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

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

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

#### NATO Adopts Go-Slow Approach on Enlargement

Can you comment on press reports from Williamsburg that NATO has adopted a go-slow approach to enlargement due to concerns over Russia? Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev even welcomed the reports.

ù As Secretary Perry has made clear, this is a false report. NATO has not adopted a go-slow approach to

enlargement but is pursuing the "gradual, deliberate and transparent process" leading to enlargement that was foreseen by the Alliance from the very beginning.

ù There has been no acceleration or deceleration to the process.

ù NATO's approach to enlargement is spelled out clearly in the NATO enlargement study which was approved by NATO on September 20 and presented to members of the Partnership for Peace in Brussels on September 28.

ù No timetable exists at present, but NATO is committed to moving ahead. NATO expansion

sion is not a  
question of "if"; that issue has already been resolved.

## SUCCESSOR TO NATO SYG CLAES

Q: How is the U.S. reacting to the public announcements by a number of allies (including France, Germany, Italy and the UK) that they support former Dutch PM Ruud Lubbers to be the new Secretary General of NATO? Is Lubbers' candidacy a done deal? Is Lubbers the U.S. choice? Have the European allies managed a fait accompli?

A: We have been having extensive consultations with allies on a possible successor to Willy Claes as NATO Secretary General. Secretary Christopher, in particular, has had numerous conversations with his Alliance counterparts.

As a key element in this process, the Secretary has invited former Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen (ELL-eh-man YEN-sehn) and former Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers (LUH-bers) to visit Washington this week.

These two highly qualified individuals have emerged as leading candidates for the NATO position.

Lubbers will meet with the Secretary on Thursday, Ellemann-Jensen on Friday.

Although several allies have publicly stated their preferences, we have yet to decide on a particular candidate.

As with all NATO decisions, the final selection will be made by consensus.

(If pressed on European support for Lubbers)

-- As far as we are concerned, the final outcome is not preordained; that is why  
Sec  
retary  
Christopher has invited both Ellemann-Jensen and Lubbers to Washington.

(If asked about other Washington meetings)

-- Elleman-Jensen and Lubbers will also be meeting with Tony Lake and Acting  
Defense  
Secretary  
White.

## RUSSIA/NIS

### Current Items

#### Yeltsin Heart Problem

-- President Yeltsin remains hospitalized. Saw principal assistant Ilyushin  
Novembe  
r 1. Expect  
Yeltsin will be under medical supervision through November.

-- Embassy Moscow in regular touch with senior Russian officials. What  
Embassy has  
heard  
about Yeltsin's condition tracks with what Russian officials saying publicly.

-- Yeltsin has our wishes for full and speedy recovery.

#### Disqualification of Yabloko, Derzhava Blocs from December 17 Duma Elections

-- Central Electoral Commission, citing technical violations of rules, barred  
Yablok  
o and Derzhava  
bloks from party-list election, which will decide 225 of 450 Duma seats.

-- Decision to disqualify Yabloko has drawn fire from across political spectrum  
in R  
ussia. Prime  
Minister Chernomyrdin criticized decision as "ill-considered and harmful," and  
Yelts  
in has asked CEC for  
full explanation of decision. Senior CEC official has suggested Commission  
could re

-examine question.

-- Following matter closely. Embassy has spoken with responsible Russian officials, who indicate Yabloko situation should soon be on way to resolution.

-- In Russia as elsewhere, strongly support free and fair elections, in which voters have choice among parties representing all view-points.

#### Perry-Grachev Talks on Russia and IFOR

-- Presidents Clinton and Yeltsin agreed at Hyde Park on importance of Russian participation in Bosnia implementation force. They made some progress on specifics and agreed that Secretary Perry and Minister Grachev should continue to work this issue.

-- Perry and Grachev have agreed to create special unit comprised of Russian and American troops, plus troops from other countries, to perform critical tasks such as engineering and transportation. Unit will report directly to U.S. General Joulwan. Russian General Leonid Shevtsov will serve as Joulwan's deputy in overseeing unit.

-- Perry and Grachev also agreed to continue discussions next month with aim of working out formula for how Russian combat troops could participate directly in IFOR.

-- Consider Russian participation in Bosnia peace implementation important and desirable. Thus, pleased with understanding reached by Defense Ministers.

#### General Items

#### Hyde Park Meeting

-- President and Yeltsin had warm, productive meeting at Hyde Park on October 23. Meeting underscored stability, inner strength of U.S.-Russia partnership; reaffirmed both Presidents' strong

commitment to engagement.

-- Presidents in full agreement on need to support Bosnia peace process. Also agree  
d on  
importance of Russian participation in implementation force. Had good  
exchange; mad  
e some progress;  
decided Secretary Perry and Defense Minister Grachev to discuss further.

-- Presidents also agreed to push hard for ratification of START II; to work  
togethe  
r to get  
zero-yield CTBT in 1996; to continue cooperative efforts to ensure security of  
nucle  
ar weapons and  
materials; and to overall concept for resolving CFE flank zone issue.

#### 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, centra  
lly planned or  
market-oriented economies.

-- Long-term strategy. Transformation underway will be complex, protracted.

Strugg  
le going on  
between those who support reform and those who oppose or fear change.

-- Engagement producing important successes: reducing nuclear threat, over 50%  
of R

ussian  
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 o  
ur interest to cut  
this assistance.

### Russian Concerns about NATO Enlargement

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

-- 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.

### Iran Reactor Sale

-- President has discussed Bushehr reactor sale with Yeltsin. Vice President and Prime Minister Chernomyrdin continuing serious dialogue on issue.

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

### Chechnya

-- Have seen reports that Russians will resume peace negotiations; cannot confirm yet. Welcome Prime Minister Chernomyrdin's reaffirmation of commitment to pursue negotiated settlement.

-- Talks were suspended over Chechen attacks, including attempt to assassinate Russian force commander in Grozny. Condemn attacks like that, whose purpose is to undermine the fragile effort to find negotiated settlement.

-- Dispute in Chechnya can only be resolved by negotiated settlement. Urge sides to work

together to implement military agreement and to find political solution.

## CONVENTIONAL ARMED FORCES IN EUROPE (CFE) TREATY

ù Over the past weeks, the U.S., together with its Allies, has been actively seeking a solution to the CFE flank issue, in Vienna, in Brussels, and in our bilateral discussions.

ù In this context, during the Grachev visit the two sides held extensive discussions on this crucial issue.

ù Grachev sought an informal U.S. reaction to various ideas Russia was considering, in terms of its response in Vienna to the proposal NATO had tabled on September 22.

ù In the course of these discussions, Grachev and Perry reached an understanding that Russia would not propose to exclude from the flank zone -- and thus from the flank limits -- the Leningrad oblast, which contains over 1900 tanks, artillery pieces and armored combat vehicles. For its part, the U.S. agreed to be flexible with regard to other oblasts in the south Russia will propose be exempted from the flank zone.

ù Secretary Perry emphasized that any change to the flank zone can only be implemented if it is approved by all 30 states party to the CFE Treaty.

ù In coordination with NATO Allies, the U.S. now looks forward to a discussion of the Russian proposal with the other CFE states, with the objective of concluding flank negotiations by November 17 -- the date when the flank limits take effect under the treaty.

## NORWAY

King Harald V and Queen Sonja

-- Ascended to throne Jan 91 upon death of father, Olav V.

-- 58 Years old.

-- Lived in Washington area (Pooks Hill) where his family took refuge from the Nazis at the invitation of President Roosevelt from 1940 through end of WWII. They were frequent guests at the White House in those years.

-- Stay overnight in family quarters. Had private dinner with the Clintons.

-- WH visit caps three-week visit to Norwegian-American communities (3-4 million people) in the U.S. -- Chicago, Fargo, Minneapolis, Morehead, MN, San Francisco, and Seattle.

## PLO/HELMS

Q: What can you tell us about the lapse in the Middle East Peace Facilitation Act?

A: We regret that Congress has not acted to renew the waiver authority of the Middle East Peace Facilitation Act (MEPFA) and hope that it will move quickly to do so.

The Middle East Peace Facilitation Act (MEPFA) is an important element of our efforts to aid the Palestinians and Israelis to achieve a lasting peace.

We do not believe that legislation so critical as MEPFA should be held hostage to disagreements over how the foreign policy bureaucracy should be organized.

It is particularly disheartening at this moment. There has been an unprecedented momentum for peace generated by the Interim Agreement accord signing in September, and the Middle East/North Africa Economic Summit in Amman during the last three days.

The Administration urges the Congress to pass the temporary waiver promptly, and to enact long-term MEPFA extension as soon as possible, in order to provide a solid foundation for our efforts to support Middle East Peace.

## IRAQ SANCTIONS

Background: On October 17, President Zayid of the UAE called for the lifting of UN sanctions on Iraq. His remarks were quickly echoed by the Secretary General of the Arab League and the Qatari government.

Q: What is your reaction to recent demands from certain Arab leaders for the lifting of sanctions on Iraq?

A: We remain strongly opposed to any modification of the current sanctions against Iraq until it is in full compliance with all United Nations Security Council resolutions.

With regard to the humanitarian problems in Iraq, we are convinced that these are problems created by the Iraqi regime, and not by the sanctions.

The United Nations has made provisions by which Iraq could sell oil to buy food and medicine for its population, but the regime has refused to exercise this option.

The Iraqi regime has purposely refrained from providing its population with the

foo  
d and  
medicine they need to try to score propaganda points.

## AMMAN ECONOMIC SUMMIT

Q: What is the significance of the Amman Economic Summit

A: The Summit is expected to greatly contribute to the economic integration of the region through the development of cross-national economic ties, and regional projects.

Economic prosperity will be an important aspect of peace in the Middle East and North Africa. By facilitating this prosperity, the Summit will lay the economic foundations for a lasting peace.

Q: Where does the Middle East Development Bank (MEDB) stand? Are the Europeans opposed to the creation of the MEDB

A: The President strongly supports the creation of a soundly structured regional bank.

There is wide support for the MEDB from regional states and from key potential contributors such as Japan and members of the EU. Details remain to be worked out on some issues regarding the Bank's structure and operations.

Q: What is happening at the Summit in Amman? (Background: Secretary of State Christopher and Secretary of Commerce Brown led the US delegation.)

A: We are very pleased by developments yesterday and today. There has been heavy at

tendance  
by both businessmen and government officials from over sixty countries. This  
partic  
ipation will help  
promote progress toward our major goal, the development of a private-public  
partners  
hip for economic  
development of the entire region.

In particular, we are pleased with the agreement to launch the Middle East and  
Nort  
h African  
Development Bank. We believe the Bank can play a major role in multinational  
cooper  
ation to develop the  
region.

#### CHRISTOPHER MEETING WITH ASAD

Q: What can you tell us about the Secretary's meeting with President Asad today?

A: I don't have anything for you on such a recent meeting. I understand the  
Secreta  
ry  
characterized it as a "useful review" before departing Damascus.

The Secretary has noted he did not expect any breakthroughs in this meeting. He  
sa  
w it as an  
opportunity to "touch base" with Asad.

#### NIGERIA: KEN SARO-WIWA TRIAL

Background: Nigerian author, environmentalist and leader of the Ogoni people  
Ken Sa  
ro-Wiwa was sentenced to  
death today by a special tribunal in Port Harcourt, Nigeria. Saro-Wiwa and  
several  
other Ogonis were arrested in  
May 1994 following the deaths of four Ogoni chiefs.

Q: What is your reaction to the verdict on Ogoni activist Ken Saro-Wiwa?

A: We understand the special tribunal October 31 convicted Ken Saro-Wiwa and three others accused of murder in May 1994.

The United States is deeply concerned by the lack of due process by the special tribunal conducting the trial of Ken Saro-Wiwa and others.

The trial was conducted outside the regular court system and without consideration to due process or to the rights of the accused. The accused did not have access to counsel outside the court and were held without charges for several months.

The United States calls on the Government of Nigeria to ensure that those convicted are afforded unrestricted access to competent counsel and due process in their appeals through an independent judiciary.

## TANZANIA ELECTIONS

Background: Tanzania's elections for a 232-seat parliament and to replace President Mwinyi, who is stepping down after serving the maximum two terms, have hit several snags. According to American Embassy sources, problems ranging from complete disarray at the more than 40,000 polling stations to charges of vote rigging have led the National Electoral Commission (NEC) to nullify the elections in Dar es Salaam, the capital. Voting in other parts of the country continues. The NEC announced this morning that new elections, for Dar es Salaam, would be attempted again next week.

Q: What information do we have regarding problems which have developed in the Tanzanian elections (both on the mainland and on Zanzibar)? What is the status of those elections?

A: Zanzibar elections were held on October 22 for the Zanzibar President, Parliament and local government. National elections for the Tanzanian President and Parliament, in which Zanzibaris also voted, were held on October 29. Both elections were part of the first multiparty elections conducted in Tanzania.

With respect to the National elections held on Sunday, October 29, our Embassy in Dar es Salaam reports that there were many complaints that voting materials and officials were often late in arriving at polling stations or did not arrive at all.

All parties in the election have publicly criticized the procedural breakdown.

As a result of the disorganization, the Tanzanian National Electoral Commission has nullified the elections in Dar es Salaam's seven constituencies and announced that new elections will be held in those constituencies next week on a date yet to be specified.

Meanwhile, voting has been extended through October 31 in constituencies outside Dar es Salaam that also experienced problems of organization.

Q: Does the U.S. government have any comment with respect to the national elections held on October 29? Are we doing anything to help?

A: We are concerned that procedural problems have developed and will monitor the situation closely as new elections are scheduled in some constituencies.

The United States funded the participation of 24 American election monitors and some small (less than \$15,000 each) voter education projects prior to the elections.

To the extent possible, and subject to budgetary constraints, some of our embassy personnel also traveled to various polling stations around the country to observe the elections in an unofficial capacity.

We did not provide any direct support for the elections.

Other donors contributed about \$15 million for the elections, which covered about half of the estimated cost.

Q: Who is the American Ambassador?

A: Our Ambassador is Mr. Brady Anderson. He is a non-career ambassador with substantial experience in Tanzania, having lived and worked there for four years with the Summer Institute of Linguistics, and international organization which facilitates literacy and translation of mother-tongue materials worldwide.

Q: How many Americans are in Tanzania? Do the elections pose any problems for them?

There are approximately 2,000 Americans in Tanzania.

The elections themselves resulted in only a few isolated disturbances on the afternoon of October 29, the capital city of Dar es Salaam. Life in Dar es Salaam appears normal.

We issued a public announcement early in October urging American citizens to exercise caution and to avoid all political rallies. This announcement remains in effect.

## CIA/AMES

Q: Does the President think the disciplinary steps the DCI took are adequate?

A: We are not going to comment on individual disciplinary actions. The DCI stated his criteria for making such decisions, and made judgments that were consistent with those criteria. We stand behind the Director's actions.

Q: Do you think that John Deutch has instituted adequate measures to prevent a recurrence of the Ames case?

A: As we have said, we applaud the DCI's commitment to uphold high standards of accountability and professional conduct. The list of actions he has taken is lengthy, comprehensive, and appropriate. We believe these measures will make a recurrence of the type of damage caused by the Ames tragedy unlikely.

## U.S. POLICY ON INTELLIGENCE SHARING WITH THE UN

Q: Can you comment on today's story in the Washington Times that the Administration wants Congress to back off on the question of sharing intelligence with the UN?

A: The memorandum cited in the story was not written by the National Security Council or anyone else in the White House. No one in the NSC ever saw the memo, distributed it, or asked that it be written by anyone. The memorandum is not now and never was an NSC document.

(If Asked)

Q: If it was not an NSC document, where did it come from?

A: Apparently, it was an OSD document for internal use.

Q: Is it true that Assistant Secretary Gati "misled" Congress?

A: The allegations regarding A/S Gati are totally unfounded. A/S Gati and other senior officials from the national security community have frequently discussed with Congress how U.S. government information is shared with the UN. These officials have always stressed that any information sharing must serve the national interest.

(Only Answer If Asked)

Q: What is current U.S. policy regarding the sharing of intelligence information with the United Nations?

A: When it serves our national interests, we share information with the UN on a case by case basis. In recent years this has included:

- ☐ information on Iraq's nuclear, chemical, biological, and missile programs to help UNSCOM and the IAEA disarm Iraq;
- ☐ information to help enforce sanctions against Serbia and Libya;
- ☐ information on gross human rights abuses, including, for example, recent photographs of mass graves near Srebrenica.

In each instance, the sharing of information has served important American interests

We have worked hard to ensure that proper procedures are in place to ensure that information this will not happen in the future. New procedures have been developed by the Director of Central Intelligence and by the Chairman of the Joint

Chiefs of Staff concerning how and what kind of information we share with the UN. These procedures are currently in place and help protect against the unauthorized disclosure of any information.

## AUM SHINRIKYO AND CBW TERRORISM

Background: Senator Nunn's Investigations Subcommittee is holding hearings this week on the threat of chemical and biological weapons terrorism. Yesterday's hearing focused on the efforts of the Japanese cult Aum Shinrikyo to develop chemical and other weapons of mass destruction.

Q: How serious were Aum Shinrikyo's efforts to develop chemical and other weapons of mass destruction?

A: It is clear that Aum Shinrikyo had an extensive effort underway to procure the materials needed to make chemical and other weapons of mass destruction.

We know, for example, that the Aum was working on the nerve agents sarin and VX and that it was trying to develop biological agents.

Q: How do we deal with this sort of threat?

A: As with proliferation more generally, the first step is to try to prevent terrorists from gaining access to weapons of mass destruction. This requires a multi-faceted approach, including a robust intelligence effort, strong export controls, and effective multilateral arms control measures.

The second goal is to thwart terrorist plans to use weapons of mass destruction. This again involves a multi-faceted effort based on intelligence information and multilateral law enforcement cooperation.

Finally, we must plan for the worst case -- in which chemical or other weapons of mass destruction actually are used by minimizing our vulnerabilities and maximizing our emergency response

capabi  
lities.

Q: How can arms control help?

A: Let me give you an important example: If the Chemical Weapons Convention were in force today, it would be both more difficult and more costly for groups such as Aum Shinrikyo to acquire or use chemical weapons.

Unfortunately, this treaty has been languishing in the Senate despite having been supported by two previous Republican Administrations.

We agree with Senators Kassebaum and Glenn, Brent Scowcroft, Larry Eagleburger and a host of others, all of whom are on record in support of ratifying this vital treaty.

## LOOSE NUKES

### On U.S. Policy Concerning Plutonium Disposition

ù The article by Jessica Mathews rightly highlights how important the question of disposing of excess weapons plutonium is to our national security interests.

ù We continue to pursue the President's objective of safe disposition of weapons plutonium.

ù This subject is under intense interagency study here in the U.S. and is the subject of a joint U.S.-Russian study that was recently kicked off.

ù The Administration and the joint U.S.-Russian study are examining a wide array of options for plutonium disposition.

ù We expect to have decisions made in the coming year on preferred approaches for resolving this problem.

ù (If pressed:) We are examining the utilization of the Hanau facility, among other options, and have held consultation with the German government on this and related issues.

#### On Our Programs to Ensure Security of Nuclear Materials

ù Prevention of nuclear smuggling and security of nuclear materials are national security priorities. In September, President Clinton strengthened our already robust efforts with Presidential Decision Directive which set out specific goals, objectives and priorities for each Department and Agency of the U.S. government.

ù As part of overall nonproliferation policy, have been active on several fronts.

ù We are cooperating with Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus on projects to improve the security of nuclear materials. Cooperative projects with these nations are underway to improve security of many tons of materials at more than two dozen locations.

ù Also cooperating with many nations on efforts to improve border controls and police enforcement capabilities to detect and deter possible cases of nuclear smuggling.

ù Have reached an agreement with Russia under which 500 metric tons of highly enriched uranium being removed from dismantled Soviet-era nuclear warheads is being blended down to low enriched uranium not suitable for nuclear weapons, sold to the U.S., and burned in civilian nuclear power plants.

ù At the request of the Kazakhstani government, we airlifted over half a ton of vulnerable weapons-grade uranium -- enough to make dozens of nuclear bombs -- to safe storage facility.

ù Have already reached agreement with Russia to end production of plutonium for weapons purposes. Are working toward a multilateral Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty.

On the (possible) claim that senior Russian officials have been involved in

nuclear  
smuggling

ù We have no credible evidence of this.

#### On the Frequency of Nuclear Smuggling & the U.S. Response

ù Vast majority of reported nuclear smuggling cases have been simple scams or  
involv  
ed material not suitable for  
weapons.

ù Despite fact that vast majority of suspected cases of nuclear smuggling turn out  
t  
o be scams, we take all  
reports very seriously. Department of State chairs interagency response group  
which  
reviews every report  
and takes appropriate action. If necessary, U.S. law enforcement, intelligence, sci  
entific, diplomatic and  
military resources can be brought to bear on very short notice.

ù For additional information, please contact the State Department.

ù (If needed/asked): The Departments of Energy and Defense, the FBI and the  
Customs  
service all have  
prepared talking points on their nuclear material security and anti-nuclear  
smugglin  
g activities.

#### UK-FRENCH NUCLEAR COOPERATION

Q: What reaction do you have to the announcement in London Monday that the  
UK and Fr  
ance will  
pursue closer cooperation on nuclear issues?

A: We understand that Britain and France are examining ways to deepen their  
cooperat  
ion on  
nuclear issues.

We also understand that such cooperation would not duplicate or undermine  
existing  
nuclear  
arrangements within the NATO alliance.

Within this framework, we welcome such cooperation between our close allies.

## RUSSIAN CHEMICAL WEAPONS PROLIFERATION INVESTIGATION

Background: There have been press reports in recent days that Russian authorities are investigating the possibility that a former Russian General, Anatoli Kuntsevich, illegally provided chemical weapons materials to buyers in the Middle East. In a letter to the President this week, Senator Helms seized on the issue as a (new) justification for continuing to hold the Chemical Weapons Convention hostage.

Q: Do you have any further information on press reports that Russia is investigating the possible smuggling of chemical weapons materials by former General Kuntsevich?

A: We too have seen press reports about the investigation.

They indicate that Russian authorities are conducting a criminal investigation of the matter. Accordingly, it might be more appropriate to direct inquiries to the Russian Government on this.

Q: Is the U.S. assisting the investigation?

A: The smuggling of materials for weapons of mass destruction, whether nuclear, chemical or biological, is of vital concern to the U.S.

Press reports indicate that Russian law enforcement authorities are investigating the matter. If there is anything we can do to be of assistance, we obviously would be prepared to consider it.

Q: Is it true that the chemical materials were smuggled to the Middle East?

A: The Russian Government has this matter under investigation.

We do not know what the outcome of that investigation will be.

Q: Is it true that Senator Helms is holding the Chemical Weapons Convention hostage over this issue?

A: Senator Helms has expressed concern over this issue.

We share those concerns.

That said, rather than being an argument against the CWC, this underscores why it is so important for the U.S. to ratify it quickly.

Q: How does the CWC help deal with problems such as this?

A: The CWC imposes a legally-binding prohibition on assisting others to acquire chemical weapons.

In addition, it requires Parties to monitor and report on transfers of the chemicals that can be used to make chemical weapons.

It also prohibits Parties from transferring to non-Parties key chemical weapons precursors.

The treaty also requires that Parties enact domestic legislation imposing real penalties on those who violate these or any other treaty obligations.

Perhaps most importantly, the treaty's routine and challenge inspection provisions will provide access to information that could reveal or even confirm a potential transfer problem.

In sum, if the CWC were in force today in Russia and other countries, it would be both more difficult and more costly for proliferators to carry out the activities for which Kuntsevich reportedly is being investigated.

As the President has done on repeated occasions, we urge the Senate to move forward with ratification of this vital treaty.

## CONGRESSIONAL CONFERENCE REPORT ON DEFENSE APPROPRIATIONS BILL

Background: On September 29, the House rejected by a wide margin the conference report on the FY 1996 Defense Appropriations Bill. As reported by the conferees, the bill would have provided for a \$243 billion defense budget for next year -- \$6.7 billion more than requested by the Administration. The bill's defeat in the House was attributable to a strong bloc of "pro-life" Members concerned by the watering down of the House-passed provision in the bill on abortion and other Members opposed to the increase in spending for programs such as the B-2 and National Missile Defense.

### Points

-- Committed to maintaining best trained, best equipped, most ready armed forces in the world.

-- The Administration's budget protects readiness and ensures we are prepared to defend American interests.

-- Although the conferees did remove objectionable policy provisions and other unacceptable restrictions on my prerogatives as Commander in Chief and they did fund several important programs of priority interest to this Administration (e.g., Nunn-Lugar and TRP), I am very concerned by the inclusion of almost \$7 billion for procurement and R&D spending we did not request.

-- With the defeat of the Conference Report by the House, the bill now goes back to the conference to be reworked. As the conferees consider how to revise the bill to improve its prospects of ever being enacted into law, it is important that they understand that absent a broader agreement with Congress that provides adequate funding for crucial domestic programs that are underfunded in other appropriations bills, the President will veto any defense appropriations bill that adds extra billions for defense programs not in my request.

## M S M a i l

**DATE-TIME** 02 November 95 20:22  
**FROM** Danvers, William C.  
**CLASSIFICATION** UNCLASSIFIED  
**SUBJECT** Reorganization [UNCLASSIFIED]  
**TO** Halperin, Morton H.  
**CARBON\_COPY** Andricos, George M.  
Bendick, Gordon L.  
Burrell, Christina L.  
Danvers, William C.  
Fuerth, Leon S.  
Wise, William M.

**TEXT\_BODY**

Mort:

If you are comfortable with these points, I will send them on to Tony and Sandy. Please feel free to make changes.

I would like to get them moved as early as possible.

-- Sen. Helms threatened to hold the short term extension of MEPFA up to reorganization.

-- Dole initially took his side.

-- Kerry. Sarbanes, Feinstein and others took the floor and indicated that they would not be blackmailed.

-- With Dole's behind the scenes help (please keep close hold), MEPFA was renewed through early Dec. Hopefully, will be renewed in House next week. A logner term extension is part of yet to be passed Foreign ops bill.

-- We have been told that Kerry indicated to Helms (in some fashion) that he would try to get things moving again if he let MEPFA move.

-- Kerry met with SFRC Dems to discuss another proposal.

-- Kerry staffer called OMB to get help in fashioning numbers for such an offer-- \$2.1 billion over five years with anywhere from 60-40 to 75-25 split between operating expenses and programs. Operating with an FY 95 baseline. (OMB believes we can live with these numbers.) OMB said they would get back to Kerry staffer.

-- Subsequently learned that no deal had been made but that Kerry would make an offer of less than \$2.1 billion.

-- Kerry staffer got back to OMB later and narrowed her request of what correct word is for program accounts vice admin accounts in legislation. No further inquiry about money. Uncertain what this means.

-- Ball clearly in court of Kerry (and eventually back to Helms). Nothing else to do for now.

## M S M a i l

**DATE-TIME** 03 November 95 10:18  
**FROM** Halperin, Morton H.  
**CLASSIFICATION** UNCLASSIFIED  
**SUBJECT** RE: Reorganization [UNCLASSIFIED]  
**TO** Danvers, William C.  
**CARBON\_COPY** NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE  
**TEXT\_BODY**

This are fine.

From: Danvers, William C.  
To: Halperin, Morton H.  
CC: /R, Record at A1; Fuerth, Leon S.; Wise, William M.;  
@LEGISLAT-Legislative Affairs  
Subject: Reorganization [UNCLASSIFIED]  
Date: Thursday, November 02, 1995 08:22 PM

Mort:

If you are comfortable with these points, I will send them on to Tony and Sandy. Please feel free to make changes.

I would like to get them moved as early as possible.

-- Sen. Helms threatened to hold the short term extension of MEPFA up to reorganization.

-- Dole initially took his side.

-- Kerry. Sarbanes, Feinstein and others took the floor and indicated that they would not be blackmailed.

-- With Dole's behind the scenes help (please keep close hold), MEPFA was renewed through early Dec. Hopefully, will be renewed in House next week. A logner term extension is part of yet to be passed Foreign ops bill.

-- We have been told that Kerry indicated to Helms (in some fashion) that he would try to get things moving again if he let MEPFA move.

-- Kerry met with SFRC Dems to discuss another proposal.

-- Kerry staffer called OMB to get help in fashioning numbers for such an offer-- \$2.1 billion over five years with anywhere from 60-40 to 75-25 split

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