

Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 1/8/98 9:23:48 AM

FROM Millison, Cathy L.

CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED

SUBJECT #0061-Invitees to Charter of Partnership Signing Ceremony, Jan 16
[UNCLASSIFIED]

TO

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Gray, Wendy E.
LaFleur, Vinca S.
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Naplan, Steven J.
Widmer, Edward L.
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Courtney, William H.
Durham, Robert J.
Fooks, Michael D.
Fort, Jane B.
Matera, Michael A.
Pascual, Carlos E.
Bandler, Donald K.
Braden, Susan R.
Brown, Keirn C.
Butler, Lawrence E.
Covey, James P.
Dowling, John N. (Nick)
Feeley, John F.
Flanagan, Stephen J.
Marshall, Betty A.
Maxfield, Nancy H.
McEldowney, Nancy E.
Quinn, Mary E.
Sapiro, Miriam E.
Todd, Gwenyth E.
Abercrombie-Winstanley, Gina K.
Bendick, Gordon L.
Burrell, Christina L.
Farrar, Jay C.
Rudman, Mara E.
Braden, Susan R.
Flanagan, Stephen J.
Maxfield, Nancy H.
Quinn, Mary E.

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Elkon, Nicole L.
Hilliard, Brenda I.
Hurwitz, Marc I.
Joshi, M. Kay
Kerrick, Donald L.
Millison, Cathy L.
Poole, Jennifer C.
Rice, Edward A.

TEXT_BODY

Glyn Davies has asked for your concurrence/comments ASAP on the attached.
He notes that it should also be seen in context of NATO enlargement. Additional members of the Diplomatic Corps are also invited but are not included in this list. Thanks.

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT

0061marshall memo.doc

MEMORANDUM FOR CAPRICIA P. MARSHALL

FROM: SAMUEL R. BERGER
MARIA ECHEVESTE

SUBJECT: Invitees to Charter of Partnership Signing Ceremony on January 16, 1998

Attached is a list of proposed invitees to the January 16, 1998 East Room ceremony for the signing of the Charter of Partnership with the Presidents of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

We have attempted to achieve a broad mix of invitees, with numbers from each grouping noted in the table on the second page of the list. Congress will be out of session, but a number of members have already expressed a strong interest in

attending the ceremony. This list was developed from NSC and Office of Public Liaison contacts, as well as suggestions we solicited from the three Baltic embassies, other agencies, and Baltic-American groups.

Office of Public Liaison is developing a separate invitation list, focused on the Baltic-American community, for the Vice President's Blair House reception following the Charter signing ceremony.

Attachment
Tab A Proposed List of Invitees to Signing Ceremony
1

0061

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT Baltic ceremony congressional list.doc

The Honorable Richard K. Armey
Majority Leader
House of Representatives
301 Cannon House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515-4326

The Honorable John R. Ashcroft
United States Senate
316 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-2504

The Honorable Robert F. Bennett
United States Senate
431 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-4403

The Honorable Douglas Bereuter

House of Representatives
2184 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515-2701

The Honorable Joseph R. Biden, Jr.
United States Senate
221 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-0802

The Honorable David E. Bonior
Democratic Whip
House of Representatives
2207 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515-2210

The Honorable Sam Brownback
United States Senate
303 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-1604

The Honorable Robert C. Byrd
United States Senate
311 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-4801

The Honorable Sonny Callahan
House of Representatives
2418 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515-0101

The Honorable Ben Nighthorse Campbell
United States Senate
380 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-0605

The Honorable Paul Coverdell

United States Senate
200 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-1004

The Honorable Christopher Cox
House of Representatives
2402 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515-0547

The Honorable Alfonse M. D'Amato
United States Senate
520 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-3202

The Honorable Thomas A. Daschle
Democratic Leader
United States Senate
509 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-4103

The Honorable Tom DeLay
Majority Whip
House of Representatives
341 Cannon House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515-4322

The Honorable Christopher J. Dodd
United States Senate
444 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-0702

The Honorable Richard J. Durbin
United States Senate
364 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-1304

The Honorable Russell Feingold
United States Senate
716 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-4904

The Honorable Dianne Feinstein
United States Senate
331 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-0504

The Honorable Wendell H. Ford
Democratic Whip
United States Senate
173-A Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-1701

The Honorable Bill Frist
United States Senate
565 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-4205

The Honorable Richard A. Gephardt
Democratic Leader
House of Representatives
1226 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515-2503

The Honorable Benjamin A. Gilman
House of Representatives
2449 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515-3220

The Honorable Newt Gingrich
Speaker of the House
House of Representatives
2428 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515-1006

The Honorable Slade Gorton
United States Senate
730 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-4701

The Honorable Porter J. Goss
House of Representatives
108 Cannon House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515-3702

The Honorable Bob Graham
United States Senate
524 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-0903

The Honorable Rod Grams
United States Senate
261 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-2304

The Honorable Charles E. Grassley
United States Senate
135 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-1501

The Honorable Chuck Hagel
United States Senate
346 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-2705

The Honorable Lee H. Hamilton
House of Representatives
2314 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515-1409

The Honorable Jesse Helms
United States Senate
403 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-3301

The Honorable Steny H. Hoyer
House of Representatives
1705 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515-2005

The Honorable Henry J. Hyde
House of Representatives
2110 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515-1306

The Honorable Barbara B. Kennelly
House of Representatives
201 Cannon House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515-0701

The Honorable J. Robert Kerrey
United States Senate
141 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-2704

The Honorable John F. Kerry
United States Senate
421 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-2102

The Honorable Joe Knollenberg
House of Representatives
1511 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515-2211

The Honorable Dennis J. Kucinich
House of Representatives
1730 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515-3510

The Honorable Jon Kyl
United States Senate
724 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-0304

The Honorable Tom Lantos
House of Representatives
2217 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515-0512

The Honorable Frank R. Lautenberg
United States Senate
506 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-3002

The Honorable Patrick J. Leahy
United States Senate
433 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-4502

The Honorable Carl Levin
United States Senate
459 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-2202

The Honorable Joseph I. Lieberman
United States Senate
706 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-0703

The Honorable Bob Livingston
House of Representatives
2406 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515-1801

The Honorable Trent Lott
Majority Leader
United States Senate
487 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-2403

The Honorable Richard G. Lugar
United States Senate
306 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-1401

The Honorable John McCain
United States Senate
241 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-0303

The Honorable Mitch McConnell
United States Senate
361A Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-1702

The Honorable Carol Moseley-Braun
United States Senate
324 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-1303

The Honorable Daniel Patrick Moynihan
United States Senate
464 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-3201

The Honorable Don Nickles
Majority Whip
United States Senate
133 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-3602

The Honorable David R. Obey
House of Representatives
2462 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515-4907

The Honorable Nancy Pelosi
House of Representatives
2457 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515-0508

The Honorable Charles S. Robb
United States Senate
154 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-4603

The Honorable William V. Roth, Jr.
United States Senate
104 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-0801

The Honorable Bobby L. Rush
House of Representatives
131 Cannon House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515-1301

The Honorable Rick Santorum
United States Senate
120 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-3804

The Honorable Paul Sarbanes
United States Senate
309 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-2002

The Honorable Christopher Shays
House of Representatives
1502 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515-0702

The Honorable John Shimkus
House of Representatives
513 Cannon House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515-1320

The Honorable Christopher H. Smith
House of Representatives
2370 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515-3004

The Honorable Gordon H. Smith
United States Senate
359 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-3704

The Honorable Gerald B. H. Solomon
House of Representatives
2206 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515-3222

The Honorable Ted Stevens
United States Senate
522 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-0201

The Honorable Craig Thomas
United States Senate
109 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-5003

The Honorable John W. Warner
United States Senate
225 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-4601

The Honorable Paul David Wellstone
United States Senate
136 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-2303

The Honorable Frank R. Wolf
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241 Cannon House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515-4610

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT Baltic Charter Invitees.doc

January 7, 1998

DRAFT INVITATION LIST

JANUARY 16, 1998
BALTIC CHARTER SIGNING CEREMONY
IN THE EAST ROOM

Compiled by
Central and Eastern European Affairs Directorate
National Security Council

Distribution Invited Expected

Members of Congress 66 15
-- Senate & House Leadership
-- All Members SFRC
-- Chair/Ranking HIRC
-- Members Senate NATO Group
-- Other attentive members

U.S. government officials 43 30

State and local officials 8 5

Baltic government officials (3x8) 24 24

Diplomatic Corps 37 20
-- EU, NATO, PFP countries, (minus
Central Asians)
-- Ambassadors, no subs.

Prominent Americans 49 25

U.S. business community 9 5

Estonian-American Community 17 12

Latvian-American Community 27 20

Lithuanian-American Community 24 20

Other Baltic-American Groups 8 7

Totals 183

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Secretary of Treasury

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Secretary of Commerce

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(Secy. Cohen in Asia)

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The Adjutant General of Pennsylvania

Maj. Gen. E. Gordon Stump
The Adjutant General of Michigan

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Head of Political Department
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Mr. Lauri Lepik
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Embassy of Estonia

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State President
Republic of Latvia

H.E. Birkavs
Minister of Foreign Affairs
Republic of Latvia

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Ambassador to the United States

Mr. Andrius Meskauskas
Chief

Office of the President

Mr. Nersis Germansis
Advisor to the President on Foreign Affairs

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Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs

Plus 3 TBD
-- President-Elect Adamcus?

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President B'nai B'rith International

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Chair, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council
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American Jewish Committee

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Military Professional Resources, Inc.
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President
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Wellner & Associates

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New York, New York 10103

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Nine Greenway Plaza, Suite 744
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Mr. Sol Bukingolts
c/o American Embassy
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Latvian-Americans, p.2/2

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Lithuanian-Americans, p.2/2

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TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT BalticInviteAmbos.doc
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2

Diplomatic Community, p. 3/3

Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 2/20/98 10:16:40 AM
FROM Blinken, Antony J.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT RE: Looking for Footage [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Crowley, Philip J.

CARBON_COPY**TEXT_BODY**

Got it. Thanks.

-----Original Message-----

From: Crowley, Philip
J.

Sent: Friday, February 20, 1998 7:22 AM

To: Blinken, Antony

J.; @PRESS - Public Affairs; @PLANNING - Strat Plan & Comm; Metzl,
Jamie F.

Subject: RE: Looking for Footage [UNCLASSIFIED]

Let
me climb on my soap box for a second.

I have a philosophical point
to make, which I have already made to USIA on another occasion when
they went to WCHA seeking CNN footage. We have to be very scrupulous
regarding copyright issues if we're asking for something that came
from the nets. My recommendation for USIA for the foreseeable future
would be to assign a camera crew to the WH to get original footage
of POTUS comments, speeches, etc. That way, they will have what
they need for future products. They are not interested in WCHA footage
which is not broadcast quality and only for photo documentation purposes.
If they want broadcast footage, they know how to approach the nets
to get it.

Tell them to get of their f__ bureaucratic a____
and prove Jesse Helms wrong.

OK, I feel better now. On #1, I'm
sure WCHA has a tape and USIA talks to them all the time. #2 may
be more difficult if there was not a government camera there.

PJ

-----Original

Message-----

From: Blinken, Antony J.

Sent: Thursday, February
19, 1998 8:17 PM

To: @PRESS - Public Affairs; @PLANNING - Strat
Plan & Comm

Subject: Looking for Footage [UNCLASSIFIED]

Press

Friends/Dave/Steve

At IPI meeting today on Iraq, USIA expressed
strong interest in being able to use two piece of footage ASAP:

1.

Footage from today's POTUS departure statement where he answers
the question about the impact of the town hall.

2. Clip of SRB

on evening news (ABC, I think) night of his speech where they show
him refering to the palace charts.

Can someone work this? Would
like to get them anything we can ASAP.

Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 3/3/98 8:38:44 PM
FROM Rudman, Mara E.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT FW: helms/IRA terrorism list letter [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Butler, Lawrence E.

CARBON_COPY Allen, Charles A.
Baker, James E.
DeRosa, Mary B.
Highsmith, Newell L.
Hunerwadel, Joan S.
Abercrombie-Winstanley, Gina K.
Burrell, Christina L.
Farrar, Jay C.
Hill, Roseanne M.
Rudman, Mara E.

TEXT_BODY Looks fine. Some minor typos, and added my name to concurrence line on the SRB memo.

-----Original Message-----

From: Butler, Lawrence E.

Sent: Tuesday, March 03, 1998 7:27 PM

To: @LEGAL - Legal Advisor;
@LEGISLAT - Legislative Affairs

Cc: Bandler, Donald K.

Subject: helms/IRA terrorism list letter [UNCLASSIFIED]

I have sent the attached package over to State for clearance -- it follows the November letter, so don't anticipate many changes. Would appreciate early clearances from legal and legislate. Thank you.

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT

1231Helmsletter.doc

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I appreciated your letter of February 19 on the Northern Ireland peace process.

It was an important affirmation of the Mitchell Principles of non-violence

governing the peace process when both UDP and Sinn Fein were suspended from the talks following recent killings.

As you are aware, the UDP has been readmitted and the Irish and British governments have indicated that Sinn Fein can be back in the talks as early as March 9.

The Secretary of State is closely following the situation and continues to have the IRA's designation as a foreign terrorist organization under review.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Jesse Helms
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-6225

2

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT 1231HelmsSRBmemo.doc

March 4, 1998

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER

FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER

SUBJECT: Presidential correspondence -- letter to Senator Helms on
the Northern
Ireland peace process

Senator Helms wrote the President calling on him to support expelling
Sinn Fein
from the talks and designating the IRA and Sinn Fein as foreign
terrorist
organizations due to the two killings of protestants.

Your memorandum to the President covering a letter for his signature
is at Tab I.

Concurrence by: James Baker, Mara Rudman

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab I.

Attachment
Tab I Memorandum to the President
Tab A Letter to Senator Helms
Tab B Incoming correspondence

1

1231

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT 1231POTUSmemo.doc

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER
LARRY STEIN

SUBJECT: Northern Ireland peace process: letter to Senator Helms

Purpose

To respond to a letter from Senator Helms on the Northern Ireland peace process.

Background

Senator Helms wrote you a thoughtful letter on February 19 regarding the expulsion of both the UDP and Sinn Fein from the Northern Ireland peace talks in response to the recent killings of Catholics and Protestants. Subsequent to his letter, Sinn Fein was expelled and UDP's period of suspension ended last week. Senator Helms, referring to your letter to him last November, calls on you to designate the IRA and Sinn Fein as foreign terrorist organizations in response to the IRA's breach of the cease-fire.

In your November letter, you wrote that Secretary Albright had taken:

"note of the July 19, 1997, announcement by the IRA of an unequivocal ceasefire, as well as the subsequent decision by the British government that the ceasefire was "genuine in word and deed," permitting Sinn Fein to join the inclusive, all-party talks in Belfast. Under these circumstances, Secretary Albright continues to review the IRA. Obviously, any resumption of violence by the IRA would have a direct impact on the ongoing review. Secretary Albright, in consultation with the Attorney General and the Secretary of the Treasury, can and will designate more organizations as foreign terrorist organizations if their actions warrant designation."

In your reply, at Tab A, you emphasize that UDP's and Sinn Fein's expulsion from, and prospect of return to the talks, represented an affirmation of the Mitchell Principles of non-violence. In the context of the twin cease-fires

holding and
the parties committed to the talks process, the Secretary of State
continues to
review the IRA, and can, if necessary, designate additional entities as
foreign
terrorist organizations if so warranted.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab A.

Attachment
Tab A Letter to Senator Helms
Tab B Incoming correspondence

2

1231

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 3/4/98 7:09:49 PM
FROM Wozniak, Natalie S.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT INTERNAL: March 4 Telephone Interview of the President by Anne Blackman, Time Magazine, re MKA [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Crowley, Philip J.
Dehqanzada, Yahya A.
Luzzatto, Anne R.
Rubin, Eric S.
Wozniak, Natalie S.
Gray, Wendy E.

CARBON_COPY

TEXT_BODY

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT INT-Blackman Interview on MKA.doc
THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

Internal Transcript March 4, 1998

TELEPHONE INTERVIEW OF THE PRESIDENT
BY
ANNE BLACKMAN

The Oval Office

3:37 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Hello.

Q Hello, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: How are you?

Q I'm fine. I'm just finishing up a biography of Madeleine Albright, and I really appreciate a few minutes of your time. And I wonder, when you chose her to be Secretary of State, what did she bring to the table that others did not?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, let me back up just one minute and say, of all the Cabinet selections I've made, I guess I have the richest array of talent and potential for this one, on this go round. And before, too.

I thought that she brought a number of things. First of all, she presented continuity, because she had been U.N. Ambassador. So that I thought she would not have a huge learning curve in any way. And she knew how the State Department worked.

Secondly, we tended to think alike. We tended to look at the challenges we face in the world in similar ways. Thirdly, she was tough and strong on the issues that I thought were important, especially on Bosnia. But she was there -- she supported what I did in Haiti, for example. When we had to do difficult things that didn't have a great deal of popular support in the beginning she, on principle, agreed with me. And I could see that she was willing to take principle risks.

And, finally, I thought that she would be the person most likely to be able to connect with the American people, to kind of bring the message of our foreign policy home to Americans and to build public support for it and to explain to the citizens of this country what the connection of their everyday life was to the

work she was doing. And she was the only person that I thought blended all three of those things really well.

Q That's interesting. Did you weigh the reaction of Arab leaders, at all? Did you worry about it?

THE PRESIDENT: You mean because she was a woman?

Q Right.

THE PRESIDENT: No. I didn't. I know that -- you know, there are differences in different Arab countries, even. I know that, for example, in Syria -- although we normally don't think of them as such -- Syria has probably more women in the parliament and influential positions of government than a lot of non-Arab countries.

Q That's interesting.

THE PRESIDENT: So I just figured that it wouldn't be a problem for a lot of them and the others would have to find a way to work through it, because it's an important part of what our country is about. What are they going to do when we elect a woman President? (Laughter.) It's going to happen.

Q Right. Right.

THE PRESIDENT: Sooner or later, that's going to happen.

Q People say that one of her skills is to combine policy with an understanding of politics. Do you find that to be the case?

THE PRESIDENT: I agree with that. I think she's a good, instinctive politician -- in the best sense of the word.

Q Is there one instance that stands out in your mind, of how she's done this really well? Has she come to you at some point and explained a policy and then flipped it to show you the political side?

THE PRESIDENT: No, I'll tell you what the instance is that strikes me as best, is the way she has related to the Cuban community in America. You know, just viscerally connecting with them when those planes were shot down. And she made that great line, you know -- not cajones, it's cowardice.

Q (Laughter.) Right.

THE PRESIDENT: You know, you can't teach somebody that. (Laughter.)

Q That's right.

THE PRESIDENT: As far as I know, you can't send anybody to school to learn how to do that off the top of their head.

Q People say that when she first started as Ambassador she was rather hesitant to speak up in meetings, but she's grown considerably in confidence. Do you think that she's grown?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, absolutely.

Q And if so, how do you see that?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, whenever you put a talented person in a position that has more responsibility than he or she has ever had before, if they have any sense they're going to be cautious in the beginning and make sure they've got the ground underneath them and they feel anchored. But I can just see -- I've watched her now both as U.N. Ambassador and as Secretary of State just grow consistently more comfortable in her job and more assured in her judgments and more willing to provoke debate within our circle, in a constructive way.

Q Is that right?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. Although, she was always outspoken about the things she knew about. For example, she was always very, very strong on what we had to do in Bosnia - I mean from the get-go, always. But it was a place she knew. It was part of her experience. She felt that she really had a handle on that from the beginning.

Q Is there any one situation that you can describe where she has actually changed your mind or convinced you to do something that you were not originally inclined to do?

THE PRESIDENT: I'd have to think about that. What I can say is that I think that both in the case of our Bosnia policy and our Haiti policy, while she was not alone in urging a forceful course, she was out there early. And I think that, you know, you never know how the chemistry works in a given team, and what would happen if you took one element out of it. And we've worked very hard to build kind of a coherent team approach to this, which I think is important, where we all try to work together and reinforce one another. And they really try to bring me, in the end, consensus decisions. Sometimes it doesn't happen and I just have to make the call.

But I would say that her -- she was doggedly persistent in this Bosnia thing from the get-go, from the beginning. And she pushed and she pushed and she pushed and she pushed, in an entirely appropriate way -- understanding always the pressures that we were under when our NATO allies were reluctant, understanding all the problems we had with the UN, understanding everything. She was always out there and that made a big difference to me.

There may be one or two things that -- I'd like to go back and think about it. If I think of anything in the next day or so, I'll call you back.

Q That would be great.

THE PRESIDENT: Because I just haven't had time to think about that.

Q Okay. That would be great. I'm told that you were at the Army-Navy Club when you made the final decision to choose her; you'd gone out there to play golf by yourself, it was sunset.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q Was there one moment when you made the decision to choose her, or was there one thing you said, okay, I'm going to go with it?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, finally I said, you know, I'm just going to go with my instincts on this. I just had -- you know, I had considered three or four people who I thought were just of breathtaking ability and impeccable character and judgment. And I realized that some people would consider it a little bit of a reach. It was very interesting. It's not worth going back into now, the advice I got, who I got it from and all.

But the people who thought I ought to name Madeleine all said the same thing, you know, she's tough and she's independent; but she's also loyal and she thinks like you do -- and besides that, she can really speak in ways that ordinary people can understand, she can make this interesting to Americans, and she can -- if anyone can -- make America understandable to other countries. And if you look at the way she relates to Jesse Helms, for example, it's

Q It's amazing.

THE PRESIDENT: It's been a great boon.

Q You don't see Dick Holbrooke relating that way? (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: Actually, I think old Dick has done pretty well.

Q He may have.

THE PRESIDENT: I think he would have done pretty well on the Hill.

Q Yes. When you came back to the White House and you called Panetta from the Christmas party, what did you say to him?

THE PRESIDENT: What do you mean? When I told him I was going to pick her?

Q Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: I think just that I decided to pick her.

Q I mean, it's Madeleine?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, you know, I told him and I told --I told Hillary and Al and Leon.

Q Who did you tell first?

THE PRESIDENT: I can't remember. I might have told Hillary first -- Hillary or the Vice President, probably. And then I told Leon. Then I just had -- I told them I was going to go off and just do what I thought was right, that this was not a mathematical decision. A lot of big decisions in life, you have to get all the information you can and then make it on instinct.

Q Right. That's right. Well, my last question, as always, is there something that you want to say that I haven't asked you? A point that you'd like to make?

THE PRESIDENT: No, just that I think -- the one thing that I think is all of us are the product of our whole lives. And I think that she is uniquely qualified at this moment in our history because of her life story. Because I think in some ways her life story -- it so closely mirrors so many of the great dramas of the 20th century and what her people went through. It embodies so many of the lessons that we all need to learn. I think it's --

Q You don't know half of it.

THE PRESIDENT: What do you mean?

Q It's just fascinating.

THE PRESIDENT: It's amazing, isn't it?

Q Yes. I mean, I've spent a year on it. Even she didn't know some of the details of their escapes and things. It's fascinating.

THE PRESIDENT: And I think, you know, it does something to you. It teaches you lessons you that you can't learn otherwise.

Q Yes, it does.

THE PRESIDENT: And in ways that, maybe, you're not even aware of.

Q Yes, it's true. Well, I thank you for selecting her because you've given me a terrific year of looking into her life. It's been very exciting, and it's a model for all of us.

THE PRESIDENT: She's an interesting woman.

Q She is.

THE PRESIDENT: And she's a good person.

Q Yes, she is. Well, I thank you very much, Mr. President. I appreciate it.
Bye now

THE PRESIDENT: Bye-bye.

END

3:48 P.M. EST

Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 3/4/98 8:50:08 PM
FROM Butler, Lawrence E.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT please go to final [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Maxfield, Nancy H.

CARBON_COPY

TEXT_BODY

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT

1231Helmsletter.doc

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I appreciated your letter of February 19 on the Northern Ireland peace process.

It was an important affirmation of the Mitchell Principles of non-violence governing the peace process when both UDP and Sinn Fein were suspended from the talks following recent killings.

As you are aware, the UDP has been readmitted and the Irish and British governments have indicated that Sinn Fein can be back in the talks as early as March 9.

The Secretary of State is closely following the situation and continues to have the IRA's designation as a foreign terrorist organization under review.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Jesse Helms
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-6225

2

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT 1231HelmsSRBmemo.doc

March 4, 1998

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER

FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER

SUBJECT: Presidential correspondence -- letter to Senator Helms on
the Northern
Ireland peace process

Senator Helms wrote the President calling on him to support expelling
Sinn Fein
from the talks and designating the IRA and Sinn Fein as foreign
terrorist
organizations due to the two killings of protestants.

Your memorandum to the President covering a letter for his signature
is at Tab I.

Concurrence by: James Baker, Mara Rudman

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab I.

Attachment
Tab I Memorandum to the President
Tab A Letter to Senator Helms
Tab B Incoming correspondence

1

1231

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT 1231POTUSmemo.doc

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER
LARRY STEIN

SUBJECT: Northern Ireland peace process: letter to Senator Helms

Purpose

To respond to a letter from Senator Helms on the Northern Ireland peace process.

Background

Senator Helms wrote you a thoughtful letter on February 19 regarding the expulsion of both the UDP and Sinn Fein from the Northern Ireland peace talks in response to the recent killings of Catholics and Protestants. Subsequent to his letter, Sinn Fein was expelled and UDP's period of suspension ended last week. Senator Helms, referring to your letter to him last November, calls on you to designate the IRA and Sinn Fein as foreign terrorist organizations in response to the IRA's breach of the cease-fire.

In your November letter, you wrote that Secretary Albright had taken:

"note of the July 19, 1997, announcement by the IRA of an unequivocal ceasefire,

as well as the subsequent decision by the British government that the ceasefire was "genuine in word and deed," permitting Sinn Fein to join the inclusive, all-party talks in Belfast. Under these circumstances, Secretary Albright continues to review the IRA. Obviously, any resumption of violence by the IRA would have a direct impact on the ongoing review. Secretary Albright, in consultation with the Attorney General and the Secretary of the Treasury, can and will designate more organizations as foreign terrorist organizations if their actions warrant designation."

In your reply, at Tab A, you emphasize that UDP's and Sinn Fein's expulsion from, and prospect of return to the talks, represented an affirmation of the Mitchell Principles of non-violence. In the context of the twin cease-fires holding and the parties committed to the talks process, the Secretary of State continues to review the IRA, and can, if necessary, designate additional entities as foreign terrorist organizations if so warranted.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab A.

Attachment
Tab A Letter to Senator Helms
Tab B Incoming correspondence

2

1231

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 3/6/98 12:42:54 PM
FROM Cooper, Kathleen H.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT Iraq Letters - Part II [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Rudman, Mara E.
 Abercrombie-Winstanley, Gina K.
 Burrell, Christina L.
 Farrar, Jay C.
 Hill, Roseanne M.
 Rudman, Mara E.

CARBON_COPY Amiri, Rukhsana N.
 Cooper, Kathleen H.
 Countryman, Thomas M.
 Deutsch, Robert S.
 Greer, Jason H.
 Marty, Joseph H.
 Riedel, Bruce O.
 Ryu, Rexon Y.
 Todd, Gwenyth E.

TEXT_BODY Mara -- This is a letter from Sen. Helms.

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT 0986bc.doc

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER
 LARRY STEIN

SUBJECT: Your Reply to Senator Helms on Iraq

Purpose

Reply to Senator Jesse Helms.

Background

Senator Helms wrote to support any military action that you may take against Saddam Hussein. He advises that, "Only effective and decisive measures, designed to do more than return the world to the 'status quo ante,' will really protect the security of the free world."

Your reply thanks Senator Helms for his support. You outline your hope that the recent agreement guarantees full, unfettered access for UNSCOM inspectors but states that you are willing to resort to the use of substantial force if necessary.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Letter to Senator Helms

Tab B Incoming correspondence

2

0986

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Thank you for your letter on the crisis in Iraq. I very much appreciate your support as we continue our efforts against Saddam Hussein.

Saddam Hussein has consistently demonstrated his intent to acquire weapons of mass destruction and his willingness to use them. I agree with you that his aggressive pursuit of these weapons poses an unacceptable risk to his people, the region and the international community. I believe that the most effective solution is full and unfettered access for UNSCOM inspectors; despite seven years of Iraqi deception, their record is remarkable.

I hope the recent agreement between Iraq and U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan has achieved Iraq's commitment to give U.N. weapons inspectors immediate, unrestricted, and unconditional access to all suspect Iraqi sites. If it is fully implemented, all of Iraq will be open to U.N. inspections, including many sites previously declared off limits. We will be watching very closely -- to ensure not just Iraqi commitments, but Iraqi compliance.

I have made clear that his efforts to thwart the UNSCOM inspections regime twice in the past four months are a very serious matter. As the UNSC recently reaffirmed, Iraq will face the "severest consequences" should it fail to comply with the UNSC resolutions for a third time. We are prepared to use substantial military force to significantly diminish the threat posed by Iraq's weapons of mass destruction and its capacity to threaten its neighbors.

Thank you again for your support of our efforts.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Jesse Helms
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

2

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT 0986sb.doc

March 6, 1998

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL BERGER

THROUGH: BRUCE RIEDEL

FROM: REXON RYU

SUBJECT: POTUS Reply to Senator Helms on Military Action
against Iraq

Senator Helms wrote to support any military action that the President
may take
against Saddam Hussein. He urges the President to take decisive
military action
to substantially eliminate his programs to develop and deliver
weapons of mass
destruction and to weaken his regime.

Concurrence by: Mara Rudman

RECOMMENDATION

That you forward the memorandum at Tab I to the President.

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the President

Tab A POTUS reply to Senator Helms

Tab B Incoming correspondence

2

Redo 0986

Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 3/10/98 1:49:49 PM
FROM Farrar, Jay C.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT FW: For Clearance: Two POTUS replies to Congressional letters on Iraq
[UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Ryu, Rexion Y.
CARBON_COPY
TEXT_BODY Rexion,

Forwarding because I don't think a reply E-mail carries the changes.

-----Original Message-----

From: Ryu, Rexion Y.
Sent: Wednesday, February 18, 1998 9:26 AM
To: Rudman, Mara E.
Cc: @NESASIA - NE/South Asia; @LEGISLAT - Legislative Affairs
Subject: For Clearance: Two POTUS replies to Congressional letters on Iraq [UNCLASSIFIED]

988
- Letter Rep. Dellums
986 - Letter to Senator Helms

Both on Iraq.

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT

0986bc.doc

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

**FROM: SAMUEL BERGER
LARRY STEIN**

SUBJECT: Your Reply to Senator Helms on Military Action against Iraq

Purpose

Reply to a letter from Senator Helms.

Background

Senator Helms wrote to support any military action that you may take against Saddam Hussein. He urges you to target Saddam's weapons of mass destruction and other key military and political sites whose destruction would weaken his regime.

Your reply thanks the Senator for his support. You outline your continued hope for a genuine diplomatic solutions but state that you are willing to resort to the use of substantial force if necessary. You note that the goals of such force would be to substantially diminish Saddam's ability to develop and deliver weapons of mass destruction and to threaten his neighbors. Finally, you note the our primary goal throughout the confrontation has been full Iraqi compliance with all relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Letter to Senator Helms
Tab B Incoming correspondence

2

0986

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT 0986ltr.doc

Dear Senator Helms:

Thank you for your letter on the current crisis in Iraq. I appreciate your letter of support as we continue our efforts against Saddam Hussein.

Saddam Hussein's actions have consistently demonstrated his intent to acquire weapons of mass destruction and his willingness to use them. I agree with you that his aggressive pursuit of these weapons poses an unacceptable risk to Iraq's neighbors as well as the international community. I believe the most effective solution is full and unfettered access for UNSCOM inspectors; despite seven years of Iraqi deception, the record of the inspection regime is remarkable.

While I have consistently stated my preference for a genuine diplomatic settlement -- full Iraqi compliance with all United Nations Security Council (UNSC) resolutions, a robust inspection regime, and complete access for UNSCOM inspectors -- I remain willing to use substantial military force, if necessary, to significantly diminish the threat posed by Iraq's weapons of mass destruction and its capacity to threaten its neighbors.

While we work with world leaders to find a diplomatic solution, I will continue

to prepare for a substantial military strike if all diplomatic efforts are exhausted. I know you understand that I cannot discuss operational plans in advance of initiating any military option.

Thank you, again, for your letter of support.

Sincerely,

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

2

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT 0988bc.doc

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

**FROM: SAMUEL BERGER
LARRY STEIN**

SUBJECT: Your Reply to Representative Ron Dellums

Purpose

Reply to a farewell letter from Representative Dellums.

Background

Writing this letter on his last day in office, Representative Dellums wishes you good luck and expresses his hope that you will find a peaceful solution to the crisis in Iraq. He argues that we would be going to war over the composition of the inspection teams and that any military action will inevitably hurt

the Iraqi
people.

Your response bids the Representative farewell and acknowledges his tenure as a respected member of the House of Representatives. On Iraq, you note that you share Dellums' concern about the threat Saddam poses as well as his compassion for the Iraqi people. You express your determination to obtain full Iraqi compliance with UN resolutions and your hope that a diplomatic solution can accomplish as much. You also note your efforts to promote the oil-for-food program as a vehicle to address the needs of the Iraqi people.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Letter to Representative Dellums

Tab B Incoming correspondence

2

0988

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT 0988ltr.doc

Dear Ron:

I read your letter with sadness, knowing that the House of

Representative is
losing a lawmaker of stature and dignity.

Your presence in the House will be missed. Your fairness and dedication to your constituents, to Congress and to the nation rightfully earned you the respect of many, both Democrat and Republican. As always, your final thoughts reflect the concern and compassion that have been evident throughout your tenure.

I understand the concerns you have expressed on Iraq. We share a common concern about the threat that Saddam Hussein's weapons of mass destruction pose; neither you nor I has a quarrel with the Iraqi people. I have worked hard to promote the oil-for-food program, hoping that humanitarian assistance reaches the Iraqi people. But for several years Saddam Hussein adamantly refused these overtures; he has consistently devoted millions of dollars toward building weapons of mass destruction.

I prefer a genuine peaceful solution. But we cannot allow Saddam Hussein to develop weapons of mass destruction and the systems needed to deliver them. His obstruction of UNSCOM inspections, his efforts to evade sanctions, and his efforts to lie, deceive, and cheat demonstrate the need for international resolve. Saddam needs to understand, through diplomatic or other efforts, that he must comply with all United Nations Security Council resolutions.

Ron, I wish you the very best as you move into other endeavors. Success will follow you in whatever you do.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Ronald V. Dellums

Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 3/10/98 3:19:01 PM
FROM Farrar, Jay C.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT FW: Helms letter [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Ryu, Rexon Y.

CARBON_COPY

TEXT_BODY OK - minor changes - good to go!

-----Original Message-----

From: Ryu,
Rexon Y.
Sent: Tuesday, March 10, 1998 2:50 PM
To: Farrar, Jay
C.
Subject: Helms letter [UNCLASSIFIED]

Jay - the package on
which you concurred is OBE - here is the updated version of the letter,
for your concurrence. Thanks.

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT

0986bc.doc

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER
LARRY STEIN

SUBJECT: Your Reply to Senator Helms on Iraq

Purpose

Reply to Senator Jesse Helms.

Background

Senator Helms wrote to support any military action that you may take against Saddam Hussein. He advises that, "Only effective and decisive measures, designed to do more than return the world to the 'status quo ante,' will really protect the security of the free world."

Your reply thanks Senator Helms for his support. You outline your hope that the recent agreement guarantees full, unfettered access for UNSCOM inspectors but states that you are willing to resort to the use of substantial force if necessary.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Letter to Senator Helms

Tab B Incoming correspondence

2

0986

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

Dear Senator Helms:

Thank you for your letter on the current crisis in Iraq. I very much appreciate your support as we continue our efforts against Saddam Hussein.

Saddam Hussein has consistently demonstrated his intent and willingness to acquire and to use weapons of mass destruction. I agree with you that this poses an unacceptable risk to the Iraqi people, the region and the international community. I believe the most effective solution is immediate, unconditional access for UNSCOM inspectors; despite seven years of Iraqi deception, their record is remarkable.

I hope the recent agreement between Iraq and the U.N. Secretary General, Kofi Annan, has achieved Iraq's commitment to give U.N. weapons inspectors immediate, unconditional access to all suspect Iraqi sites. If it is fully implemented, all of Iraq will be open to U.N. inspections, including many sites previously declared off limits. We will be watching both Iraqi commitments and Iraqi compliance very closely.

I have made clear that Saddam's efforts to thwart the UNSCOM inspections regime twice in the past four months are a very serious matter. As the U.N. Security Council recently reaffirmed, Iraq will face the "severest consequences" should it fail to comply with the UNSC resolutions. We are prepared to use substantial military force to significantly diminish the threat posed by Iraq's weapons of mass destruction and its capacity to threaten its neighbors.

Thank you, again, for your letter of support.

Sincerely,

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

2

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT 0986sb.doc

March 6, 1998

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL BERGER

THROUGH: BRUCE RIEDEL

FROM: REXON RYU

SUBJECT: POTUS Reply to Senator Helms on Military Action
against Iraq

Senator Helms wrote to support any military action that the President
may take
against Saddam Hussein. He urges the President to take decisive
military action
to substantially eliminate his programs to develop and deliver
weapons of mass
destruction and to weaken his regime.

Concurrence by: Mara Rudman

RECOMMENDATION

That you forward the memorandum at Tab I to the President.

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the President

Tab A POTUS reply to Senator Helms

Tab B Incoming correspondence

2

Redo 0986

Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 3/23/98 8:21:40 AM
FROM Hurwitz, Marc I.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT #1231 Helms and Ireland [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Butler, Lawrence E.

CARBON_COPY
TEXT_BODY Larry: DLK asks if response is still current. If so, he'll sign out for SRB. Attached is latest version. Thanks.

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT 1231Helmsletter.doc

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Thank you for your letter on the Northern Ireland peace process. It was an important affirmation of the Mitchell Principles of non-violence governing the peace process when both UDP and Sinn Fein were suspended from the talks following recent killings. In our public comments, my Administration supported both decisions by the British and Irish governments.

As you are aware, the UDP has been readmitted and Sinn Fein was eligible to return to the talks on March 9.

The Secretary of State is closely following the situation and continues to keep the IRA's designation as a foreign terrorist organization under review.

Thank you for sharing with me your concerns on this important matter.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Jesse Helms
Chairman
Committee on Foreign Relations
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-6225

2

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT 1231POTUSmemo.doc

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER
LARRY STEIN

SUBJECT: Letter to Senator Helms on Northern Ireland Peace
Process

Purpose

To respond to a letter from Senator Helms on the Northern Ireland
peace process.

Background

Senator Helms wrote you regarding the expulsion of both the UDP
and Sinn Fein
from the Northern Ireland peace talks in response to the recent killings
of
Catholics and Protestants. Subsequent to his letter, Sinn Fein was
expelled and
UDP's period of suspension ended last week. Senator Helms, referring
to your
letter to him last November, calls on you to designate the IRA and

Sinn Fein as
foreign terrorist organizations in response to the IRA's breach of the
cease-fire.

In your November letter, you wrote that Madeleine had taken "note of
the July 19,
1997, announcement by the IRA of an unequivocal cease-fire, as well
as the
subsequent decision by the British government that the cease-fire was
'genuine in
word and deed,' permitting Sinn Fein to join the inclusive, all-party
talks in
Belfast. Under these circumstances, Secretary Albright continues to
review the
IRA. Obviously, any resumption of violence by the IRA would have a
direct impact
on the ongoing review. Secretary Albright, in consultation with the
Attorney
General and the Secretary of the Treasury, can and will designate
more
organizations as foreign terrorist organizations if their actions warrant
designation."

Your reply to Helms emphasizes that UDP's and Sinn Fein's expulsion
from, and
prospect of return to, the talks represented an affirmation of the
Mitchell
Principles of non-violence. In the context of the twin cease-fires
holding and
the parties remaining committed to the talks process, the Secretary of
State
continues to review the IRA, and can, if necessary, designate
additional entities
as foreign terrorist organizations if so warranted.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Letter to Senator Helms
Tab B Incoming correspondence

2

2

1231

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 3/23/98 2:55:10 PM
FROM Abercrombie-Winstanley, Gina K.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT FW: #1231 Helms and Ireland [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Butler, Lawrence E.

CARBON_COPY Abercrombie-Winstanley, Gina K.
Burrell, Christina L.
Farrar, Jay C.
Rudman, Mara E.

TEXT_BODY If it's gone, it's gone, but It looked to me like another sentence was needed in the letter. I gave an example although I know you've got something better.

-----Original Message-----

From: Butler,
Lawrence E.
Sent: Monday, March 23, 1998 8:38 AM
To: Hurwitz,
Marc I.
Cc: @LEGISLAT - Legislative Affairs; Bandler, Donald K.
Subject: FW:
#1231 Helms and Ireland [UNCLASSIFIED]

made some changes (Sinn
Fein finally back in the talks today.)

-----Original Message-----

From: Hurwitz,
Marc I.
Sent: Monday, March 23, 1998 8:22 AM
To: Butler, Lawrence
E.
Subject: #1231 Helms and Ireland [UNCLASSIFIED]

Larry: DLK
asks if response is still current. If so, he'll sign out for SRB.
Attached is latest version. Thanks.

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT

1231Helmsletter.doc

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Thank you for your letter on the Northern Ireland peace process. (It feels as if there is a sentence missing here. Something like I share your concern that the process shouldn't be tainted with terrorism, or whatever, to establish a bond. Then the next sentence follows as excellent support for why the IRA and Sinn Fein don't need further punishment.) It was an important affirmation of the Mitchell Principles of non-violence governing the peace process when both UDP and Sinn Fein were suspended from the talks following recent killings. In our public comments, my Administration supported both decisions by the British and Irish governments.

As you are aware, both the UDP and Sinn Fein were ruled eligible to rejoin the talks and did so.

The Secretary of State is closely following the situation and continues to keep the IRA's designation as a foreign terrorist organization under review.

Thank you for sharing with me your concerns on this important matter.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Jesse Helms
Chairman
Committee on Foreign Relations
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-6225

2

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT 1231POTUSmemo.doc

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER
LARRY STEIN

SUBJECT: Letter to Senator Helms on Northern Ireland Peace Process

Purpose

To respond to a letter from Senator Helms on the Northern Ireland peace process.

Background

Senator Helms wrote you regarding the expulsion of both the UDP and Sinn Fein from the Northern Ireland peace talks in response to the recent killings of Catholics and Protestants. Subsequent to his letter, Sinn Fein was expelled, and reentered the talks March 23, and UDP's period of suspension ended several weeks earlier. Senator Helms, referring to your letter to him last November, calls on you to designate the IRA and Sinn Fein as foreign terrorist organizations in response to the IRA's breach of the cease-fire.

In your November letter, you wrote that Madeleine had taken "note of the July 19, 1997, announcement by the IRA of an unequivocal cease-fire, as well as the subsequent decision by the British government that the cease-fire was 'genuine in word and deed,' permitting Sinn Fein to join the inclusive, all-party

talks in
Belfast. Under these circumstances, Secretary Albright continues to
review the
(actions? performance?) of the IRA. Obviously, any resumption of
violence by the
IRA would have a direct impact on the ongoing review. Secretary
Albright, in
consultation with the Attorney General and the Secretary of the
Treasury, can and
will designate more organizations as foreign terrorist organizations if
their
actions warrant designation."

Your reply to Helms emphasizes that UDP's and Sinn Fein's expulsion
from, and
return to, the talks represented an affirmation of the Mitchell
Principles of
non-violence. In the context of the twin cease-fires holding and the
parties
remaining committed to the talks process, the Secretary of State
continues to
review the IRA, and can, if necessary, designate additional entities as
foreign
terrorist organizations if so warranted.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Letter to Senator Helms

Tab B Incoming correspondence

2

2

1231

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 4/1/98 8:02:20 AM

FROM Bell, Robert G.

CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED

SUBJECT Debate on the Comprehensive Test Ban (CTB) Treaty
[UNCLASSIFIED]

TO Andreassen, Steven P.
Bell, Robert G.
Bouchard, Joseph F.
Kelly, Sandra L.
Langley, Janice M.
Mulligan, George D.
Seaton, James B.
Witkowski, Anne A.
Bandler, Donald K.
Bendick, Gordon L.
Braden, Susan R.
Brown, Keirn C.
Butler, Lawrence E.
Covey, James P.
Dowling, John N. (Nick)
Flanagan, Stephen J.
Marshall, Betty A.
Maxfield, Nancy H.
McEldowney, Nancy E.
Quinn, Mary E.
Sapiro, Miriam E.
Baldwin, Kenneth
Benjamin, Daniel
Bobbitt, Philip C.
Clarke, Richard A.
Dollar, Carolyn J.
Fung, Mark T.
Gordon-Hagerty, Lisa E.
Hawley, Leonard R.
Klein, Brian P.
McCarthy, Mary O.
Metzl, Jamie F.
Mulligan, George D.
Rosa, Frederick M.
Roundtree, Beverly
Schwartz, Eric P.
Simon, Steven N.
Wechsler, William F.
Abercrombie-Winstanley, Gina K.

Burrell, Christina L.
Farrar, Jay C.
Rudman, Mara E.
Amiri, Rukhsana N.
Cooper, Kathleen H.
Countryman, Thomas M.
Greer, Jason H.
Marty, Joseph H.
Riedel, Bruce O.
Ryu, Rexon Y.
Todd, Gwentyth E.
Caravelli, John M.
Edwards, Joan K.
Harris, Elisa D.
Samore, Gary S.
Tucker, Maureen E.
Behring, Deanna M.
Epstein, Gerald L.
Jones, Kerri-Ann D.
Kiernan, Gerald P.
MacDonald, Bruce W.
Rinaldi, Steven M.
Ward, JoAnn
Benjamin, Daniel
Blinken, Antony J.
Gobush, Matthew N.
Gray, Wendy E.
Halperin, David E.
Hill, Roseanne M.
LaFleur, Vinca S.
Leavy, David C.
Widmer, Edward L.
Crowley, Philip J.
Dehqanzada, Yahya A.
Luzzatto, Anne R.
Rubin, Eric S.
Wozniak, Natalie S.
Barnett, Cheryl E.
Caravelli, John M.
Cohen, Julie E.
Courtney, William H.
Fooks, Michael D.
Fort, Jane B.
Pascual, Carlos E.
Silva, Mary Ann T.
Benjamin, Daniel
Blinken, Antony J.
Gobush, Matthew N.
Gray, Wendy E.
Halperin, David E.

Hill, Roseanne M.
LaFleur, Vinca S.
Leavy, David C.
Widmer, Edward L.
Babcock, Douglas W.
Bolan, Christopher J.
Boulton, Darrien D.
Davidson, Leslie K.
Elkind, Jonathan H.
Evans, Peter O.
Fuerth, Leon S.
Hamel, Michael A.
Harding, Bruce D.
Hilty, Joanne M.
Jordan, Donald L.
Norris, John J.
Orfini, Michael H.
Roberts, Michael W.
Saunders, Richard M.
Woolston, Ann E.

CARBON_COPY

Bartlett, L. June
Davies, Glyn T.
Dejban, Donna D.
Friedrich, Mary K.
Helweg, M. Diana
Hilliard, Brenda I.
Hurwitz, Marc I.
Joshi, M. Kay
Kale, Dora A.
Kerrick, Donald L.
Malley, Robert
Millison, Cathy L.
Poole, Jennifer C.
Rice, Edward A.
Scott-Perez, Marilyn L.
Storey, Sharon V.

TEXT_BODY

Text of my opening statement "pro" CTB in CATO-sponsored debate yesterday with Helms' staffer Marshall Billingslea ("con").

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT

CFRdebate.doc
Debate on the Comprehensive Test Ban (CTB) Treaty
CATO Institute
Washington, D.C.

March 31, 1998

Opening Statement
by
Robert G. Bell
Special Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs

I would like to begin this important debate on the CTB by reading four very relevant statements.

The first is a statement issued by four former Chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff on January 27th:

On September 22, 1997, President Clinton submitted the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban (CTB) Treaty to the United States Senate for its advice and consent, together with six Safeguards that define the conditions under which the United States will enter into this Treaty. These Safeguards will strengthen our commitments in the areas of intelligence, monitoring and verification, stockpile stewardship, maintenance of our nuclear laboratories, and test readiness. They also specify the circumstances under which the President would be prepared, in consultation with Congress, to exercise our supreme national interest rights under the CTB to conduct necessary testing if the safety or reliability of our nuclear deterrent could no longer be certified. With the Safeguards, we support Senate approval of the CTB Treaty.

The second is a statement made in person to the President by the Directors of our three national nuclear weapons laboratories (Lawrence Livermore, Los Alamos and Sandia) on February 3rd:

We are confident that the Stockpile Stewardship program will enable us to maintain America's nuclear deterrent without nuclear testing. The third statement is the most recent annual certification on our

nuclear
weapons inventory by the Secretaries of Defense and Energy, which
the President
forwarded to Congress on February 12th:

We have thoroughly reviewed the safety and reliability of the
stockpile under the
Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. The nuclear stockpile has no safety
or
reliability concerns that require underground testing at this time.
Problems
that have arisen in the stockpile are being addressed and resolved
without
underground nuclear testing to ensure the stockpile remains safe and
reliable.
In reaching this conclusion, we have obtained the advice of the
Directors of the
National Weapons Laboratories, the Commander in Chief, United
States Strategic
Command, and the Nuclear Weapons Council.

Last, but not least, is the statement by the President of the United
States in
his letter transmitting the Treaty to the Senate last fall:

I believe that the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty is in the
best interests
of the United States. Its provisions will significantly further our
nuclear
nonproliferation and arms control objectives and strengthen
international
security.

In sum, these four statements reflect the strong, bipartisan views
supportive of
this historic treaty of the following U.S. military and civilian leaders:

General Colin Powell
General John Shalikashvili
Admiral William Crowe
General David Jones
Dr. Bruce Tarter
Dr. John Browne
Ambassador Paul Robinson
Secretary Bill Cohen
Secretary Frederico Pena
President William Jefferson Clinton

I could, of course, cite additional endorsements by prominent
officials,

individuals, and organizations, as well as states allied to the United States.

These would include:

- * All six of the current Joint Chiefs of Staff;
- * The American Association for the Advancement of Science;
- * the United Kingdom and France, both of which plan to deposit their instruments of ratification at the United Nations on Monday; and
- * 70% of the American public, according to a recent national poll by the Mellman Group.

However, my time is limited in this opening statement, so I will shift from citing endorsements of the treaty or statements in its support and instead focus on four other, quite different, statements about the CTB - statements made by Dr. Barker during his testimony last fall before a Senate subcommittee:

1. Sustained nuclear testing, with no less than six tests per year, is the only demonstrated way of maintaining a safe and reliable nuclear deterrent.
2. Deterrence of attacks with weapons of mass destruction ... would be enhanced by the addition of new nuclear capabilities to the U.S. nuclear arsenal. Nuclear testing is needed to meet new requirements.
3. Lest it be thought that I support contentions that this treaty would inhibit proliferation in any way, let me set the record straight... the CTB will add to proliferation.
4. I see no benefits to U.S. ratification of the CTB, and terrible costs.

Obviously, the Administration fundamentally disagrees with each of those four assessments.

1. Do we need to conduct six tests every year - as Bob Barker claims - to demonstrate that our nuclear stockpile is safe and reliable?

The answer is "no". In an August 1995 report issued by the highly respected JASONs organization, a prestigious group of nuclear designers and

physicists
concluded that:

The United States can, today, have high confidence in the safety, reliability, and performance margins of the nuclear weapons that are designated to remain in the enduring stockpile. This confidence is based on understanding based on 50 years of experience and analysis of more than 1000 nuclear tests, including the results of approximately 150 nuclear tests of modern weapons types in the past 20 years.

Moreover, this report also concluded that:

For the weapon types planned to remain in the enduring stockpile, we find that the device problems which occurred in the past, and which either relied on or required, nuclear yield tests to resolve, were primarily the result of incomplete or inadequate design activities. In part, these were due to the more limited knowledge and computational capabilities of a decade, or more, ago. We are persuaded that those problems have been corrected and that the weapons types in the enduring stockpile are safe and reliable in the context of explicit military requirements.

2. Do we need - as Bob Barker claims -- to conduct nuclear tests because we have or will have new military requirements for new types of nuclear weapons, for example, a new weapon to use in retaliation against CW or BW attacks?

The answer is "no". I would note that the Bush Administration in July 1992 recognized that because of the dramatic changes in the international security environment, the only purpose that nuclear weapons testing could possibly serve would be to evaluate and improve safety or maintain reliability. In short, the Bush Administration concluded that there was no military requirement for new

nuclear weapons types and hence no requirement for nuclear testing to validate new designs. Moreover, as this Administration demonstrated with the development and deployment of the B-61/Mod 11 nuclear gravity bomb, we are fully capable of taking an existing nuclear physics packages and putting it in a redesigned container while certifying that we retain high confidence in its safety and reliability.

3. Will CTB add to proliferation, as Bob Barker maintains?

Again, the answer is "no". With regard to so-called "vertical proliferation," the CTB's prohibition on nuclear explosive testing will have the practical effect of constraining the declared nuclear weapons states from developing with high confidence more advanced and more dangerous weapons. With regard to "horizontal proliferation," even if rogue states or other nuclear wannabes were able to assemble sufficient nuclear material to produce a simple fission weapon without nuclear testing, the CTB would force them to place confidence in an untested design - which their military leaders might find unacceptable - as well as constrain any further improvement in nuclear weapons design.

4. Will - as Bob Barker claims -- the CTB bring no benefits?

Here, too, the answer is "no". In addition to the gains for our vertical and horizontal nuclear non-proliferation goals that I have already mentioned, I would emphasize that the CTB will improve the Intelligence Community's ability to detect and deter nuclear explosive testing. Detecting, identifying, and attributing nuclear explosive testing will remain a high national security priority with or without the treaty. However, with the CTB we gain the treaty's global network of seismic, hydroacoustic, radionuclide, and infrasound sensors that will aid America's national capabilities to monitor nuclear explosive testing across the globe, as well as deter any nation from believing it

can
conduct a nuclear explosive test undetected by the international
community. With
the CTB in force, the United States will gain a new tool to assess
compliance
with a ban on nuclear testing: the ability to request a short-notice, on-
site
inspection of a suspicious event.

There is, however, one other statement that Dr. Barker made in his
testimony
that I do give him great credit for making, because I believe it is a
reality
which could otherwise be overlooked in the debate over the treaty. In
concluding
his testimony, Dr. Barker said:

Even with no CTBT we pay the costs unless we are ready, able, and
willing to
conduct the nuclear tests that will maintain the nuclear deterrent
component of
our national security posture.

Dr. Barker reminds us that if the CTB should be delayed or defeated,
the
"default position" is not an immediate return to U.S. underground
testing.
Rather, the default position is a continued statutory prohibition on
testing in
accordance with the "Hatfield-Exon-Mitchell" legislation President
Bush signed
into law in 1992.

As a result, those who favor a resumption of U.S. nuclear testing
would need to
go well beyond rejecting the CTB. They would need to urge the
Congress also to
do the following:

1. Repeal the Hatfield-Exon-Mitchell statute;
2. Authorize and appropriate funding for a resumption of U.S. nuclear
testing;
3. Withhold critical comment as Russia, China and perhaps others
announce that
the American scuttling of CTB has led them to renounce their own
moratoria;
4. Ignore sharp criticism from our friends and allies around the world;
5. Stonewall, for whatever period it would take before a U.S. test
could
actually be conducted, the threat of many nations in the developing

world to take
the Non-Proliferation Treaty hostage at the Review Conference in the
year 2000
and to block progress on our non-proliferation agenda across the
board in other
multilateral fora.

I believe that would be a very reckless course indeed. I suspect that
most
Americans would think that a very unwise course. And I am confident
that at
least a two-thirds majority of the United States Senate will reject that
approach, and instead approve this crucial treaty.

Let me close by addressing one final statement - that is a statement by
the man
whom the other participant taking the "con" position in this debate
works for:
Senator Jesse Helms, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations
Committee. I
respect Senator Helms. Indeed, I worked for him for four years on the
Republican
Majority Staff throughout President Reagan's first term. Some would
say that
Marshall Billingslea, who joins Bob Barker in talking the "con"
argument in this
debate, now occupies the "Bob Bell Memorial Chair" on the
Committee.

However, I believe Senator Helms was simply wrong when, in a
January 21st letter
to the President he said that the CTB was a "low priority". We believe
ratification of the CTB is a high priority and that the Committee
should turn its
attention to it once the Senate has completed action next month on the
NATO
Enlargement Protocol - also a high priority foreign policy agenda item
for the
President and the Alliance, and one for which we are very
appreciative of
Chairman Helms' strong support and counsel.

President Clinton emphasized in his reply to the Chairman that he
thinks it is
essential that the United States demonstrate leadership with regard to
the
crucial treaties and regimes that strengthen our global non-
proliferation system.
U.S. ratification of the Chemical Weapons Convention last year
facilitated

ratification by Russia, China, Pakistan and Iran. In the same way, early U.S. ratification of the CTB will encourage ratification by other states. Would the opponents of this treaty really prefer that Russia and China not ratify the treaty they have signed? Furthermore, ratification of the CTB by the vast majority of the world's states, led by the United States, will strengthen the international norm against nuclear testing, and thus help to deter nuclear tests by non-signatories. Would the opponents of this treaty really prefer to encourage non-signatories like India and Pakistan to test?

President Clinton is planning to travel to the sub-continent this fall. In his letter to Senator Helms, he stressed the importance that when he makes that trip he do so with U.S. ratification in hand. This we believe offers the best chance of changing Indian and Pakistani attitudes towards the treaty.

But what if India or Pakistan cannot be persuaded to sign? Does the treaty simply die or linger interminably in some sort of limbo? No, the Administration recognized this danger when it negotiated the CTB. That is why the treaty contains provisions, if necessary, to convene an extraordinary conference in September of next year to deal with this problem. However, if the United States has not ratified CTB we cannot call for the conference to be convened, vote to have convened or participate if it is convened.

We believe the United States should lead, not follow. We believe the United States Senate endorsed this fundamental principle in its votes last year on the CWC. And we believe that the Senate will act with the same wisdom and vision when it acts on the CTB this year.