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Bosnia/Iran Arms-Press Statements, April 1996

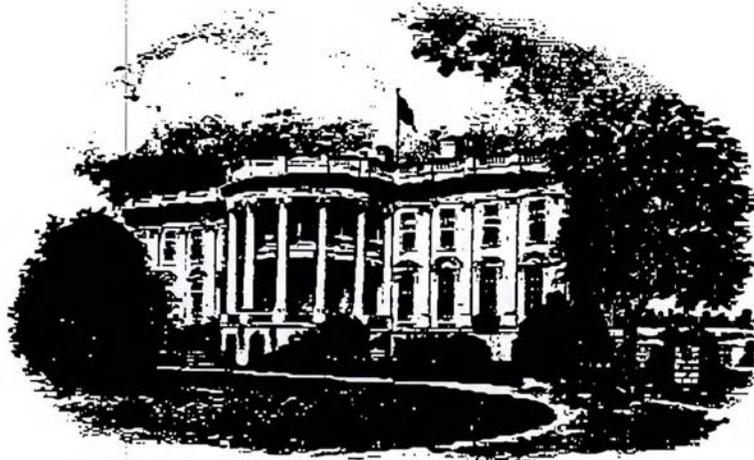
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WHITE HOUSE/NSC PRESS OFFICE

TO: NANCY SODERBERG

FAX: _____

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DATE: _____

TIME: _____

NUMBER OF PAGES TO FOLLOW: 1

COMMENTS: LAT PIECE -
PER YOUR
REQUEST

GOP Lawmakers Say Bosnia Arms Inquiries Rebuffed

By DOYLE McMANUS
and JAMES RISEN
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

WASHINGTON—Republican leaders in the House and Senate on Wednesday charged that the White House is trying to block inquiries into President Clinton's role in approving secret Iranian arms shipments to Bosnia, but said they are launching a major investigation into the issue anyway.

House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) accused the administration of trying to stop the congressional inquiries and added: "One of the things that almost never works is secrecy, particularly secrecy in the defense of dumbness." Gingrich and Senate Intelligence Committee chairman Arlen Specter (R-Pa.) complained that the White House has refused to give them a report on the Iranian arms decision by the Intelligence Oversight Board, which investigated the issue in 1994.

"They're now trying to stop the investigation," Gingrich complained.

White House officials confirmed that they have refused to hand over the report, which found that officials did not break the law when they gave a green light for the Iranian shipments to the Bosnian Muslims.

But an administration official said Wednesday night that the administration is nonetheless "actively trying to get documents and information to Congress. We are committed to getting them a complete understanding of what the U.S. policy was. We are not trying to keep information from Congress."

Turning over the document would raise grave concerns about a breach of confidentiality, the official said. "It is vitally

important that this president and future presidents be able to count on the frankness and candor they get from people like the chairman of the IOB. If we routinely turn materials like this over, we would soon find that the people on whom the president relies for candor are very self-conscious about where their remarks might later be heard. That is not in the public's interest."

Specter and others said they would continue to press for the report.

Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole (R-Kan.) said that the Senate Intelligence and Foreign Relations committees will hold separate hearings on the Iranian arms pipeline, which began in 1994 after Clinton sent word to the president of Croatia that he would not object to the flow of aid into neighboring Bosnia.

Clinton agreed to the Iranian arms shipments—even though the United States did not want the radical Islamic regime to expand its influence in Bosnia—because the Bosnian government needed the weapons and would probably ignore U.S. opposition to the shipments, aides said.

Dole, who is set to face Clinton in November's presidential election, said that an investigation was needed because the 1994 decision allowed Iran to send troops and intelligence officers into Bosnia.

"While we read and heard reports that Iran was smuggling arms to the Bosnians, we did not know the president and his advisors made a conscious decision to give a green light for Iran to provide arms," Dole said in a speech on the Senate floor. "Indeed, those of us who advocated lifting the arms embargo—Republicans and Democrats—argued that if America did

not provide Bosnia with assistance, Iran would be Bosnia's only option.

"This duplicitous policy has seriously damaged our credibility with our allies," Dole said. "It has also produced one of the most serious threats to our military forces in Bosnia and, according to the administration, the main obstacle to the 'arm and train' program for the Bosnians. I am talking about the presence of Iranian military forces and intelligence officials in Bosnia."

In addition to the Senate hearings, which have not yet been scheduled, the House International Affairs Committee plans to question Undersecretary of State Peter Tadjoff about the issue next week.

The administration official noted Wednesday that the White House has not yet invoked executive privilege in the case. Rather, the White House has made it clear that it is not willing to hand over the report and that it is subject to executive privilege. Only if Congress continues to demand the report will Clinton have to decide whether to invoke the privilege, the official said.

The GOP leaders appear intent on pursuing the issue partly because they had long urged Clinton to send U.S. weapons to Bosnia—only to be told that Britain and France objected to any arms flow—and partly because they are eager to remind voters that Clinton's Bosnia policy has not always looked as successful as it does today.

Dole said the Senate Intelligence Committee will investigate whether any U.S. officials engaged in improper covert actions as part of the decision, and the Foreign Relations Committee will look into the foreign policy consequences of the move.

The chairman of the Intelligence Oversight Board, Tony Harrington, briefed the Intelligence Committee on Tuesday but refused to testify under oath or to give the panel a copy of his report on the issue.

In its report, the oversight board was critical of the administration policy but decided that acceding to the arms shipments was not a "covert action" and did not violate any U.S. laws.

Without a copy of the report, the Senate Intelligence Committee is now in what one source described as a "discovery phase," trying to gather classified information from the Central Intelligence Agency and other agencies. So far, the committee has received about 1,500 pages of documents, primarily from the CIA, about the matter.

The documents are mostly finished intelligence reports, which provide background on what Congress and the White House had been told in 1994 about the existence of arms smuggling into Bosnia through Croatia. The committee has not been given access to the most sensitive CIA memos, cables and private messages among CIA officials who began to suspect in 1994 that the United States was somehow involved in Iranian arms shipments.

A Senate source said the intelligence committee is likely to ask Charles E. Redman, currently U.S. ambassador to Germany, and Peter Galbraith, U.S. ambassador to Croatia, to testify.

Both ambassadors told the president of Croatia in 1994 that they had "no instructions" to object to Iranian arms shipments, a diplomatic way of saying the United States would not actively oppose the operation.

leave re agency

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

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both over + exact

April 8, 1996

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MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

Natl Sec Advisor
has seen

THROUGH: NANCY SODERBERG
FROM: DAVID T. JOHNSON
SUBJECT: Iranian Arms Supply to Bosnians -- Public
Knowledge of These Activities and USG Comments on
the Allegations

Per Nancy's request, I asked the library to do a search on two subjects: First, apparent public knowledge of allegations concerning Iranian arms shipments to Bosnia through Croatia. And second, USG spokesmen's comments about these allegations.

Based on my search, it appears as though two things can be said with certainty:

First, the public and the Congress, through the press, was well aware of Iran's supply of arms to the Bosnians through Croatia beginning in June 1994. That information was reinforced from time to time, most effectively by the Post on April 15, 1995.

Second, I can find no instance in which a USG spokesman ever denied USG knowledge of these activities, although in at least one instance we came close.

First Reports

There appear to be three flurries of articles and corresponding questions to USG spokesmen. The first series of articles apparently appeared in The Washington Times, in June of 1994, penned by Bill Gertz. Gertz alleged that Iran was sending weapons to Bosnia, in violation of the UN embargo, through Croatia. Most of the questions were simply could we confirm or deny that this was taking place and did we have any comment on it.

Without exception, USG spokesmen declined to comment, saying that any information about such an activity would obviously come through intelligence channels, and that, as a matter of practice, we did not comment on alleged intelligence activities or on knowledge that might be gained through such channels. That was Christine Shelly's response on June 8; Kathleen DeLaski's response on June 28 and July 19; Dennis Boxx's (in his DoD

capacity) on August 16; and Christine Shelly's again on November 7.

Dole and Lift

A second flurry of comment came in January of 1995 that appeared to take a different perspective: the effect of Senator Dole's effort to unilaterally lift the arms embargo without any commitment of USG supply to the Bosnians. Mike McCurry, in his State Department capacity, told journalists on January 5, that "If you are lifting the arms embargo for the purpose of trying to get arms to the Muslims, to the Bosnian government, you do so, I think, with some moral responsibility to follow through on that and to engage in arming the warring party. Now the answer might be, well, gee, there are all these other people in the world who would be more than happy to arm the Muslims. So I would suggest that if it's Senator Dole's intent to allow Iran to aggressively arm and support the Bosnian Muslims, that's an interesting proposition, and we probably ought to debate it in some greater detail, I would imagine."

So far as I have yet been able to determine, Mike's comment occasioned no news coverage, although his transcript remains widely available through electronic retrieval systems. Similar remarks on June 8, 1995, however, did result in an AFP story. McCurry: "So I guess he [Dole] would prefer to see Iran establish a closer military relationship with the Bosnian Muslims."

Post Says Iran Supplies Arms to Bosnia With USG's "Tacit" Consent

On April 15, ⁹⁵ the Post published a story that started with the following sentence: "Iran has been supplying weapons to the Bosnian Moslems in violation of the arms embargo and with Washington's tacit consent." The story was sourced to unidentified senior USG officials. Virtually every wire service and large newspaper carried some version of this story. McCurry was quoted in the story that "It would not be surprising if it was discovered that they [the arms] had come from Iran."

Several stories contrasted McCurry's nonchalant attitude toward the allegations with Nick Burns's response: "We do not endorse violations of U.N. resolutions whatsoever . . . We are not violating those resolutions, and we don't endorse anyone else who's violating them." Burns repeated that sentiment when responding to a July 25, OIC resolution declaring the arms embargo "unjustified and illegal." Burns response: "We don't believe that other countries should violate existing U.N. resolutions."

Holbrooke's Statement

As part of Dick Holbrooke's swan song, he spoke to the National Press Club on January 31, 1996. As part of his Q/A, he told the audience: ". . . During the period of the arms embargo . . . the Bosnians turned to the Iranians for help. . . Everyone knew this. You all reported it. It was the only way they could survive. We're now in a different ballgame. And we think full compliance on this issue [withdrawal of foreign forces] is vitally important."

Saudi Financing for Iranian Arms Aid to Bosnia

The final apparent episode in this saga was a series of stories beginning with the Post in early February 1996 alleging that the Saudis had financed the Iranian arms aid program. In response to questions concerning those allegations, and whether we had encouraged the Saudis to provide support for Iran's efforts, I told at least one publication that "It's my understanding that we abided by the arms embargo in all of its aspects."

Attachment

Tab A Excerpts from articles and briefings concerning Iranian arms supplies to Bosnia

Delecker 7/19/94
 Call on all nations to fully respect UNSC resolutions regarding the arms embargo. Certainly US policy to respect UN's arms embargo is firmly.

5/2/95

Get answer on policy re. interdiction embargo

FOCUS - 111 OF 123 STORIES

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April 14, 1995, Friday, BC cycle

SECTION: Washington News

LENGTH: 79 words

HEADLINE: U.S. comments on Bosnian arms embargo

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, April 14

BODY:

Responding to a report that Iran is supplying arms to the Bosnian Muslim government, a White House spokesman says (Friday), 'It would be inaccurate to suggest that we look positively on any violation of an arms embargo in Bosnia.' While not acknowledging tacit approval of the arms supply, as reported in The Washington Post, Mike McCurry noted that the government was now in a better military position than it has been to defend itself against the Serbs.



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FOCUS - 1 OF 5 STORIES

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FDCH Political Transcripts

May 2, 1995, Tuesday

*Want me a
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asking him for
the rest of it*

TYPE: PRESS BRIEFING

LENGTH: 2844 words

HEADLINE: PENTAGON DAILY PRESS BRIEFING; PENTAGON; WASHINGTON, DC

SPEAKER:

Dennis Boxx, Briefer

BODY:

... Official yesterday, expert in the Iranian, verify that the Iranian Government, the Iranian Hezbollah, I think, but through government sponsorship, was responsible for many troubles in Algeria and, indeed, shipped weapons to--in violation of the embargo--to Bosnia had thought to very definitely to be involved in the explosion in Argentina, the Israeli facility there, and other atrocities. Does this military, the Department of Defense, believe that it should be part of our policy to interdict to somehow embargo arm shipments from Iran, especially the export of terrorism?

BOXX: First, as you correctly point out Secretary Christopher and other people of the State Department did detail many of the reasons why we worry about Iran today. The Department of Defense carries out the policies of the government, and if the policy of the government is to interdict shipments we will carry that out but I don't want to speculate right now about what the policy may be.

QUESTION: At present, then, that is not part of the policy?

...

NOTES:

- ???? - Indicates Speaker Unkown
- Could not make out what was being said.



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tentions, ...

Gingrich Charges Clinton With Misleading Congress

At Issue Is Policy on Arming Bosnian Muslims

By James Risén
Los Angeles Times

House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) said yesterday that President Clinton misled congressional leaders about the United States' true role in Bosnia at a time the administration was secretly acquiescing in the creation of an Iranian arms pipeline to the Bosnian Muslims.

Gingrich said in an interview that he, Senate Majority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) and other lawmakers had many meetings with Clinton about U.S. Bosnia policy over the past three years—at a time when the U.S. was publicly upholding the international arms embargo against Bosnia. Never, he said, did the president indicate that the United States had given a green light to Iranian arms smuggling.

He said congressional leaders who supported lifting the arms embargo—or who might have approved of covert U.S. efforts to encourage Muslim countries friendly to the United States to secretly arm the Bosnians—were repeatedly rebuffed by the president. Clinton told them such efforts would antagonize European allies and violate international agreements.

"If you have been told face to face by the president of the United States for three years that you can't help the Bosnians, and now you learn after all these face-to-face meetings that they were encouraging the Iranians, giving Iranian arms shipments a wink and a nod, then how do you walk into the next meeting and believe what you are being told?" Gingrich said.

"I think it is fair to say that the president clearly left the impression with Sen. Dole and myself and other very senior congressional leaders for three

long years that it was simply not possible," to arm the Bosnians.

"I think you have to assume there was a total absence of candor in the conversations," he said.

In response, White House press secretary Michael McCurry denied that Gingrich had been misled. Congressional leaders had full access to U.S. intelligence information that provided clear evidence of Iranian arms shipments into Bosnia, McCurry said.

"Those are truly extraordinary comments by the speaker, given the high degree of attention that we presume the Congress was paying to Bosnia at the time," McCurry said. "It was clear, from the intelligence information available to the speaker and his staff at the time, what our understanding was about the nature of arms flows into Bosnia. And at any time there could have been a more thorough discussion of the nature of arms flows into Bosnia, because that information was widely available to Congress."

McCurry added that Gingrich also is ignoring the intense pressure Congress was applying to the White House in 1994 and 1995 to unilaterally lift the arms embargo to help the Bosnian Muslims in their civil war with the Bosnian Serbs. "What the speaker is doing here is forgetting a central premise of the Republican position, and Sen. Dole's position at the time," McCurry said.

"It was the Republicans who were desperate to find some way unilaterally to arm the Muslims. The president said privately and publicly that we could not abrogate the U.N. embargo."

McCurry added that the administration "never acquiesced, endorsed, or condoned any actions by the government of Iran, and to suggest otherwise is ludicrous."

WASHINGTON (Reuter) - The United States Friday acknowledged that Iran was likely the source of a new flood of arms to the Muslim-led Bosnian government, but denied it tacitly welcomed the supply effort.

“Without discussing intelligence reports, I can say that there is certainly a lot of circumstantial evidence that the Bosnian government has had access to small arms and munitions ... It would not be surprising if it was discovered that they had come from Iran,” White House spokesman Mike McCurry said.

President Clinton has often said he believes the Bosnian Muslims, outgunned by Bosnian Serbs in the four-year-old conflict in the former Yugoslavia, should have the right to defend themselves.

The Washington Post reported that Iran had sent hundreds of tons of small arms to Bosnian Muslims in the past six months. Administration officials said there have been other reports of Iranian arm shipments to the Bosnian Muslims going back much longer.

Although the shipments violate a U.N.-imposed arms ban for the region that the United States supports, the White House did not condemn Iran despite frequent criticism from Washington that the Muslim state exports terrorism.

Indeed, McCurry volunteered in a news briefing that some experts hold the view that instead of making the search for peace more difficult, arming the Bosnian Muslims might make the prospects for a peace settlement easier.

According to this view, he said, a well-armed Bosnian government would be “in a stronger position...to negotiate the terms of a peace proposal as they face their adversaries, the Bosnian Serbs.”

The United States is barred from helping enforce the U.N. arms ban because of a law passed by Congress forbidding the administration from enforcing it.

McCurry insisted Washington was not tacitly approving the arms shipping.

“It would be inaccurate to suggest that we look positively at any violation of the arms embargo ... We look negatively on anything that continues to fuel the conflict in Bosnia,” he said.

cc To Mike
TZ
George
Johnson
+ re:REP

ms

The five-nation Contact Group -- the United States, Britain, France, Germany and Russia -- have been trying to persuade the reluctant Bosnian government to extend a battered four-month truce due to expire May 1.

The Bosnian government says it must continue fighting to force the Serbs to give up some of the 70 percent of the country they hold and argues that cease-fires cement the Serb grip on the land they won in the first months of the war.

Transmitted: 95-04-14 16:15:46 EDT

Perry: lifting embargo would be 'disastrous'

BOSNIA

BY BARBARA STARR
WASHINGTON DC

US Defense Secretary William Perry delivered a scathing indictment of Republican proposals for the USA to unilaterally lift the arms embargo against Bosnia, in a thinly disguised barb at President Clinton's political opponents.

Perry chose Kansas State University to deliver his 9 March speech, which was largely aimed at Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole who is from that state. Dole has been a major proponent of lifting the arms embargo.

"Our present course in Bosnia

has been called unpalatable, but the alternative — unilaterally lifting the embargo — would prove disastrous," Perry said.

An international arms embargo was placed against Bosnia in 1991. However, since the Serbs inherited most of the weapons of the former Yugoslav government, an imbalance against the Muslims was frozen in place. Now, many feel lifting the embargo would rectify the situation.

"Simply authorizing US manufacturers to sell arms to Bosnia will not, in and of itself, level the battlefield," Perry said. The secretary noted that funds would have to be supplied. Shipments would have to be delivered either by sea through Croatia — which might not agree — or by

air. "All airfields in Bosnia are within range of Bosnian-Serb artillery, so all arriving aircraft would be subject to ground fire," Perry pointed out.

Moreover, NATO allies have vowed to maintain the embargo. That would place the USA in the position of trying to evade monitoring by coalition ships and aircraft.

Perry also said the USA would have to consider using US troops to train Bosnian forces in the use of heavy weapons.

Perry further suggested that even if the financing, delivery and training problems could be resolved the Serbs might still overrun the Muslim enclaves, causing thousands of casualties.

The key problem for the US

military is that it would then certainly be called upon under fire to assist in the withdrawal of UN peacekeeping forces. "To do this operation properly, NATO and the USA will have to send in substantial numbers of ground combat forces, the very situation we are trying to avoid."

Perry also criticized suggestions that the USA help the Bosnian Government by launching airstrikes. "No responsible military commander believes we can change the outcome of the war with an air campaign alone," Perry said. He noted that the Serbs continue to spread out their weapons, often in civilian areas.

"In order for a ground campaign to be even partially effective, our pilots would need the assistance of trained, ground-based, forward observers to help co-ordinate their strikes," Perry said. "So we would have the prospect of captured pilots, of casualties on the ground among the observers, and of very heavy civilian casualties."

BALTIMORE SUN

March 16, 1995

Pg. 16

Out of Somalia

Jeanne Kirkpatrick raises a cry of alarm when she writes that U.S. Marines were sent ashore armed with sticky foam and rubber bullets and with their guns pointed backward, to cover the extraction of United Nations troops from Somalia (Opinion • Commentary, March 7).

U.S. forces, she suggests, are being sent into danger nowadays armed with non-lethal weapons on missions with no like prospect of success.

Mrs. Kirkpatrick's real target is U.S. involvement in peacekeeping, but whatever her view on this issue, she should not distort the real conditions under which the men and women of our armed forces are being asked to go into harm's way.

In Somalia, each Marine was fully armed and fully backed up by overwhelming firepower — both on land and in the air. Mrs. Kirkpatrick's statements to the contrary are just wrong.

Mrs. Kirkpatrick says that the Marines were issued non-lethal weapons as part of a "campaign to

tame American forces." In fact, the Marines commander requested the availability of non-lethal weapons to supplement the Marines' traditional arms as a way of enhancing their capabilities.

She asserts that Marines had to obtain specific authorization to use lethal weapons. Just the opposite was true. They had authority to use lethal force, but needed special permission to use non-lethal weapons. As it turned out, they did use lethal force but never used their non-lethal weapons.

Mrs. Kirkpatrick also claims that I said the Marines would enter Somalia with their guns pointed backward. She has it reversed. I said that the Marines would leave Somalia with their guns pointed toward shore — as they did.

Finally, she says that our forces were operating under U.N. rules of engagement. That is simply not true. The rules of engagement were prepared by Gen. John Shalikashvili, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, with

the advice of the commander in chief, U.S. Central Command, and the ground commander, and were approved by me.

As secretary of defense, I take no responsibility more seriously than to protect those in uniform who are asked to risk their lives for this country. I have never, nor will I ever, countenance any failure to arm them properly or spell out clear rules of engagement.

When we place our forces in potentially hostile situations, they must be led by competent commanders and be as well trained and equipped as we can make them. Our forces had those advantages in Somalia and they will continue to have them wherever they are sent in the future.

William J. Perry
Washington, D.C.

The writer is secretary of defense.

Editor's note: The article referred to appeared in the *Current News Early Bird*, March 7, 1995, Pg. 13.

WASHINGTON TIMES

March 16, 1995

Pg. 7

Base closures achieved more quickly

The Pentagon has cut nearly by half the time it used to take to close military bases and communities are adapting more quickly to base losses, the official in charge of closings said yesterday.

Joshua Gotbaum, assistant secretary of defense for economic security, argued at a Pentagon briefing that "there is life after base closure" and introduced several officials who have been able to help their communities recover from the loss of a military site.

On average, it took 3.8 years to close a military facility in 1988, whereas it took only 2.1 years for closures ordered in 1993. Communities took an average of 2.3 years to draw up alternative plans to use the sites in 1988, but now such plans are being drawn up in about a year, Mr. Gotbaum said.

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Essay

WILLIAM SAFIRE

Oversight Evader

WASHINGTON

For two months, whenever I pressed Muhamed Sacirbey, Bosnia's U.N. delegate, about the presence of Iranian troops in his country, he ducked the question. Finally he said, "You know more about where the Iranians are than we do."

Now that mysterious response comes clear: Thanks to the hard digging of James Risen and Doyle McManus of The Los Angeles Times, we learn why Iranians are entrenched in Bosnia, radicalizing local Muslims. The reason is that President Clinton personally gave a secret green light two years ago that enabled Iran to break the arms embargo that he was publicly supporting.

Other Presidents have tried to avoid Congressional oversight of secret arms deals. In the past, Presidential "findings" to delay lawful notification of Congress have been backdated or intelligence committees have been deceived by half-truthful testimony. But to evade oversight, Bill Clinton came up with the best concealment device yet: Don't even tell the C.I.A.

Scroll back to early 1994, when Serbs were slaughtering Muslims, and many of us, including Senator Bob Dole, were calling for "lift and strike" — lift the arms embargo that kept the Muslims from defending

The slick green light.

themselves, and launch NATO strikes from the air at Serbian supply lines. That would have saved tens of thousands of lives.

But Clinton opposed that policy because our European allies, who wanted the Muslims to surrender, objected. Then Croatia's President, Franjo Tudjman, asked the U.S. secretly to O.K. Iranian arms shipments through Croatia to Bosnia.

On Air Force One returning from Richard Nixon's funeral (!), Clinton, Tony Lake of the N.S.C. and Strobe Talbott of State persuaded one another that secretly facilitating arms shipments from Iran was not breaking the embargo and was "within the letter of the law," as the President's press secretary said this week when the deceit surfaced.

Clinton, Lake and Talbott sent "in-

structions of no instructions" — code for "tell Tudjman to go ahead and we will pretend not to know about it."

Thus, at a time when Clinton was telling us that to lift the embargo would be to endanger the French and British peacekeeping troops in Bosnia, he was secretly encouraging the shipment of arms there from Iran. That means he was misinforming Americans about why we should not send arms while Secretary of State Christopher was deceiving our allies about upholding the embargo and not endangering their troops.

When C.I.A. agents saw the smuggling channel in operation, they took the evidence to the Director, then James Woolsey, who suspected that somebody was running an unauthorized covert operation. He properly went to Lake, who bucked it to White House Counsel, who passed the hot potato to Anthony Harrington, of the in-house Intelligence Oversight Board, who conducted a six-month investigation and concluded that the green light that secretly injected Iran into the Bosnian war was not covert action requiring notification of Congress.

Now the President insists "there was absolutely nothing improper done." To him, his guilty knowledge of embargo-breaking was not improper. Deceiving our allies was not improper. Lying to the nation about why he would not send U.S. arms to Bosnia was not improper. Of course, concealing pertinent information from Congress is never improper.

Harrington, the former counsel to the Clinton-Gore campaign committee who secretly conducted the internal whitewash, tells me he is now ready to "brief" Congress but will not turn over his confidential report or transcripts of testimony (none under oath) unless directed to do so by Clinton. Here comes "executive privilege" again; we can hope the Senate Intelligence chairman, Arlen Specter, doesn't roll over.

White House defense will be: We all wanted to arm the Bosnians, so what's the big deal? The big deal is we wanted the arms to come from the West, not from Iran's Islamic fundamentalists, who now have a foothold in Europe. Subcontracting to terrorists always backfires.

The big deal is we thought we had a much-needed arrangement of comity between Congress and the executive on secret security affairs. By his silent partnership with Iran, Clinton betrayed it. □

Liberties

MAUREEN DOWD

His Brother's Keeper

WASHINGTON

We figured that the Unabomber's manifesto would be his downfall.

We fantasized that this time the creep had met his match. He had, after all, submitted a piece that The New York Times and The Washington Post would jointly publish, a 35,000-word screed to nature, and we imagined the terrorist tangling with a meticulous copy editor and running screaming to the nearest police station.

"Oh, and one more thing, Mr. Unabomber: In paragraph 37, when you write 'Nonattainment of important goals results in death if the goals are physical necessities, and in frustration if nonattainment of the goals is compatible with survival,' shouldn't we break that into two sentences?"

The manifesto did bring him down. And though the F.B.I. has been bragging about the high-tech methods used to scope out the bomber's no-tech cabin, the capture had nothing to do with sophisticated surveillance.

They got him the way cops usually catch suspects. Somebody dined him out.

The amazing, almost biblical thing was that the somebody was his brother. A brother who had helped support Ted, a brother so close in spirit that he, too, had shunted aside an Ivy League education to grow a beard and long hair and live without electricity or plumbing — literally in a hole in the ground in Texas — before returning to civilization to marry his high-school sweetheart and work at a shelter for runaway kids.

David Kaczynski did his own private investigation, all the time hoping he was wrong, and finally gave Theodore Kaczynski up, fearing more maiming and death subsidized by family money. And fearing that if Ted was the cunning sociopath the F.B.I. had been hunting for 18 years, he might retaliate against him.

Cain and Abel. The good brother

The Kaczynskis, an American family.

and the bad brother. Pat O'Brien and Jimmy Cagney. The theme has magnitude.

In keeping with the 60's peyote aroma of the case, the Whole Earth Catalogue run amok, the Brothers Kaczynski even had their own Carlos Castañeda Don Juan, a Mexican farmhand named Juan Sánchez Arreola who served as spiritual adviser to both Ted and David.

"David said he mistrusted American women. He said they change men the way they change cars," Mr. Arreola, who met David in the early 80's after he moved to the West Texas desert, told The Times. Though he himself was living in a hole, David was nervous about the hermit ways of Ted, who was estranged from his parents. He asked Mr. Arreola to give his older brother wise counsel, and the farmhand kept up a correspondence in Spanish with the mountain man who wanted to be called Teodoro.

Teodoro wrote in bad Hemingway sentiments, asking about Pancho Villa and sharing odd scenes of a Ph.D. in math stalking bunnies in the dark with a rifle: "When it is known from the freshness of the tracks that the rabbits are near, you must look closely, because these rabbits are white in the winter, and they are not so easy to see in the whiteness of the snow."

The family lawyer says David Kaczynski is "somewhat in shock." It took a rare kind of courage to be his brother's keeper.

As Mikal Gilmore said in a memoir about his brother, Gary, "I hated the idea that I loved him more than the people he might kill."

David Kaczynski has not been universally hailed as a hero. David Letterman cheaply mocked him as "the Unasqualer." CNN's "Talk Back Live" Tuesday debated whether he was saint or snitch.

Many Americans subscribe to the sentiment expressed by E. M. Forster: "If I had to choose between betraying my country and betraying my friend, I hope I should have the guts to betray my country." ABC's "Turning Point" this week featured the story of Alex Kelly, the Darien, Conn., teen-ager accused of two brutal rapes, whose parents supported his ski-bum life as a fugitive in Europe for eight years.

John Douglas, the former head of the F.B.I. behavioral science unit who worked on the Unabomber case, said Theodore Kaczynski's story would be the story of his family: "I've always said that people like this are manufactured, not born. They'll find something connected to the father and mother. These people just don't come from outer space."

Nobody comes from outer space. But not everybody is a killer. □

The Korea Divide

By Selig S. Harrison

WASHINGTON
North Korea's dangerous posturing in the demilitarized zone has dramatized the need to replace the 1953 armistice, which has kept a shaky peace between the two Koreas, with a new system that reflects post-cold-war realignments.

When the pact was signed, the North was a military base for the Soviet Union and China. Now Russia and China have much closer economic and political ties with South Korea than with the North, and the North has urgently sought to normalize relations with the United States.

Kim Jong Il's regime has scrupulously honored its 1994 nuclear-freeze agreement with Washington, and has

The U.S. must
help negotiate a
new peace accord.

just agreed to discuss American concerns about its missile program next week in Berlin.

For two years, North Korea has appealed in vain for talks at Panmunjom with American generals on ways to replace the armistice with a more stable system — one that is compatible with the improved relations envisioned in the nuclear-freeze accord. In 1995, the Pentagon did permit preliminary low-level contacts with North Korean officers in the DMZ. But pressed by Seoul, which opposes closer ties between America and the North, Washington called off the talks in September before any generals met.

Shortly after this, I met with Gen. Ri Chan Bok, the North Korean Army's representative at Panmunjom. His Government, he said, wants a two-

Selig S. Harrison is a senior associate of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

track peacekeeping system in which a Mutual Security Commission composed of military officers from North Korea and America would operate alongside the North-South Military Commission, which was negotiated in 1992 but never instituted.

North Korea no longer insists on a peace treaty with America that excludes the South, he said, but it does believe that the armistice must be replaced and that American forces should remain in the South on their own rather than under the United Nations Command.

Explaining this significant reversal of policy on American forces, another official told me: "We must think of the impact of the withdrawal of U.S. troops on the balance of power in the region. We are particularly concerned that if U.S. troops pull out of Korea, Japan will rearm immediately."

Currently, 35,000 American troops are in the South to defend it against aggression, but the North now wants them to stabilize the entire Korean peninsula. The system that the North proposes "will help to prevent any threat to peace from either the South or North," said Kang Sok Ju, the First Deputy Foreign Minister.

America wants the North to talk with the South about replacing the armistice, even though the South did not sign it. Pyongyang is justified in arguing that Washington must participate in new peacekeeping arrangements. By the same token, Washington should insist that all military issues involving only the two Koreas must be handled by the projected North-South Military Commission.

Instead of refusing to talk with the North at the DMZ, America should put forward the terms under which it would be willing to replace the armistice, phase out the United Nations Command and set up a new system. America could insist that a trilateral coordinating body be established so that the North could not drive a wedge between Washington and Seoul. Above all, America could propose tension-reduction measures, including a three-way agreement to reduce offensive weapons along the 38th parallel.

The Clinton Administration cannot ask the Security Council to wind up the United Nations role unless the concerns that led the United Nations to intervene are addressed in meaningful arms control arrangements. □

Wild Pitch

By Roger G. Noll

WASHINGTON
Even at a time when major league sports have become a cartoon of financial excess, the proposed new home for the Yankees is breathtaking in its audacity. Excluding land value, a multipurpose mausoleum on Manhattan's West Side would cost a billion dollars.

The debate has centered on two questions: Are sports facilities economically worthwhile? And should the stadium be single-purpose or multipurpose? A more fundamental question is why cities provide large subsidies to teams in the first place.

The Yankees have little economic effect on New York City. True, most fans would never visit the South Bronx were it not for the team. But few tourists come to New York just to see the Yankees. Thus, the Yankees generate a huge increase in economic activity within 100 yards of the Stadium, but not within the metropolitan area.

Nearly all spending at the Stadium is simply shifted from other forms of entertainment like restaurants and movies. Yes, the Yankees do draw suburbanites into the city, but many of these people would spend money in Manhattan or go to Mets games if the Yankees were not an option.

The city does make money by taxing tickets and concessions, but such revenues wouldn't come close to covering the Stadium's debt service.

Roger G. Noll is a visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution.

Even if the Jets agreed to play their home games on the West Side and the two teams combined drew four million fans a year, the city would need to collect an unrealistic \$20 in taxes from each fan just to meet the mortgage payments.

Independent studies of sports facilities invariably conclude that they provide no significant economic benefits. A sports team does increase overall income in a community slightly, but the increase never offsets the stadium's financing and op-

Yankee Stadium
on the West Side?
It wouldn't pay.

erating costs. And because a team has relatively few (but very highly paid) employees, it usually causes overall employment in a city to fall because it can drive other entertainment businesses to cut back or close.

Stadiums are bad investments, which is why the teams themselves are never willing to pay for them. New York City would generate more cash by putting the money in a savings account.

Assuming that New York decides to build the stadium, a multipurpose facility would make the most financial sense — if the Jets and Yankees would agree to share it, which is unlikely. Single-purpose stadiums are more attractive and draw more fans. And the teams want their own

stadiums so they can control and profit from other events in them. The city, of course, gains nothing by letting the teams have their way.

Why do cities pour hundreds of millions into new stadiums? With intense competition for sports franchises, not even New York can keep a team without subsidizing it. New Jersey and New York have at various times fought over the Giants, Jets, Yankees and Mets. The sad thing is that the states need not be competitors: Fans could easily support a third team in both football and baseball. But each league is a monopoly, doing what monopolists do best: making the product scarce to hike up the price.

There is a far cheaper way to keep the Yankees. Bribe them. A new stadium could give the Yankees an additional \$10 million in profits each year. So instead of spending \$80 million annually to finance and operate a new stadium, New York could just hand the Yankees \$10 million. Or, even better, the city could pay \$100,000 for each game won, with a million-dollar bonus for winning the pennant.

This plan would save the city money, improve the Yankees' bottom line and benefit fans, who would be less likely to have a team that collapsed in the stretch. □

CHRONOLOGY-- 1994-- Statements to the Hill on Lifting the Arms
Embargo

The President

- In a May 1994 in a letter to Rep. Gingrich, the President wrote "While I fully understand and share your concerns on lifting the arms embargo imposed on the Bosnian Government, I do not support **unilaterally** lifting the embargo.
- In a June 1994 letter to Rep. Hamilton the President wrote "As you know, I do not support the arms embargo. However, unilateral action now would be particularly damaging." "I prefer your alternative, which seeks collective action to lift the embargo to enhance the self-defense capability of the Government."
- In an August 1994 letter to a number of members the President wrote ".. the July 30, Contact Group Ministerial was an important and necessary step on our strategy of giving negotiations a chance while building an international consensus to lift the arms embargo should negotiations falter."

The State Department

- In April of 1994, in discussions with the Hill, senior State Department officials said:
 - "The Administration maintains... the embargo... has unfairly penalized the victim."
 - "We supported an unsuccessful resolution... to lift the embargo."
- In a May 1994 letter to Sen. Warner, the Secretary said:
 - "embargo punishes the victim .. but if lifted unilaterally at this time .. serious practical consequences would ensue."
 - "the only reliable way to deliver heavy weapons to Bosnia .. is through Croatia .. it is likely that weapons bound for Bosnia through Croatia would only reach their final destination if Croatia also received arms either openly or covertly."

- In a June 1994 letter from the Secretary to Speaker Foley:
 - "Administration has always supported lifting the embargo .. passage of (unilateral action) could seriously damage our efforts?"

- In October 1994 discussions with the Hill:
 - "Administration intends to adhere to commitments made by the President in his August 10 letter to Senator Nunn .. US will introduce a resolution providing for multilateral lift .."

 - "Administration strongly supports multilateral lifting .. recognize it could cause significant problems."

- In November 1994 discussions with the Hill:
 - "We are moving forward to comply with Nunn-Mitchell which prohibits the expenditure of any US funds for the purpose of enforcing the embargo against Bosnia."

 - "We will begin implementation as of November 12 .. from that date, US forces will no longer enforce the embargo against Bosnia."

 - "US forces will no longer divert or delay ships containing arms known to be destined for Bosnia. When we let ships proceed that contain arms for Bosnia, we will not report that to our allies."

- In June 1995 Hill testimony:
 - "In compliance with Nunn-Mitchell, we ended, last year, our participation in enforcement efforts against Bosnia, but continued to honor the arms embargo."

leave re: agency

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

*CC TO Vukobran
lets add to PDS
both out + correct
m*

April 8, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: NANCY SODERBERG
FROM: DAVID T. JOHNSON
SUBJECT: Iranian Arms Supply to Bosnians -- Public Knowledge of These Activities and USG Comments on the Allegations

Per Nancy's request, I asked the library to do a search on two subjects: First, apparent public knowledge of allegations concerning Iranian arms shipments to Bosnia through Croatia. And second, USG spokesmen's comments about these allegations.

Based on my search, it appears as though two things can be said with certainty:

First, the public and the Congress, through the press, was well aware of Iran's supply of arms to the Bosnians through Croatia beginning in June 1994. That information was reinforced from time to time, most effectively by the Post on April 15, 1995.

Second, I can find no instance in which a USG spokesman ever denied USG knowledge of these activities, although in at least one instance we came close.

First Reports

There appear to be three flurries of articles and corresponding questions to USG spokesmen. The first series of articles apparently appeared in The Washington Times, in June of 1994, penned by Bill Gertz. Gertz alleged that Iran was sending weapons to Bosnia, in violation of the UN embargo, through Croatia. Most of the questions were simply could we confirm or deny that this was taking place and did we have any comment on it.

Without exception, USG spokesmen declined to comment, saying that any information about such an activity would obviously come through intelligence channels, and that, as a matter of practice, we did not comment on alleged intelligence activities or on knowledge that might be gained through such channels. That was Christine Shelly's response on June 8; Kathleen DeLaski's response on June 28 and July 19; Dennis Boxx's (in his DoD

capacity) on August 16; and Christine Shelly's again on November 7.

Dole and Lift

A second flurry of comment came in January of 1995 that appeared to take a different perspective: the effect of Senator Dole's effort to unilaterally lift the arms embargo without any commitment of USG supply to the Bosnians. Mike McCurry, in his State Department capacity, told journalists on January 5, that "If you are lifting the arms embargo for the purpose of trying to get arms to the Muslims, to the Bosnian government, you do so, I think, with some moral responsibility to follow through on that and to engage in arming the warring party. Now the answer might be, well, gee, there are all these other people in the world who would be more than happy to arm the Muslims. So I would suggest that if it's Senator Dole's intent to allow Iran to aggressively arm and support the Bosnian Muslims, that's an interesting proposition, and we probably ought to debate it in some greater detail, I would imagine."

So far as I have yet been able to determine, Mike's comment occasioned no news coverage, although his transcript remains widely available through electronic retrieval systems. Similar remarks on June 8, 1995, however, did result in an AFP story. McCurry: "So I guess he [Dole] would prefer to see Iran establish a closer military relationship with the Bosnian Muslims."

Post Says Iran Supplies Arms to Bosnia With USG's "Tacit" Consent

On April 15, ⁹⁵ the Post published a story that started with the following sentence: "Iran has been supplying weapons to the Bosnian Moslems in violation of the arms embargo and with Washington's tacit consent." The story was sourced to unidentified senior USG officials. Virtually every wire service and large newspaper carried some version of this story. McCurry was quoted in the story that "It would not be surprising if it was discovered that they [the arms] had come from Iran."

Several stories contrasted McCurry's nonchalant attitude toward the allegations with Nick Burns's response: "We do not endorse violations of U.N. resolutions whatsoever . . . We are not violating those resolutions, and we don't endorse anyone else who's violating them." Burns repeated that sentiment when responding to a July 25, OIC resolution declaring the arms embargo "unjustified and illegal." Burns response: "We don't believe that other countries should violate existing U.N. resolutions."

Holbrooke's Statement

As part of Dick Holbrooke's swan song, he spoke to the National Press Club on January 31, 1996. As part of his Q/A, he told the audience: ". . . During the period of the arms embargo . . . the Bosnians turned to the Iranians for help. . . Everyone knew this. You all reported it. It was the only way they could survive. We're now in a different ballgame. And we think full compliance on this issue [withdrawal of foreign forces] is vitally important."

Saudi Financing for Iranian Arms Aid to Bosnia

The final apparent episode in this saga was a series of stories beginning with the Post in early February 1996 alleging that the Saudis had financed the Iranian arms aid program. In response to questions concerning those allegations, and whether we had encouraged the Saudis to provide support for Iran's efforts, I told at least one publication that "It's my understanding that we abided by the arms embargo in all of its aspects."

Attachment

Tab A Excerpts from articles and briefings concerning Iranian arms supplies to Bosnia

*Delester 7/19/94
Call on all nations to fully respect UNSC resolutions
regarding the arms embargo. Certainly US policy do
respect UN's arms embargo vs former y.*

5/2/95

Get answer on policy re. interdicting embargos

FOCUS - 41 OF 123 STORIES

Copyright 1996 The Houston Chronicle Publishing Company
The Houston Chronicle

February 3, 1996, Saturday, 3 STAR Edition

SECTION: a; Pg. 19

LENGTH: 554 words

HEADLINE: U.S. denies joining alleged Saudi effort to arm Bosnians

BYLINE: Houston Chronicle News Services

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

... embargo on the former Yugoslavia that Washington had pledged to respect.

The Post said Muslim Saudi Arabia had financed the operation out of dismay at Western inaction over Bosnia, where Muslims were heavily outgunned by their Serb foes throughout most of the conflict in former Yugoslavia.

Davies recalled that the United States had always thought the embargo was unfair to the Bosnian Muslims, but had resisted congressional pressure to violate it for fear of undermining other U.N. resolutions which it supported.

Earlier a White House spokesman, David Johnson, said: "It's my understanding that we abided by the arms embargo in all of its aspects." He said previous claims that the United States had cooperated in supplying arms to the Bosnian Muslims had proven unfounded.

Johnson was apparently referring to assertions - vigorously denied in Washington - that the United States connived at Iranian arms shipments to the Bosnian Muslims, said to have been flown in through neighboring Croatia.

The Post said the disclosure of the reported Saudi operation appeared motivated in part by a desire to take some credit away from rival Iran for military and diplomatic gains that the Muslims made at the end of the war last year.

The newspaper suggested that U.S. cooperation came through the use of former military and intelligence personnel and trusted middlemen, thus enabling the Clinton administration to deny government involvement.

The report of the arms shipments was published as U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher headed for Zagreb on his



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first postwar trip to the Balkans. He will also visit the Bosnian cities of Sarajevo and Tuzla.

The Bosnia peace agreement reached last November in Dayton, Ohio, provides for an end to the arms embargo, and the United States has pledged to arm and train the ...



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JANUARY 31, 1996, WEDNESDAY

SECTION: STATE DEPARTMENT BRIEFING

LENGTH: 8448 words

HEADLINE: NATIONAL PRESS CLUB LUNCHEON SPEAKER
RICHARD HOLBROOKE, ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR EUROPEAN AND CANADIAN
AFFAIRS, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE
NATIONAL PRESS CLUB BALLROOM

BODY:

... concerned are you about the relationship between Bosnia's Muslims and Iran?

MR. HOLBROOKE: This is a serious problem, and it's another one of the top four or five the secretary and I will take up in the next three or four days. The Dayton agreements clearly call for the withdrawal of all foreign forces.

The secretary has spoken for all of us, particularly in his interview with Anthony Lewis in the New York Times -- about 10 days ago? -- about 10 days ago. And we have a commitment to assist the Bosnian government get equipment and training to create a military -- stable balance between them and the other sides so that the war does not resume. We have a senior Defense official who has been reassigned to my office to work on this issue. His name is Jim Pardew. He was a member of our negotiation team.

But it's very hard to do that if Iranians are still in the area, doing something similar. During the period of the arms embargo, a tragic period in which the United States tragically voted twice in 1992 in favor of the arms embargo, the Bosnians turned to the Iranians for help, among others. This -- everyone knew this. You all reported it. It was the only way they could survive. We're now in a different ballgame. And we think full compliance on this issue is vitally important.

MS. KOCH: Why do you think Slobodan Milosevic, who had been a rather aggressive person in this war, suddenly became so cooperative in the search for peace?

MR. HOLBROOKE: This is a really important question. We have spent, literally, hundreds of hours discussing it. I wouldn't phrase it quite that way. President Milosevic does what he thinks is in his own interest; his own political or national interest; as we do. He bares an obvious direct responsibility for what happened in the early '90s. Some time along the way, bit by bit, he apparently came to the conclusion that a military solution would not work, and he had to assist the search ...



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December 22, 1995, Friday, BC cycle

SECTION: Washington News

LENGTH: 1218 words

HEADLINE: Turkey to help train Bosnians

BYLINE: BY SID BALMAN Jr. UPI Diplomatic Writer

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, Dec. 21

BODY:

... administration, officials said. 'It was an agreement in principle that Turkey is willing to give such assistance,' Murat Ozcelik, a Turkish diplomat based in Washington, told United Press International. 'That is an understanding that has been reached by both sides.' Ozcelik said U.S. and Turkish experts will meet in the coming months to work out details of the arrangement. U.S. officials said Turkey, a secular democracy ruling a predominantly Muslim nation, is the 'ideal candidate' for the mission. Turkey and Bosnia have strong ties dating back six centuries to the Ottoman Empire and the conversion of several million Slavs to Islam. Ankara also was a strong proponent of providing weapons to the Bosnian government when a U.N. arms embargo barred military assistance. Turkish influence on Bosnia-Herzegovina could serve as a counterweight to the extremist views of Iran, U.S. officials said, which provided weapons and troops to help fight Serb aggression. 'Given Turkey's geographical proximity, given Turkey's historical links to the Bosnian people, given the fact Turkey is a valuable NATO ally, we are expecting Turkey to play a role,' said State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns.



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The Baltimore Sun

December 9, 1995, Saturday, FINAL EDITION

SECTION: TELEGRAPH (NEWS), Pg. 1A

LENGTH: 755 words

HEADLINE: U.S. wary of Bosnia's Islamic allies; Imported fighters don't support peace, may be tough to evict

BYLINE: Gilbert A. Lewthwaite and Mark Matthews, SUN NATIONAL STAFF

BODY:

... signing the peace pact.

Richard Holbrooke, the Clinton's administration's point man on Bosnia, reminded him again yesterday that the accords called for the rapid departure of the mujahedeen.

After meeting with Mr. Izetbegovic in Sarajevo, Mr. Holbrooke said: "We are encouraged. President Izetbegovic assured us, most importantly, that all foreign elements that are within the control of the [Bosnian Muslim-Croat] Federation will be removed in 30 days or less."

At issue is whether the foreign forces will withdraw peacefully, after having invested so much time, money and blood in the Balkans conflict, or have to be pushed out?

Getting rid of them could be difficult for the Bosnians, since over the course of the war Tehran has provided more help to the Bosnian Muslim cause than perhaps any other country.

In addition to sending the Revolutionary Guards -- elite protectors of the Islamic revolution in Iran -- the fundamentalist regime in Tehran has shipped planeloads of weapons and humanitarian aid.

The Islamic troops may be difficult to identify because they have been integrated into regular Bosnian army units and have Bosnian identification papers.

According to a Pentagon official, the mujahedeen total about 1,000. They have personal firearms, mortars and anti-tank weapons.

"Realistically, you are not looking at a conventional warfare confrontation per se," said the defense official, who spoke on the basis of anonymity. "You are looking at the potential of an ambush, sniper fire, booby traps. They are a possible threat, and that is a consideration we have taken into account in the planning."

Under the rules of engagement for the NATO mission, U.S. troops are empowered



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to eliminate immediately any perceived threat. They also have the power to enforce compliance with the agreement -- in other words, throw the Muslims out if necessary.

Apart from the military threat they pose, the religious zealots among the foreign Muslim contingent are ...



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AP Worldstream

September 07, 1995; Thursday 08:58 Eastern Time

SECTION: International news

LENGTH: 690 words

HEADLINE: U.S. Dealing With Strange Bedfellows in Balkans Peace Efforts

BYLINE: BARRY SCHWEID

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

... help push through a settlement. 'We are convinced,' Burns said about the Geneva meeting, 'that when the talks get going the Russians will be there.'

'They want the situation to turn from war to peace,' Burns said. 'So do we.'

He acknowledged, though, 'We have had a number of tactical disputes' with Moscow.

An even more serious current dispute concerns Russia's plans to provide Iran with nuclear reactors.

But cooperation with the sometimes erratic former nuclear superpower is valued far more than divergences with Moscow over the Balkans and Iran.

And while Undersecretary of State Peter Tarnoff is attending a Paris conference with an Iranian delegation, Burns said 'there's no reason to make a big deal about it.'

The meeting was arranged by the French government. Tarnoff and other U.S. diplomats are there as guests. 'There is nothing we can do about that,' Burns said. 'We are not planning extensive contacts.'

Iran reportedly is one of the Muslim countries providing weapons to Bosnia in defiance of a U.N. arms embargo against all factions. The Clinton administration seems to be looking the other way. The Serbs, after all, were well-supplied by their friends.

But if Iran tries to stake out a big role in peacemaking, it is bound to run into U.S. resistance. Cooperation with strange bedfellows has its limits.

EDITOR'S NOTE Barry Schweid has covered diplomacy for The Associated Press since 1973.



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July 25, 1995, Tuesday

LENGTH: 722 words

HEADLINE: U.N.-BOSNIA: MALAYSIA PLANS TO LINE UP OPPOSITION TO ARMS EMBARGO

BYLINE: By Thalif Deen

DATELINE: UNITED NATIONS, July 25

BODY:

A spokesperson for the 52-member OIC in New York told IPS that Malaysia has so far not made a formal request for a meeting to discuss the fast developing events in Bosnia.

The eight foreign ministers of the OIC Contact Group on Bosnia last week declared the arms embargo "unjustified and illegal." The Contact Group consists of Egypt, Iran, Malaysia, Morocco, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Senegal and Turkey.

Under a Security Council resolution adopted in Sept. 1991, all U.N. member states are barred from supplying weapons to the former Yugoslavia. But Iran has long been accused of secretly violating the embargo by supplying weapons to the Muslims.

U.S. State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns said yesterday Washington was opposed to any moves by Malaysia and other Muslim countries to defy the embargo. Such a move, he said, would "widen the war."

"We certainly hope that any actions they take will be in accordance with existing U.N. resolutions," he added.

Burns also said the United States does not believe the arms embargo should be lifted unilaterally by Washington. "We don't believe that other countries should violate existing U.N. resolutions."

Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad on July 22 threatened to ignore the U.N. arms embargo in light of the OIC declaration that it was invalid. He also complained that Malaysian troops in Bosnia were not allowed to carry heavy arms, unlike North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) troops.

Mahathir said that while his troops were lightly armed, NATO ...



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June 08, 1995 20:25 Eastern Time

SECTION: International news

LENGTH: 1147 words

HEADLINE: URGENT

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, June 8

BODY:

... disregarded previous votes from Congress on lifting the arms embargo.

The measure also coincided with a visit here by Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Siladzjic who has been lobbying the US government to lift the embargo.

Earlier, hardline Republican Senator Jesse Helms argued that arming the Bosnian Moslem troops would restore the military imbalance between the government forces and the Bosnian Serbs.

The Bosnian troops are severely outgunned by the Bosnian Serbs who inherited much of the arsenal from the former Yugoslav National Army.

cml/ak

AFP

WASHINGTON, June 8 (AFP) - US lawmakers voted Thursday for a unilateral lifting of the arms embargo on Bosnia to allow Bosnian government troops to better defend themselves against the Serbs.

The vote in the House of Representatives came despite efforts by the administration to counter the move by arguing that lifting the arms embargo would benefit Iran, a main arms supplier to the Moslem troops.

The Republican-controlled House voted 318 to 99 for the binding measure, an amendment to the foreign aid bill, which called on the United States to lift the embargo without seeking approval from the United Nations.

"There have to be consequences of aggression," said Democratic Representative Albert Russell Wynn.

The foreign aid bill containing the amendment later passed the House by a 222-192 vote, drawing a threat by President Bill Clinton to veto the bill.

"We are particularly concerned about the vote to lift unilaterally the arms embargo in Bosnia," Clinton said. "As we have said, we believe this is



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counterproductive to our efforts to bring about a negotiated settlement."

The administration has in the past disregarded previous votes from Congress on lifting the arms embargo.

White House spokesman Michael McCurry said European governments agreed with the administration in its assessment that allowing weapons to flow freely into Bosnia would lead to an escalation in the fighting.

"They think this would be dreadfully wrong," he said.

McCurry criticised Senate Majority Leader and presidential contender Robert Dole for his plan to introduce a measure that set lifting the arms embargo as a condition for sending US troops to Bosnia to help evacuate UN peacekeepers.

"So I guess he would prefer to see Iran establish a closer military relationship with the Bosnian Moslems," McCurry said.

Dole said Wednesday that Iran had benefited from the arms embargo and that other countries such as Turkey, Malaysia, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Pakistan had decided to sidestep the embargo and arm the Bosnians.

McCurry challenged his rationale, saying that Europe and the United States felt that lifting the arms embargo would encourage Iran to beef up its military ties to the Bosnian Moslems.

Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Siladzjic was holding talks on Capitol Hill Thursday to lobby for unilateral lifting of the embargo.

Earlier, hardline Republican Senator Jesse Helms argued that arming the Bosnian Moslem troops would restore the military imbalance between the government forces and the Bosnian Serbs.

Helms said US ground troops should not be sent into Bosnia and "do what the Bosnians themselves are willing to do ... fight the ground war for the liberation of their country."

The Bosnian troops are severely outgunned by the Bosnian Serbs who inherited much of the arsenal from the former Yugoslav National Army.

The House vote came amid euphoria over the rescue of downed Air Force pilot Captain Scott O'Grady and criticism of President Bill Clinton's Balkans policy during separate hearings of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

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FOCUS - 80 OF 123 STORIES

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AP Online

April 15, 1995; Saturday 04:05 Eastern Time

SECTION: Washington - general news

LENGTH: 505 words

HEADLINE: U.S.: Iran Sending Bosnia Arms

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

The embattled Muslim-led government in Bosnia is believed to be receiving weapons shipments from Iran in violation of a U.N. arms embargo against Bosnia and other republics of the former Yugoslavia, a Clinton administration official said Friday.

The reported shipments could represent a rare instance in which U.S. interests coincide with those of Iran, which is routinely pilloried by Washington as a terrorist state hostile to Western influence in the Middle East and elsewhere.

For years, the administration has complained that the embargo has punished the Muslim-led government more than the Serb side, a particularly unfortunate circumstance, officials maintain, because the Muslims are the aggrieved party.

The administration official, speaking on condition of anonymity, acknowledged that the Serb and Muslim sides have benefited from embargo leaks, and he expressed understanding for Muslim efforts to redress the military imbalance.

While saying that evidence indicates a military link between Iran and their Islamic brethren in Bosnia, the officials were unable to confirm a Washington Post account asserting that Iranian shipments were in the "hundreds of tons" range.

One official said U.S. monitors had "detected flights originating in Iran that were presumed to carry small arms and munitions that were being transported" to Croatia and then shipped by land into Bosnia. The Washington Times previously reported that Croatia had become a major transit point for covert Iranian arms shipments to Bosnia.

At the White House, press secretary Mike McCurry said "it would not be surprising" if an Iranian role in arming the Muslims were uncovered.

Administration spokesmen generally confined their statements about the issue to legalisms, brushing aside questions about political implications.

They pointed out that the embargo is the law of the land and the United States is duty-bound to support it. They also noted that Congress last year barred U.S. forces from having any role in enforcing the embargo, leaving to



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other countries the task of blocking any Bosnia-bound arms deliveries from Iran.

In view of U.N. mandates, State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns said, "we look negatively on anything that would continue to fuel the conflict."

Asked why the administration has not raised the alleged embargo violation with the United Nations, McCurry said information obtained confidentially cannot always be shared with U.N. members.

Officials took issue with an assertion by both the Post and Times that the Iranian arms deliveries were carried out with the "tacit acceptance" of the administration.

One official said the prohibition on the United States playing an embargo-enforcement role hardly constitutes tacit acceptance of the alleged Iranian activities.

Burns indicated U.S. opposition to any embargo violations, but McCurry said arms deliveries could strengthen the Muslim bargaining position and thus enhance the prospects of a peace settlement.



FOCUS - 81 OF 123 STORIES

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April 15, 1995

SECTION: News; Pg. A4

LENGTH: 263 words

HEADLINE: Iran believed to be sending weapons to Bosnian Muslims

BODY:

WASHINGTON -- Iran is believed to be sending a large supply of weapons and munitions to the beleaguered Bosnian government in violation of a U.N. embargo, a U.S. official said Friday.

The supplies are part of a growing flow of weapons that has allowed the Muslim-led Bosnian government to move toward military parity with Bosnian Serb rebels, the official said. The buildup could help government forces in fighting that is expected to pick up sharply with the spring thaw.

The Clinton administration has opposed Iranian attempts to supply arms to Islamic terrorists and resistance movements around the world. But President Clinton has said that the Bosnian Muslims have a right to defend themselves, and there are no signs that the United States has tried to halt any breach of the embargo.

At the White House, spokesman Mike McCurry said there is abundant circumstantial evidence that the Bosnian government is gaining new access to small arms and ammunition. McCurry stopped short of acknowledging Tehran's involvement, saying only that "it would not be surprising if it was discovered that (the weaponry) had come from Iran."

Still, State Department officials insisted that, despite U.S. sympathies for the Bosnian government, Washington is not looking the other way when it comes to Iranian arms exports.

"We do not endorse violations of U.N. resolutions whatsoever," said State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns. "We are not violating those resolutions. And we don't endorse anyone else who's violating them."



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International Herald Tribune

April 15, 1995

SECTION: NEWS

LENGTH: 734 words

HEADLINE: Shipments of Iranian Arms to Bosnia Put U.S. on the Spot

BYLINE: Daniel Williams and Thomas W. Lippman

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

With the Clinton administration's tacit acceptance, Iran has delivered large quantities of arms to Bosnia's Muslim-led government over the past six months, according to senior U.S. officials.

The delivery from Iran of what an official termed "hundreds of tons" of weapon and ammunition has brought the Bosnian government's mostly Muslim army much closer to military equality with Serbian separatists as the spring thaw makes combat operations more likely, the officials said.

The deliveries violate a United Nations arms embargo against Bosnia and other former Yugoslav republics. But Washington has not objected, because it has long regarded the Muslim government as the victim of aggression by better-armed Serbs.

It has acquiesced even though the aid has come from Iran, an avowed enemy of the United States dedicated to spreading anti-Western, fundamentalist Islamic revolution.

"We're not really against someone helping the Muslims," a senior State Department official said.

President Bill Clinton has favored ending the UN arms ban to permit the Muslims to obtain arms to fight back, but he has declined to lift the embargo unilaterally in the face of strong objections from Britain and France. They fear that an escalating conflict would endanger their peacekeeping forces in the Balkans.

The improvement in the Muslims' military position has helped lead the United States to conclude that the Bosnian civil war, now entering its fourth year, is likely to continue and that efforts to achieve a negotiated solution are probably futile at present, officials said.

(The White House said Friday that Iran might be the source of arms to Bosnia, but denied that the United States was winking at the resupply effort, Reuters reported from Washington.



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("It would not be surprising if it was discovered that they had come from Iran," said the White House spokesman, Michael McCurry, referring to the Bosnian government's apparent access to small arms and munitions.

("It would be inaccurate to suggest that we look positively at any violation of the arms embargo," he said. "We look negatively on anything that continues to fuel the conflict in Bosnia.") Most of the shipments from Iran to Bosnia have passed through Croatia, which is in a quasi-alliance with the Bosnian government and which has skimmed a percentage of the weapons for its use, the U.S. officials said. Most of the supplies are "not big-ticket items such as tanks" but small arms, anti-tank weapons and ammunition, according to an official with access to information.

Iran's motive in making the shipments lies in its desire to sow seeds of Islamic revolution abroad, a U.S. official said, much the same reason that Tehran is sending arms to Algerian rebels through Sudan. Overall, U.S. officials estimate that Iran is spending hundreds of millions of dollars a year in support of overseas Muslim armed groups.

The first signs of Iranian support were discovered almost a year ago, with the arrival in Zagreb, Croatia, of an Iranian Boeing 747 jet filled with arms and other supplies. The deliveries have now become routine, U.S. officials say, and have received tacit approval.

Administration officials are gearing up to fight a proposal by the Senate majority leader, Bob Dole of Kansas, to force Mr. Clinton to ignore the arms ban and supply the Muslims. It will be difficult for the administration to argue that Mr. Dole is wrong in wanting to arm the Muslims while it turns a blind eye when Iran does the same thing.



FOCUS - 87 OF 123 STORIES

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Los Angeles Times

April 15, 1995, Saturday, Home Edition

SECTION: Part A; Page 6; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 306 words

HEADLINE: IRAN APPARENTLY ARMING BOSNIA, U.S. OFFICIAL SAYS;
BALKANS: STATE DEPARTMENT DENIES LOOKING OTHER WAY AT SANCTIONS-BUSTING
SHIPMENTS TO MUSLIM GOVERNMENT.

BYLINE: From a Times Staff Writer

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

Iran is believed to be sending a large supply of weapons and munitions to the beleaguered Bosnian government in contravention of a U.N. embargo, a U.S. official said Friday.

The supplies are part of a growing flow of weapons that has allowed the Muslim-led Bosnian government to move toward military parity with Bosnian Serb rebels, the official said.

The buildup could help government forces in fighting that is expected to pick up sharply with the spring thaw.

The Washington Post on Friday quoted U.S. officials as saying that Iran had delivered "hundreds of tons" of weaponry.

The Clinton Administration has strongly opposed Iranian attempts to supply arms to Islamic terrorists and resistance movements around the world.

But President Clinton has said repeatedly that the Bosnian Muslims have a right to defend themselves, and there are no signs that the United States has tried to halt any breach of the embargo.

White House Press Secretary Mike McCurry said there is abundant circumstantial evidence that the government of Bosnia-Herzegovina is gaining new access to small arms and ammunition.

But McCurry stopped short of acknowledging Tehran's involvement, saying only that "it would not be surprising if it was discovered that (the weaponry) had come from Iran."

Still, State Department officials insisted that, despite U.S. sympathies for the Bosnian government, Washington is not looking the other way when it comes to Iranian arms exports.

"We do not endorse violations of U.N. resolutions whatsoever," State



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Department spokesman Nicholas Burns said. "We are not violating those resolutions. And we don't endorse anyone else who's violating them."

Officials noted that a 1994 law prohibits the United States from interfering with any country's arming of the Bosnian government, despite the U.N. embargo.

SUBJECT: YUGOSLAVIA -- TRADE -- IRAN; WEAPONS -- YUGOSLAVIA; YUGOSLAVIA -- REVOLTS



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April 14, 1995 13:12 Eastern Time

SECTION: International news

LENGTH: 814 words

HEADLINE: US knew of Iranian arms deliveries to Bosnia: report

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, April 14

BODY:

Iran has been supplying weapons to the Bosnian Moslems in violation of the arms embargo and with Washington's tacit consent, the Washington Post said Friday quoting unidentified senior US officials.

The arms and ammunitions, most of which has passed through Croatia over the past six months, have allowed the Bosnian Moslem army to move closer to military equality with Serb separatists, the official said.

Although Iran's actions violate a UN arms embargo against Bosnia and other former Yugoslav republics, Washington has not objected because it has long considered the Bosnian Moslems the underdog in the Bosnian civil war.

... said, Washington has told the Bosnian government not to import ground-to-air missiles or other weapons that could be used against relief or military flights.

Part of the shipments consist of Uzi submachine guns purchased from Israel under the late Shah Rezi Pahlevi, another US official said.

Turning a blind eye to an avowed enemy of the United States would contradict current US efforts to curb the expansion of fundamentalism emanating from Iran.

As recently as Thursday, Clinton warned that Iran was still the world's greatest threat and said that he was considering stronger action against Tehran.

He noted that the US administration recently blocked an oil deal between Iran and the US oil company Conoco and said he was about to receive a report on what other measures could be taken to isolate Iran.

Clinton also strongly opposes Russia's planned sale of nuclear reactors to Iran.

US officials said the first signs of Iranian arms shipments to Bosnia came almost a year ago with the arrival in Zagreb of an Iranian Boeing 747 jet filled with arms and other supplies.

The deliveries have now become routine, the officials added.



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A percentage of the weapons is skimmed by Croatia for its own use, the US official said.

The White House is privately hoping the Bosnian Moslems can make military gains that convince the Serbs that negotiations are preferable to prolonged warfare.

But McCurry publicly backed the arms embargo.

"We look negatively on anything that violates the UN arms embargo and prolong the fighting at a time when we believe the parties ought to be reaching for peace," he said.

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JANUARY 5, 1995, THURSDAY

SECTION: STATE DEPARTMENT BRIEFING

LENGTH: 7519 words

HEADLINE: STATE DEPARTMENT
REGULAR BRIEFING

BRIEFER: MIKE MCCURRY WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 4, 1995

BODY:

MR. MCCURRY: Good to see you all today, nice to have you here. I've got one thing I want to start with. We are going to put a statement out right after the briefing on a new communications link that has been inaugurated by Secretary Perry between the United States and Ukraine. It is essentially a hotline-type communications link that uses equipment that's virtually identical to the equipment now used to support the U.S.-Russian nuclear risk reduction centers. The presence of that link with Ukraine at the time that they are following through on their denuclearization commitments will make the world a safer place, and we've got a longer statement to it.

Q (Off mike) -- because I think we -- those of us who were here then went upstairs and saw the Russian link with -- (off mike) --

MR. MCCURRY: International -- I don't see the answer to that in this statement.

Q (Off mike) -- like reporters.

MR. MCCURRY: We can find that -- let's find that out. (Pause.) Probably not because they've -- you know, every time you go up there that's like --

Q They get nervous, they cover the --

MR. MCCURRY: Very -- they cover everything up, and it's located in a very secure, sensitive part of the U.S. State Department, our nerve center, the operations center where --

Q The cafeteria? (Laughter.)

MR. MCCURRY: -- day and night -- day and night they do great work. By the way, I from time to time do "Ode to the Ops Center," but I point out that in the period right before the holidays when we had a lot of people in different parts of the country, you know, including the secretary, the operations center did an absolutely spectacular job keeping everyone very well connected through multiple time zones as we dealt with the return of Chief Warrant Officer Bobby Hall and the remains of David Hilemon, and a tribute to them, I think as a result of the really splendid work they did, we didn't stand up a task force, which saved the taxpayers some money, but they did an awfully good job, and some times it's nice to point that kind of thing out.

Q Mike, by the way we forgot to say goodbye yesterday to Marty Judge (sp), so we reporters will wish him well and all.

MR. MCCURRY: It is duly noted here in the record that Martin Judge, who served our press office extraordinarily well, enjoyed his retirement yesterday. I'd point out actually we had three career retirees from other parts of the Bureau of Public Affairs yesterday. They had a combined service to the United States



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government going back 120 years total, including a gentleman, Mr. Kemp, whom some of you know, who has kept track of our dispatches and other public documents for -- going back almost 51 years, a very able group of public servants who are now enjoying a deserved retirement.

Q Could we ask you about the bombing pause, and can you confirm it? And also, what is the U.S.'s knowledge or even hunch on why he's doing it? Is it for negotiations or is he responding for appeals for taking it a little easier on the people of Chechnya?

MR. MCCURRY: That is not clear to us at this point, Barry. We have seen reports indicating that President Yeltsin has ordered a halt to air strikes on Grozny, but that -- obviously the announcement of that is something that we welcome, although we would be anxious to see that that order in fact be implemented. So we'll be monitoring the situation carefully. I'm not sure if there have been additional contact through the embassy in Moscow to learn more about that directive by President Yeltsin, but I assume there will be follow up just so we learn more about the assessment that we received from the Russian Federation about the situation in Chechnya.

Q Are you saying we weren't told -- the U.S. wasn't told in advance?

MR. MCCURRY: I -- I don't know whether we received any advance notice or not, Barry, through the embassy in Moscow. I haven't seen reporting back in through our embassy yet. I will check on that point, but I'm not aware any. I think the first word we received were carried ably on the wire services.

Saul.

Q Yeah. The French foreign minister suggested today that -- that Russian behavior in Chechnya might be a violation of the pledges that they've made as a member of CSCE and has asked Europe to join in asking for Russia to report on its conduct. I wonder if the United States would go along with that.

MR. MCCURRY: Well, we -- my understanding is that the European Union has suggested that Russia invite what used to be called the CSCE, now the OSCE, to help seek a peaceful settlement on the conflict. We do believe that activities of that type could help resolve the issues at hand within a framework that preserves the territorial integrity of the Russian Federation and addresses the clear humanitarian aspects of the situation, and we privately encouraged exactly that type of thinking among the concerned parties. But we will wait and see what type of response there is from Moscow. Clearly, operating within the boundaries of the OSCE, there would have to be Russian participation or invitation for any type of monitoring mission or presence by the OSCE, so we will have to see what type of response is forthcoming from Moscow on that. Now, as to the concerns expressed by the French minister, they echo in some ways some of the concerns we've expressed here, you know, concerning some aspects of the use of force by the Russian Federation. And, as you know and as we've said in the past several days, we've urged both sides to fully respect the Geneva conventions on the protection of victims of armed conflict and specifically the Protocol 2, the 1977 protocol on armed conflicts that govern the use of force by armed parties within territorial boundaries.

Q Mike, although it's clearly an internal matter and the world sees it that way, is -- nevertheless, could the possibility of some outside mediation be offered to see whether that might be accepted?

MR. MCCURRY: I wouldn't speculate on that at this point.

I mean, we're at a point where there are reports coming from Moscow that there has been some change, what's described, I think, in fact as a drastic change in the prosecution of the conflict by the Russian Federation. We'll see how that develops, see if in fact that leads to the type of peaceful -- type of peace negotiations that we have suggested already publicly is the correct way to



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resolve this conflict. We have repeatedly said that both sides should take steps to avoid bloodshed, to exercise restraint, and to do something to peacefully end a conflict that we think ought to be addressed peacefully.

Q Mike, did you say you privately urged both parties to go to the CSCE; you all are in contact with the Chechens?

MR. MCCURRY: Well, we've encouraged them to -- no, we encourage thinking that within the -- I think in this case we mean the parties that would deliberate within the OSCE. I'd have to check and see whether we've actually communicated directly to any aspect of the Chechen leadership. I don't have a good account of that.

Q Would you take that question that --

MR. MCCURRY: I will. I will take that. And that has come up in one or two points, what -- the question several days ago, which I think is a good one, too, is what level of political reporting Embassy Moscow can do in Chechnya, and what contact, if any, have we had with either Dudayev or other aspects of Chechen leadership, whether in Chechnya or perhaps elsewhere.

Andrea?

Q Do you have any information at all about whether there is a new ground assault or whether they've been poised for a new ground assault?

MR. MCCURRY: No. You know, we have heard a lot of conflicting reports about the status of finding -- we have heard reports that there was bombing in Grozny as early as this morning, and we, you know, also have got reports that the presidential palace in Grozny remains in the hands of Chechen forces, and that beyond that I'm not sure that we've got fully accurate, instantaneous information coming about the status of the military conflict.

Yeah, Terry? Q I believe Yelena Bonner is going to be in Washington tomorrow. Do you know has she requested any appointments in this building? Are there plans of anybody here to meet with her?

MR. MCCURRY: I don't know. Given her status, I imagine she would be received should she request a meeting, but -- in fact, maybe there have been attempts to arrange one. But I can check on that. I'm not aware of any.

Q Could you let us know one way or the other if something is set up or something is not set up?

MR. MCCURRY: We will.

Q Can we go to Haiti?

MR. MCCURRY: Haiti.

Q One more on Russia?

Q Go ahead.

MR. MCCURRY: One more, Bill.

Q Okay, regarding, Mike, this article in the Times today by Mr. Gertz alleging -- from a CIA report of December 22nd -- alleging that Yeltsin is still in control but not exercising leadership and that he is doomed by ill health. The CIA is not receiving confirmation from them about this. Can you tell me anything? I understand it's been distributed in this building.

MR. MCCURRY: I'm not going to comment on intelligence reports that may or may not be distributed. That's a long-standing practice that we don't publicly share our assessments regarding foreign leaders, foreign governments.

Q Without going into the intelligence report, just to unclassify, could you comment on Yeltsin's health? What's your understanding?

MR. MCCURRY: Well, I'd guess our best understanding comes from the recent meeting that the vice president of the United States had with President Yeltsin which was a vibrant meeting in which the president participated and had a full range of issues that he discussed with the vice president under the general heading of the Gore-Chernomyrdin visit. He clearly had had some type of nasal



surgery, which is consistent with the public reports that had been indicated. But I'm not aware of any other extensive medical analysis that the vice president was able to make in that encounter.

Q But nothing since then? We've haven't seen him since then?

MR. MCCURRY: I'm not --

Q Or spoken?

MR. MCCURRY: I'm not aware of any contact that we've had through our embassy, which would be the only way we would have had such contact in the time since the vice president's meeting.

Q And on Haiti.

MR. MCCURRY: Yeah.

Q I believe you said tomorrow was the deadline by which Haitian at Guantanamo had to sign up for your repatriation grant. Can you bring us up to date on that?

MR. MCCURRY: I can. As of the end of the day yesterday, some 540 Haitians have signed up to return voluntarily to Haiti in response to the statement that we delivered to them in Creole on December 29th. Most of those, I believe, have already returned to Port-au-Prince by a Coast Guard cutter; some are scheduled, I believe, to depart later today. They continue to have until midnight tonight, under the voluntary program that we enunciated, to get a repatriation grant of 200 Haitian dollars, which is about 80 U.S. dollars. They also will get some access to the jobs programs that have been established in Haiti through AID and others in the international community that have been working to try to get the Haitian economy going again with working closely, obviously, with President Aristide and his government. And we will see, as of the expiration of the deadline tonight, what happens with -- obviously that is only a fraction of that 4,500 or so Haitian who have been at Guantanamo. Clearly most of them have not yet accepted the offer. We'll see how that develops during the course of the day today because we obviously are encouraging these folks to go home.

We think the conditions in Haiti now are sufficient that most of them could safely return to their homes and start participating in the renewal of the Haitian political and economic life. I'll just have to report to you tomorrow on how many actually take it. Clearly, if they don't take it, we begin the process by which we conduct case-by-case discussions with each individual about involuntary repatriation. So they're going to go back home one way or another, and we think we've figured out a way to make it -- ease their transition back into the, you know, economic and political life of their homeland.

Q (Off mike) -- giving any explanations, any reason as to why they would not take the money and be involuntarily repatriated?

MR. MCCURRY: I -- on a case-by-case basis, I don't have an answer, Sid, but the presumption is a lot of them would like to believe that they have some way of getting to the United States. They would like to be here, and who wouldn't want to be here. But their home is in Haiti, and that's where they belong, and that's where we think they can safely return.

Andrea?

Q Another subject -- Bob Dole says he's going to introduce legislation today to lift the arms embargo.

MR. MCCURRY: Unfortunately so. I believe that's right, he is going to do that. But we believe -- continue to believe that it is just the wrong thing to do at this very important point in the crisis in Bosnia to suggest that somehow or other this very fragile cessation of hostilities agreement which we hope will turn into a full-scale discussion about a peace settlement based on the contact group proposal. To introduce into that moment a discussion about unilaterally lifting the arms embargo, we think, is not a wise course of action. It is very



likely, as we've said here repeatedly, that if you take on the unilateral responsibility of lifting the arms embargo, the United States would also unilaterally take on the consequences of that action, and that would include, in our view as a moral responsibility, the arming, training and equipping of the

Bosnian Muslims who would have to defend themselves in the interim against the Bosnia-Serb military force that would likely try to take advantage of the situation, and how that could be achieved without massive use of U.S. force unilaterally, and very, very likely, the introduction of U.S. ground troops is a question that someone, I hope, will pose to Senator Dole. Q What if the Congress were to mandate a lifting of the embargo? It would still be within the discretion of the executive branch not to sell arms. Is that not right?

MR. MCCURRY: You -- the United States government could take the view that lifting the arms embargo, that we, you know, in effect unilaterally abrogate our obligations to the world community, but then somewhat hypocritically fail to do anything about that. I suppose that is correct.

I'm not sure what the logic of that would be. If you are lifting the arms embargo for the purpose of trying to get arms to the Muslims, to the Bosnian government, you do so, I think, with some moral responsibility to follow through on that and to engage in arming the warring party. Now the answer might be, well, gee, there are all these other people in the world who would be more than happy to arm the Muslims. So I would suggest then if it's Senator Dole's intent to allow Iran to aggressively arm and support the Bosnian Muslims, that's an interesting proposition, and probably ought to debate it in some greater detail I would imagine.

Q Well, of course, in your position as making a transition, perhaps you could speak a little bit for the White House. If it's the wrong thing --

MR. MCCURRY: I will not do that. I won't entertain that question. Next question.

Q If it's the wrong thing -- (inaudible) --

MR. MCCURRY: Does anyone else have a question?

Q -- speaking then for the State Department --

MR. MCCURRY: Yes -- (inaudible) -- staying right here -- (laughter) --

Q If it's the wrong thing to do, one of the things that the president has is the veto. Can you tell us that -- if it passes rather than disturb this fragile cease-fire, that the president will veto it?

MR. MCCURRY: You'll have to ask the White House about that.

Q Well, Mike, this seems a timely time to ask --

MR. MCCURRY: No, I -- look, that -- we -- among other things, one thing that I think we would say here is that having just nurtured this cessation of hostilities accord, which is fragile -- nurturing I'm saying because I don't -- A, will not take credit for having done it, although I think the United States, through its diplomatic efforts, has contributed to the environment in which that agreement was reached, but it was reached principally by the hard work of U.N. officials, as you know, but having done that, that it provides a period of time now in which we might actually be able to get some progress towards a peace settlement that would bring the conflict to an end if we start, as you know, from the premise that the contact group proposal is the basis for the -- any such negotiations.

Now, you know, that -- that needs time to, you know, develop. It is obviously, by no means, a guaranteed course of action that there would any successful result of that type of negotiation, but it is worth giving that a try. Now perhaps Congress, as it considers Senator Dole's resolution, might want to think about what that four-month period offers by way of an opportunity for



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negotiations, but that's the kind of thing that in the course of our very close consultations with Congress we will develop. We obviously will work closely with the majority leader and others in Congress to address the question, but we think we can argue effectively that we're at a point in the diplomacy based on the work the contact group has done that we need to see if we can't use this new diplomatic opportunity to build on the opportunity for peace.

Q But you're unable to say or unwilling to say at this point that if Congress does drive this through that --

MR. MCCURRY: Yeah, I'm not in a position to say.

Q -- Clinton will veto it?

MR. MCCURRY: I'm not in a position to say. I can't speak for the White House on that point and I imagine -- I'm not aware that the White House has developed a thinking on it specifically on that point. I think they're interested -- well, we are very interested and I think the entire administration is very interested in working closely with Congress to get them to understand what we believe is the dynamic at work now as the warring parties have some limited amount of time in which they might make progress on a peace settlement.

Q Does the administration still favor a multilateral lift?

MR. MCCURRY: Yes we do and -- because the rationale for this is important. There's no question that the affect of the arms embargo did an injustice to the Bosnian government. But lifting that arms embargo unilaterally means the United States takes on unilateral responsibility as I just suggested for all the things that happened, not to mention the consequences of a major power in the United Nations unilaterally abrogating a U.N. Security Council resolution. What about all the other resolutions where we are encouraging others to kind of hang tough, whether it's the Iraq sanctions regime or others. But for all of those reasons, unilateral lift is a very, very bad idea. Lifting multilaterally, which would require the action of the U.N. security council is something that would address that injustice that has been done. It is just practically and in reality an impossibility because of the positions that you know of in the Security Council that have been very well articulated by other governments within the Security Council.

Q What's the -- (word inaudible) -- for his reading "Arms shipped across the border." Is that part of Milosovich's -- (inaudible)?

MR. MCCURRY: They have -- there are arms trafficking -- in the nether world of arms trafficking there's clearly transactions that continue to take place but both along the Bosnian-Serbia border, that is the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia-Bosnia border, there have been effective measures to control transshipments across that border and now, in what's called the back door along the Krajina, there have also been more effective measures to halt or cut the shipment or flow across that border. So there is some evidence that Milosovich and the Belgrade authorities have followed through on some of there commitments to close down that border, by no means is it sealed. There clearly continues to be traffic getting across there, but we believe we've seen in recent weeks some evidence that shipments across both of those borders had been curtailed.

Andrea?

Q (Off mike) -- isn't there a deadline approaching for continuing the current status or a partial lifting of sanctions?

MR. MCCURRY: That is correct. And we will -- we'll have to make a judgment as we see that deadline approaches. I believe it's January 12th, January 15th? In that neighborhood. Anyone know? Something like that. It's coming up within a period of a week.



Q Do you have to report to Congress that the border is effectively closed to continue that status or --

MR. MCCURRY: Well, this is subject to a U.N. action, Andrea. I think that this is more -- the monitoring is done collectively by the monitoring mission that was put in place along that border, and the judgment that they then render to the Security Council. And as I say, we'll be interested in really seeing what the situation is as they make that review. There is some evidence that would suggest that there has been measures to close that border off, which would suggest that the limited sanctions relief that was applied to Serbia might then be continued. But we'll, you know, need to wait and see exactly things unfold in the coming days.

Q (Inaudible.)

MR. MCCURRY: One more on that.

Q Just finally, Mike, what progress has been made in the cease-fire? What is the department's assessment? And what -- I understand some fighting going on in the -- still going on in the pocket, in the Bihac pocket. But secondly, what has been done by the powers involved in trying to make peace? What progress has been made? Is this a good cease-fire?

MR. MCCURRY: Well, this cease-fire -- I'll provide what we've got. The cease-fire does appear to be holding well in most parts of the country. There continues to be fighting in the Bihac pocket. There are some reports of fighting up in the northwestern of the Bihac pocket. I assume that's near Velika Kladusa, where a lot of the fighting had been occurring in recent days. The Sarajevo airport reopened yesterday, after having been closed due to bad weather. There are now humanitarian supplies that are flowing relatively smoothly to most parts of the country, with the important exception of Bihac, where, you know, obviously there continues to be consequences of fighting that, again, involved the very complicated set of combatants, including the Muslim separatists, who were receiving support from a variety of sources there. The fighting there in the Bihac pocket does not resemble necessarily a lot of the fighting occurring elsewhere.

The UN reports that the Bosnian government troops are prepared today to withdraw from their positions around Mount Igman, which was one of the -- one aspect of the agreement that they reached. And General Rose has started the discussions today on those -- establishment of those joint commissions that were envisioned as part of the cessation of hostilities agreement.

Q Is the contact group following up on this?

MR. MCCURRY: The contact group will meet -- is expected to meet tomorrow in Bonn, and again, they will be exploring those steps that we can take from this point that will get the parties back into a discussion based on the contact group proposal of last July that we hope could lead to a peaceful settlement of the conflict.

Q Before we go to Saul, one more on Bosnia, please. On the arms embargo as it affects the Bosnian government, some weeks ago before Bihac blew up again, the Bosnian government seemed to be fielding a lot of new uniforms, light arms and so on. Is the arms embargo -- and they weren't getting heavy arms, but is the arms embargo in fact pretty porous and aren't they getting a lot of things anyway.

MR. MCCURRY: Well, it is a fact of long-duration arms embargoes that over time, as they -- you know, over time, people figure out ways to run an embargo. That has been one reason why we have from time to time called up for stepped enforcement of various types of embargoes around the world because people just figure out over time how to elude them. Now, there has been some evidence that people have figured out in a variety of ways how to elude the arms embargo in



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Bosnia. There is some -- some evidence that there is resupply going on, but it's clearly curtailed or not as significant as it would be in the absence of some measures to enforce the arms embargo.

Saul, you had another one.

Q Yeah, I was just curious to know whether anybody from the State Department here, at the peace team is accompanying Secretary Perry on his trip to the Middle East?

MR. MCCURRY: That is a good question. They are all -- they work together as a groups so tightly that I -- I suspect they will or some combination of them will. But I would have to check and see who all would be in that delegation. Secretary Perry, some of you may know that they had a couple of senior officials who briefed a little bit on his trip today -- earlier today at the Pentagon, talked about his stops in Egypt and Israel. I think it reflects some of what I said yesterday about the nature of the trip. He's clearly going to be there looking mostly at some of the military aspects of our military cooperation and our security interests both in Egypt and Israel.

Q It's a little unclear, as it was described to me, you said that Secretary Perry would not be getting into the Middle East peace process, and then at the same time you said he will discuss any future arrangement whereby U.S. peacekeepers might be stationed on the Golan Heights.

MR. MCCURRY: Well.

Q (Inaudible.)

MR. MCCURRY: Sid, my understanding -- I've talked to the Pentagon, but my understanding is contrary, and Secretary Perry has a good understanding of the status of the peace process and I think understands that we're not in a position at this point that the question of U.S. presence as part of a peacekeeping force or a potential peacekeeping force in the Golan is a real issue in front of either the parties or the United States.

We are a long ways away from the point at which that would be contemplated, because they're a long ways away from the point that we could foresee an agreement between the two parties.

Q But that's the point that the two parties are discussing, the security arrangements --

MR. MCCURRY: Well, it's --

Q -- (inaudible) -- sort of peel it off --

MR. MCCURRY: They have -- they're --

Q -- get away from the --

MR. MCCURRY: It is one aspect of a very complicated negotiations -- by no means the most contentious aspect.

Q Mike?

MR. MCCURRY: Another subject or another one? Betsy on that one?

Q Algeria?

MR. MCCURRY: Yeah. And then we'll come back.

Q Islamic fundamentalists have said that embassies, all foreign embassies must be out of Algeria and have broken off relations by January 7th. What is our response?

MR. MCCURRY: Well, we don't have any indication of the authenticity of this alleged letter. But obviously we take threats like that seriously, and we have for some time been very concerned about the security situation in Algeria. We reduced our embassy staff to a level that we consider appropriate under the current circumstances. We've got in place, obviously, an active security program which we constantly review, update as need be, and we take very strict precautions to ensure the safety of personnel in Algeria and to provide other resident Americans with a very accurate picture of the security situation and



how to deal with it.

We've been updating our travel warning on Algeria fairly consistently, including just at the end of the year on the 30th, to take into account the recent air hijacking episode. And we continue to warn Americans it is a very dangerous situation in Algeria and they need to be -- take maximum precautions as they consider their own security needs.

Q But they did get the letter in Algiers, the U.S. embassy in Algiers did get that letter, whether it's authentic or not?

MR. MCCURRY: Yes. The U.S. and several other embassies in Bern in Switzerland received similar letters warning that foreigners would be killed if the diplomatic missions in Algiers are not closed by January 7th. And again, we have not established the authenticity of the letter or related it to any specific security threat, but given our very real concerns about security for U.S. personnel and U.S. citizens in Algeria, we are going to proceed accordingly.

Q Now was this -- it was the same letter that the others received?

MR. MCCURRY: Similar -- it's described as similar letters, that's all I have. I don't know whether they were identical.

Yeah?

Q Could you verify, did the letter to go the embassy in Bern or in --

MR. MCCURRY: Yes.

Q -- (inaudible)?

MR. MCCURRY: U.S. embassy, Bern.

Q Can you attribute it to a source?

MR. MCCURRY: Cannot.

Q Is this coming from the GIA?

MR. MCCURRY: Cannot. We, as I said, haven't established either the authenticity of the letter or the identity of the sender.

Q (Off mike.)

MR. MCCURRY: Don't have that information here.

Q Mike, what are the numbers at the embassy and the numbers of Americans in Algeria? Have you done that recently?

MR. MCCURRY: I haven't done that. I don't have it here, Chris. I haven't done that recently. Anyone recall offhand? We can see whatever -- I think we did that in one of our last, most recent guidances on it.

Yeah?

Q The Kurdish terrorists, they killed two days 19 civilians in -- (inaudible) -- in Turkey. The first part of the question is, do you have any reaction? The second part, before the new year I asked a question, the PKK is planning to establish a government in exile in northern Iraq, which --

MR. MCCURRY: I think you followed up with someone on that.

Q That, you know, is the answer, but yesterday the PKK leader Urjula (ph), he officially made a statement that they are making a government in exile in northern Iraq and planning to dismember it in Turkey.

MR. MCCURRY: I'm not aware of that statement. I'd have to look into that and see if I can get some kind of reaction to it. Obviously, on the killings involved, as we do with all killings, we condemn and deplore them, but we'll find out more about the circumstances of that.

Jim?

Q Another subject. Is the so-called KEDO, the Korean Energy Development Organization, is that meeting here on Monday? MR. MCCURRY: No. There are some -- I don't know that they've nailed down any of the meetings. I know that there are three sets of meetings that are going to happen in January. One is on light-water reactor technology. One is on spent fuel -- the spent fuels rods



currently in storage in Yongbyon, and my recollection is that the spent fuel talks are going to take place in North Korea as well as -- there will also be talks on the exchange of liaison offices. I think the spent fuel talks and the liaison talks are in Pyongyang, and then there will be discussions on the light-water reactor talks.

Now, there have been a lot of discussions, including some in San Francisco just prior to the end of the year, about the consortium that would be set up, called the Korean Energy Development Organization, that would encourage participation by other governments in the funding of some aspects of this light-water reactor technology. It's obviously not the intent of the United States government to foot any but some fraction of the cost of this agreed framework, and the bulk of the cost of the light-water reactor technology to be provided will be borne by other governments. So we've been in active consultation, as you know, with the South Koreans, the Japanese, among others, about how to foot that bill and how to actually arrange for the organization that would supervise the provision of this technology.

Those talks have been ongoing. I was no aware that they were -- had another round scheduled for Monday. I can check on that and see if that is in fact the case. The most recent, as I say, were back in San Francisco at the end of the year.

Q You said there were three rounds of talks in January and you mentioned two.

MR. MCCURRY: The two -- well, the three, the light water -- the spent fuel talks and the liaison talks in North Korea and the light water reactor talks -- they have not selected a venue for those yet. The other two sets of talks we know will be in North Korea but we don't have any firm dates yet for those.

Q (Initially inaudible) -- talks coming up, remember that I did that some reports varied but you guys held out hope for it. I'm hearing just kind of preliminary that the people are coming here -- the Casablanca Bank. If you don't have it off the top of your head I can --

MR. MCCURRY: No, they were coming the 10th I -- well, I should check on that, Barry. I believe the talks were coming on the 10th and there have been a lot of preparatory talks going into it to build support for what we thought was a significant achievement at Casablanca which was the commitment to some type of funding mechanism to nurture the peace process in the Middle East.

Q (Initially inaudible) -- and how many countries?

MR. MCCURRY: Well, there's a lot of work to do because I think a lot of governments correctly want to know exactly what arrangements are going to be made to handle the financing and that's one of the purposes of these upcoming talks. We don't think we're going to resolve all the issues that would allow for the creation of the bank but we hope to make some headway.

Q If your office can get a list of the countries, we'd be interested to know if Saudi Arabia is going to be here.

MR. MCCURRY: Of who all is participating? Okay.

Q Where are the -- (inaudible)? In this building?

MR. MCCURRY: I believe here in Washington. I don't know whether -- I think they're somewhere here in town. We'll work that up and see if we can do something tomorrow.

Q (Inaudible.)

MR. MCCURRY: Yeah, we'll take that one for tomorrow and we'll do a fact sheet on what they're going to do.

Charlie?

Q Can I go back to the -- (word inaudible) -- and energy. The oil shipment that is due, is it due to be shipped by the 21st or due to arrive there on the 21st? Do you have any nuts, bolts on --



MR. MCCURRY: It was scheduled for delivery January 21st. The process by which presumably a tanker would make its way to North Korea is one that I'm not familiar enough with to comment upon. The Pentagon I think plans to do a little bit of backgrounding on aspects of the delivery of that shipment sometime later this week if not tomorrow.

Q Did we every figure out whether you have to get Congressional approval for that shipment or not?

MR. MCCURRY: Well, my understanding is that coming under -- it's called the Defense Emergency -- Emergency or Contingency funding. It's in the -- we had that yesterday. There's go David dutifully to get it. Yeah, there's some provision within Defense funding that it can allow them to provide that on an emergency or contingency basis. I'm not sure I -- we can dig up the exact provision. But that is available to the Pentagon for uses like this. Obviously we expect there to be very close oversight by Congress of the entire agreed framework. As I've said on several occasions, we look forward to it because we think making the case that this agreed framework is in our interests and in the interest of the United States is one that we are looking for opportunities to develop.

Chris?

Q Back to this consortium. You and Ambassador Galucci have both said that the United States does not intend to be a large contributor to this. The Japanese government has also said that it intends to do just the absolute minimum. Is this essentially going to be financed entirely by South Korea?

MR. MCCURRY: It is -- there will be participation by the Japanese, we expect, the South Koreans, and perhaps others within the consortium. How they will apportion or divide the cost of the estimated \$4 billion is not entirely clarified at this point.

As I say, it is certainly the understanding by all the parties going into that the United States would not foot the disproportionate size of that bill, that obviously that most of the cost would be borne by the Japanese and the South Koreans. But the exact ways in which those costs will be divided is one aspect of the discussions being held about how do you create and establish the Korean Energy Development Organization to begin with. So, that's still ongoing. This is not -- I thought I had a specific provision in the Defense Department. It just is described as a Defense Department emergency and extraordinary expenses account, and that's how they would pay for it. By the way, the figure I've seen -- and some of you have used the figure of \$4.7 million. I think that that's accurate, but I'm told it's just 50,000 metric tons of oil, or whatever the price is. I assume that works out to \$4.7 million. Would make sense, right?

Bill?

Q Yes, Michael, on this issue and other foreign relations matters -- liaison with the Congress. Let me ask specifically, on the Dole plan, is there going to be a consultation by the Department of State with the leadership of the Senate? And what plan is there in the House to follow up? And will it be a bill like they passed last year, a resolution or a binding piece of legislation?

MR. MCCURRY: Well, we will actively -- we're going -- as Congress reconvenes today, we, you know, began a cycle of both formal and informal consultations that will include appearances by the secretary of state before the relevant committees and subcommittees in Congress, including appearances by senior administration officials from here in the department on various aspects of both budget and policy. But one -- I can assure to you that the work the administration is doing to try to bring the conflict in Bosnia to an end will be a subject of a great deal of consultation with the leadership, with the



bipartisan leadership, and we hope that we can achieve bipartisan support for the work we are doing to try to bring this tragic conflict to an end.

Q But Mr. Dole, I take it, has made a commitment to consult first before --

MR. MCCURRY: Well, I --

Q -- (inaudible)?

MR. MCCURRY: I have -- can't cite a specific commitment, but I think he's indicated a genuine desire to work on matters not only in foreign policy but other matters in a spirit of bipartisanship, and we welcome that opportunity. And obviously we think in the case of Bosnia we can substantially affect the thinking of members of Congress if we do have that type of opportunity to consult in a bipartisan way.

One thing before we wrap up, the Ukraine link is in the department's Nuclear Risk Reduction Center. Now, whether or not you can get access to that is something I would doubt, but --

Q Can you look to see if photos or whatever --

MR. MCCURRY: Something like that. We'll look into that. After I buttered up the op center earlier, maybe they'll let us in.

Yeah?

Q Mike, Israel has acknowledged on the record that it's helped China develop a new jet fighter. And they're not -- they can't say for sure whether some technology from a (period of ?) cooperation with the United States was transferred illegally. Are we -- is the administration investigating that? Have we asked Israel's cooperation?

MR. MCCURRY: Absolutely. We know -- I mean, obviously, we've seen some of the press accounts about measures of cooperation that have occurred between Israel and China. We take, you know, credible reports of any unauthorized transfer of U.S. military technology enormously seriously. The Arms Export Control Acts require us, under our own law, to -- you know, to look into those types of reports, to monitor what type of technology transfers may be occurring without specific U.S. authorization. We do have extensive procedures for monitoring that type of transfer. And when we see what we deem to be some action that requires a response, we take the appropriate action, we inform members of Congress, we proceed under the law as we are required to do. Now, in the -- I'm not going to be able to go into any specifics involving this case, but I can tell you that when issues like this arise regarding Israel, we share the information we have with them, they provide responses, we have an ongoing method of dealing with those types of questions, and we do follow up and we will follow up.

Q On a past case on the Patriot missile, the Arrow case, it went through the inspector general's office here. Would it probably be handled in the same manner as the Patriot --

MR. MCCURRY: Well, I wouldn't suggest that. There is a provision -- there is a way under law in which we are required to proceed. The secretary has designated the undersecretary for international arms control -- (to staff) -- what is Lynn Davis's full title? -- international security affairs -- undersecretary for things that go bang. (Scattered laughter.) And she's -- and she is the proper authority under the designation of the secretary to deal with those types of proliferation questions that arise on the munitions list under the Arms Export Control Act.

So she is the designated official who looks into this type of thing. I know that she has had substantive discussions with the government of Israel on a range of these types of issues. Without getting in any of the specifics of anything that might involve the Lavi fighter, I can say that those types of reports are those that concern us greatly and that we pursue them and pursue them diligently.



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Q But, I mean -- so to put it simply, you're investigating the report.

MR. MCCURRY: I think that's more than accurate.

Q You have a different -- how does it -- what can you say? Have there been technology transfers but you don't know if they were illegal?

MR. MCCURRY: I can't --

Q Or you're not saying if there have been any transfers at all?

MR. MCCURRY: If I stood here and said that there had been technology transfers, we would actually be in the process of taking the necessary remedies required under the law. So I'm not specifically not saying that.

Q (Inaudible.)

MR. MCCURRY: Well, I'm not aware of any specific authorization for the transfer of that type of technology that has been referred to in some of these reports.

Q If the U.S. is looking at this, when did you -- how -- for how long has the U.S. been looking at this particular case?

MR. MCCURRY: Well, this has been going around. In fact --

Q (Off mike.)

MR. MCCURRY: Jim Mann had a good story in the LA Times last week I think on it. But when I checked into it last week, people said, you know, "Gee, this -- these reports have been around for some time." So this has been an item on our agenda for these consultations that we have for some length of time. Q Is that something Perry might get into?

MR. MCCURRY: That -- it is possible that he would, but that by no means would define the agenda. It would be something that could conceivably be raised. I'll refer you to a competent authority at the Pentagon.

Q And what are the remedies you mentioned or sanctions or --

MR. MCCURRY: They have -- well there are the full range of things that are available under the Arms Export Control Act. There are different types of sanctions provision that are available, and we've dealt with those here from time to time, so, you know, you've got some sense of how we proceed. We find a sanctionable act has occurred, and we proceed. Under law, we do formal notifications on Congress, and I think we publish in the Federal Register simultaneously, if I'm not mistaken.

Chris?

Q Did I just hear you say that you didn't specifically want to exclude the fact that you had already found a transfer of technology?

MR. MCCURRY: No, I said that -- I have said that I would exclude that, because if we had, that's a sanctionable event at which there would have been an action that we would have reported to you.

(Cross talk.)

Q I thought you said -- I though you excluded that there had been a legal transfer because you knew there had been no --

MR. MCCURRY: No, transfers can occur when there is specific U.S. authorization. I'm not aware of any that involved that type of technology. I was just ruling out the possibility that we had found a sanctionable offense and had failed to take action. We obviously would not be able to do that under the law.

Q Thank you.

MR. MCCURRY: Thank you.

Q (Off mike.)

MR. MCCURRY: Hold it till tomorrow, till tomorrow. Or I could pass it on and we can do it tomorrow.

END

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH



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FOCUS - 8 OF 16 STORIES

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NOVEMBER 7, 1994, MONDAY

SECTION: STATE DEPARTMENT BRIEFING

LENGTH: 3590 words

HEADLINE: STATE DEPARTMENT
REGULAR BRIEFING

BRIEFER: CHRISTINE SHELLY MONDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1994

BODY:

... we're still certainly committed at this point to the enforcement of the arms embargo, but as you know, there is a -- with our draft resolution on the table at this point in the Security Council, that may change. But we will have to see what happens on the score, but we don't -- we can't -- whereas there is indication, I think, of some increased arms flow, which means that obviously there are some violations of the arms embargo, nonetheless we are always constrained from talking about what we know in specificity because most of our information on that does come from intelligence sources.

Q Are you monitoring Croatia too as you try to make sure that the embargo is maintained, or do you just monitor Bosnia?

MS. SHELLY: Well, I think that the resolution relates to all of the former republics of -- or republics of the former Yugoslavia, so I'm not aware that there's any separate regime in place regarding Croatia.

Q Well, because one of the strong reports is that Iranian arms are coming in to the Muslims through Croatia, Croatia being this year, I guess, the Muslims' friend -- God knows what the lineup will be next year, but right now they're fighting side by side -- and there's a very strong report that Iran is shipping a lot of weapons in to Croatia, and from Croatia they're getting to the Muslims. Do you know anything about that?

MS. SHELLY: Barry, we've certainly also seen those reports, but again, I can't comment on them in specificity.

Q Why would that be?

MS. SHELLY: Because information that we would have on that would in all probability come from intelligence sources. Q But I mean if the Iranians are sending them arms, they know it, and if the Muslims are receiving it, they know it, so who is the secrecy protecting?

MS. SHELLY: The --

Q I mean, you don't have to lay out how you know these things, but has Iran provided weapons? I mean, you're supposed to have a campaign against Iran, you're trying to isolate Iran, the U.S. is. Can you say whether Iran is providing arms to the Muslims in Bosnia?

MS. SHELLY: No. I cannot comment on that in specificity.

Q And that's because why? Because that would reveal how you got the information?

MS. SHELLY: Because, Barry, information that we -- most of it, if not all of the information that we have on violations of the arms embargo do come from intelligence sources.

Yes?



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Q There have been reports lately in the press about expansion of NATO and about U.S. role in it. Well, namely about precepts of the United States for new membership. Now, I wonder if you could be more specific about this process of other talks the allies are now -- or what are the prospecting (sic) for new potential members?

MS. SHELLY: Yeah, I don't have anything with me on that today, and I'll see if we can't work up something on that for a little bit later in the week. I know we have had some internal U.S. ...

... who are still in Guantanamo, what will happen with those who refuse to be repatriated, who don't want to return?

MS. SHELLY: Well, I'm not aware that there have been any specific refusals, because what's happened is we've continued to canvass the camps asking for volunteers, and up until the time when the injunction went into effect there was no shortage of volunteers.

So as I said, that had slowed when the news spread and some of those at the camp felt that maybe there would be an opening for them to come to the United States if the lawsuit were settled in their favor. But at this point, we have not -- been faced with refusal by some. The number I think will continue to diminish. And what happens ultimately, if there's a group left, that's a hypothetical at this point and so I don't have an answer for that.

Q When President Yeltsin was here, he agreed to not allow any -- permit any new contracts with Iran for weapons, and we asked -- and he was going to fulfill existing contracts, and we asked what is this delivery, what's in the pipeline, and the answer was we don't know at this point but we'll find out and let you know. I try to ask every now and then, do we know, because we're talking about submarines, we're not talking about, you know, little incidental things. It's baffling that the U.S. government wouldn't know what Russia is providing Iran with. But is there a score card, yet, a score sheet as to what Iran will receive from Russia with U.S. approval?

MS. SHELLY: Barry, I don't know. I'll have to check on that and see if we've had any recent communication from them with some more details.

Q Do you think you're going to get from -- I mean, the idea was to get it from Russia.

MS. SHELLY: Right.

Q Is Zhirinovskiy coming to Washington, by the way?

MS. SHELLY: ...



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FOCUS - 9 OF 16 STORIES

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November 7, 1994, Monday, BC cycle

LENGTH: 369 words

HEADLINE: U.S. denies helping arm Bosnian Muslims

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

The United States has submitted a draft resolution to the U.N. Security Council calling for the embargo to be lifted in six months against the Bosnian government, which has until now been heavily outgunned by the Serbs.

But Shelly said that for the time being, Washington was strictly enforcing the embargo.

She declined comment on reports that Iran could be supplying the Muslims with arms through Croatia.

U.S. officials admitted that their resolution on the embargo, which is strongly opposed by Britain, France and Russia, stood little chance of gaining the necessary nine favorable votes in the 15-member Security Council.

"Certainly it's an uphill struggle at this point to get the votes," one U.S. official said, adding that it would be up to the administration to decide, after U.N. discussions on Bosnia this week, whether to press the resolution to a vote.

Shelly rejected U.S. press suggestions that a Bosnian peace plan and map drawn up by an international panel was only a starting point and that the Serbs, who have rejected it, could hold out for more land later if they accepted it.

The Serbs, who hold some 70 percent of the republic, would be reduced to 49 percent under the plan drafted ...



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AUGUST 16, 1994, TUESDAY

SECTION: DEFENSE DEPARTMENT BRIEFING

LENGTH: 4522 words

HEADLINE: DEFENSE DEPARTMENT
REGULAR BRIEFING

BRIEFER: DENNIS BOXX TUESDAY, AUGUST 16, 1994

BODY:

... Q What size of U.S. troops are being considered for peacekeeping forces near the Israeli-Syrian border? And there is any conditions by the Israeli government on U.S. troops positioning there?

MR. BOXX: I'm sorry. I don't have anything on that. I'll take the question.

Q Dennis?

MR. BOXX: Yes?

Q One more -- back to the Bosnian question. Several weeks ago, there were articles, dispatches, about Iranian input -- Iranian weapons, Iranian terrorist trainers -- being put into the equation on the side of the Bosnian Muslims. And about two weeks ago, a DOD official on background mentioned something about the borders being leaky. There was some arms flow -- he didn't know -- didn't specify how much -- from sea, land and air.

MR. BOXX: What borders are we talking about?

Q We're talking about the borders from Kurache (ph), I believe -- ...



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LEVEL 1 - 2 OF 5 STORIES

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BODY:

MR. BOXX: I have no announcements. I know that will come as a disappointment, so where in the world would you like to begin?

Q How about Gitmo, Haitians and --

Q Melee, is that the word?

Q Melee, according to the Daily Worker, yes.

Q Near Singapore. (Scattered laughter.)

Q What happened, and what's the situation now?

MR. BOXX: Saturday morning 20 U.S. military personnel and about 45 Haitians were injured during a spontaneous demonstration by the Haitians at the Guantanamo Naval Base in Cuba. Of the 20 U.S. personnel injured, 18 were treated and released; two of those are still hospitalized with minor injuries; and 45 Haitians received some minor injuries as well. The situation right now is calm and quiet.

Q What was the cause?

Q How minor can the injuries be if they're still, three days later, in the hospital?

MR. BOXX: I think there were some cuts and lacerations that I think they're trying to make sure are bound up well.

Q These are injuries the Haitians received from the U.S. military down there?

MR. BOXX: No, these are injuries that all received from rocks and bottles and things that were thrown. The injuries to the Haitians were not as a result of any actions by the military police.

Q Any weapons used?

MR. BOXX: No weapons other than bottles, rocks; I think some tent poles and things like that were thrown around.

The cause, as best we understand it, is a -- came as a result of some frustration, I think, in both the boredom level that they were experiencing and are experiencing at Guantanamo Bay and also some uncertainty about their future. We are in no way condoning what happened, but I think it's -- you can understand that the frustration levels are up. We're trying to deal with that in a couple of ways, at least in terms of providing some educational facilities, occupational facilities, recreational facilities, things like that, to try to deal to some degree with the frustration level that they're experiencing. The question of where their future is is much more difficult to deal with. The -- I would take the opportunity to point out to you that the reason for their presence in Guantanamo Bay is that the military regime in Haiti has caused them to flee their country. Let's not lose sight of why they're there. We are



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Federal News Service, AUGUST 16, 1994

working very hard at trying to deal with that issue, as you know -- more pressure in terms of sanctions, trying to close down the border between the Dominican Republic and Haiti; and as we have said repeatedly, no option is off the table, including the military option.

Q Any idea as to how many Haitians in total were involved in this?

MR. BOXX: Seven hundred and fifty was the total that I saw.

Q All in the melee?

MR. BOXX: Yes.

Q What happened to those who tried to swim to freedom in Cuba?

MR. BOXX: They were picked up by Coast Guard and Navy boats.

Q How many?

MR. BOXX: A hundred and twenty.

Q Are you considering changing the structure of the camp in some way to prevent this or minimize this?

MR. BOXX: There are some discussions about other security measures that might be taken. I saw some indication of perhaps a fence that might be put up along a cliff area that might discourage people from trying to dive to the water, which is very dangerous -- those kinds of things.

Q Dennis, it's not possible to swim to Cuba from the area we're talking about at Guantanamo, is it?

MR. BOXX: That is right. They arrived back in the area of the Guantanamo Bay facility, and we have done everything we can to let them know that.

Q Did you counsel them on what might await them on the other side of the fence had they made it?

MR. BOXX: I think that was all part of our ongoing discussions, as they say.

Q What about past demonstrations? I understand there was a sit-in at the end of last month.

MR. BOXX: I understand there was a demonstration, a non-violent demonstration on the 31st of July, again, more in terms of a political demonstration, which is really what this was. This was a demonstration that included chants for the return of Aristide. This was not an anti-U.S. demonstration, this was clearly a pro-Aristide demonstration. And I think there was a similar one, a much smaller level, much lower numbers, and I don't have a lot of the details. But there was no violence, no injuries. It was much more passive.

Q Which was the pro-Aristide, this one or the July one?

Q (Inaudible.)

MR. BOXX: I'm sorry, John, I'll get back to you.
Ivan?

Q Which was the pro-Aristide one, the one in --

MR. BOXX: My understanding is they both were.

Q Both? Okay.

Q Pro-Aristide.

MR. BOXX: Yes?

Q What was the nature of that earlier one? Was it a small number of people? And what did they do?

MR. BOXX: I'm told it was a small number, and it was chants and political slogans thrown about.

Q The one that just happened started out peaceful and turned violent, do you know what turned it?

MR. BOXX: No, I don't. I don't know what the intensity level was as it developed. I really don't have anything on that.

Q Is there any indication that these refugees have some kind of -- any kind of leadership that's promoting this kind of activity?

MR. BOXX: No, I don't think there's a leadership that is promoting this kind of



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activity. I think what you see is just a growing unrest that has boiled over, and we are trying to contend with that and get them to understand precisely what we are trying to do in the situation, both from a policy perspective and from an immediate Guantanamo Bay facility perspective.

Q Are the guards still unarmed, and is there consideration being given to arming them?

MR. BOXX: The U.S. military police who are in the camp are not armed, and my understanding is that there's no plan to change that. This is a temporary safe haven, it is not a jail or a prison.

Q Didn't they isolate or segregate the so-called ring leaders or leaders of this group into another part of the camp so they might not instigate another such riot?

MR. BOXX: Three hundred and twenty-nine people were separated into another portion of the camp -- administrative segregation they called it -- for a period of time. I think that actually ends today. Essentially what it was was a cooling off period.

Q Dennis, why did it take 48 hours, and as I understand it, also inquiries from reporters, before there was information put out about this?

MR. BOXX: The incident was reported on Saturday up through the chain of command to the duty officer in operations, but, unfortunately, the information was not passed on from the duty officer to those that needed to know in the joint staff and OSD.

As a result, Dr. Perry and other top DOD officials were not aware of it until late Monday afternoon.

Q Is that a serious lapse? I mean, it's one thing for us not to hear about it, but the secretary of defense?

MR. BOXX: I can tell you the secretary was very unhappy with what happened. He expressed that unhappiness to the staff, reminded the staff of the importance of making sure that existing procedures for the flow of information are followed. And I have a feeling that that message was well received.

Q Dennis, is the U.S. any closer to moving Haitians from Haiti across the Dominican Republic border? And, if that happens, will there be any U.S. involvement in guaranteeing safe passage?

MR. BOXX: There are still discussions. I know the State Department is deeply involved in discussions and looking at options of how to get the Haitians in Haiti who are approved for immigration to the United States out of Haiti. I don't believe they've reached any conclusion. I know the State Department talked about it at some length yesterday. The options include, you know, getting a waiver and allowing the flights to take place or perhaps moving them by land. At this point, I don't know if DOD would have any involvement in that. I'm not aware of any.

Q A couple of things back on Gitmo. One, do you know if any video was taken of the incident, and if there is, would you make it available?

MR. BOXX: There was no video taken.

Q None at all?

MR. BOXX: Right.

Q Okay. Number two, when Gitmo was so clogged with Haitians before, arrangements were made to phase them out and get them back into Haiti. Is anything going to be done like that? Or is this situation going to continue to rest like it is?

MR. BOXX: The capacity at Guantanamo Bay is not completely full. We have about 15,000 -- a little over 15,000, I think the number is, with a capacity of 23,000 roughly. We continue to look at safe haven options and what we might do to employ safe havens. Guantanamo Bay is a temporary facility.



We have a number of memorandums of understanding that are either in the works or completed, but no decisions have been made in terms of how those safe havens might be brought into operation.

Q So it's all sort of still in limbo.

MR. BOXX: It is at this point. Part of it is dictated certainly by the flow of Haitians, but at this point we continue to talk with other nations in the region to see what the best execution of the operation is. You have to look at, I think, a practical consideration is, do you want a series of small camps that create additional logistical problems versus a single or a few larger camps. That's one of the things that's being taken into consideration as they work through this process now.

Q Dennis, is the operation out of Kingston, Jamaica shut down?

MR. BOXX: Yes. All the ships that were involved in that operation are no longer there. The Ivan Franko and the -- (pauses) --

Q Mediterranean -- (inaudible) --

MR. BOXX: Mediterranean Sky are in Guantanamo Bay for use as housing for staff. The Comfort is today in Guantanamo Bay but is likely to leave to return home to its port.

Q Mayport, Florida, it's going back.

MR. BOXX: I'm sorry, I'm sorry. Thank you.

The Comfort, I think we had told you earlier, the Comfort left Guantanamo Bay and went to Mayport. It is now scheduled to leave from Mayport back to its home port in Baltimore, tomorrow probably.

Q One follow-up on that. Turks and Caicos, is that on hold?

MR. BOXX: Turks and Caicos is on standby status. It's a 2,500- person camp that is now completed. But again, I'd go back to what I said to Carl, we are still looking at options in terms of safe havens and how to best use them.

Q Dennis, what's the situation with regard to Haitians leaving the island of Haiti? MR. BOXX: No Haitians have been interdicted since the 5th of August, when there were 88. There was one shipboarding in the last 24 hours, and it was not diverted, it was allowed through. It had appropriate materials on board.

Q To follow up, what do you attribute the decline to?

MR. BOXX: Well, I think it's a variety of factors. I think the word has gotten out that fleeing Haiti and going to Guantanamo Bay will not result in emigration to the United States, that the best way to emigrate to the United States is through the in-processing facilities in Haiti. I think that's clearly one message.

Q Is that really the best way, Dennis? I mean, we're still having trouble getting these people out, aren't we?

MR. BOXX: And that's a problem, and I think we recognize that, and I think State Department's working real hard at solving it.

Q Are we repatriating any Haitians back to Haiti now?

MR. BOXX: Not to my knowledge, no.

Q Dennis, this evacuation of Haitians from Haiti --

MR. BOXX: I'm sorry, let me go back. We are doing voluntary repatriation. When people are picked up, brought to Guantanamo Bay, they are asked do they want to stay in Guantanamo Bay for ultimate return to another safe haven or back to their country when Cedras leaves, or do they want to go back voluntarily to Haiti. That's a decision they make, and we are doing voluntary repatriations.

Q Dennis, why is it taking so long to resolve the issue of getting Haitians who have been cleared for entry to the United States out of Haiti? We keep hearing that the State Department is working on it, the Pentagon's working on it.

What's taking so long?

MR. BOXX: Well, the State Department's working on it. It's not a Pentagon



issue. But I think you're dealing with an intractable regime that is trying to put pressure on us at every turn. We will not abide by it and we will continue to insist that they cooperate in allowing these individuals to leave.

Mark?

Q The status of the U.S. and other international observers along the Dominican Republic border with Haiti, are they actually doing their jobs now, and has it been very effective?

MR. BOXX: The equipment that we are providing is either there or on its way there. The off-road vehicles, radios and binoculars have arrived. The boats and motorcycles are now in Norfolk, and they would be expected to arrive by the middle of this week, toward the -- into the end of the week, probably. The helicopters that we're providing will come out of Fort Bragg, and we expect those to begin to arrive by the end of this week. So the equipment is getting in place. We have a command and control contingent, US personnel who are now in the Dominican Republic, 12 people, who will provide the coordination and support for the multinational observer group.

As you know, we've talked about the 18 U.S. people who will be a part of this team. I think there are 15 Canadians who will be a part of this team. They are about ready to go. State continues to work on getting other countries to be a part of this. So I think we're getting there.

Bill?

Q Can I move to terrorism?

Q One more. You said that Guantanamo is a temporary facility, but is there any logistical or other reason that that can't stay open for an indefinite period of time. Is there some -- like do they have to be out of there by December, January?

MR. BOXX: No.

Q Dennis, one more Gitmo. You described the circumstances of boredom and frustration that caused Saturday's incident. What do the people on the ground there say about the possibility of, you know, much more widespread sort of rioting? Is there a sense that this is a tinderbox, or was this an isolated --

MR. BOXX: No, I don't get the sense that there's a feeling that there's a potential for more of these or an increase in these. But, by the same token, I think we have to deal with reality and understand that this is a difficult situation and a frustrating situation for them. And there are some things that we can do to try to ease that, and we will try to do that.

I'd be happy to take more Haiti questions so I don't have to take smuggling questions. (Laughter.)

Q Will you take a Korea question?

MR. BOXX: No, I think out of fairness I need to go back to Bill.

Q Then you'll take a Korea question?

MR. BOXX: Gladly.

Q Okay. Dennis, in an undercover sting, the Germans this past weekend were able to capture or repossess something in the neighborhood of a pound of weapons grade plutonium in -- I believe in Munich, flown in from Moscow. And we understand that this plutonium from other cases is being sought by terrorist states such as or Iraq, possibly even Iran. And the question I have is, is the United States military now prepared, through counterterrorism units, to intervene to repossess fissionable materials that either are en route or arriving within the borders of either Libya, Iraq, Iran?

MR. BOXX: I don't have any answer to that question, Bill. You know, at this point, we don't have any evidence that would allow us to make any reliable conclusions about where the material is coming from or which individuals might be involved in bringing it into Germany in these cases. It would be a little



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difficult then to speculate about how we might intervene militarily. We do have, though, a number of programs that try to deal with the problem before it gets to that stage. The Nunn-Lugar efforts that we have underway provide funds for the United States to help Russia dismantle the nuclear weapons that they already have -- that they've already agreed to take down. And it helps control nuclear material. Within that same program, under the cooperative threat reduction program, we are cooperating with Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazikistan (sic/may mean "Kazakhstan" or "Tajikistan") to strengthen their chain of custody programs to control radioactive and nuclear-related material. So I think where we're trying to, in one sense, put a significant amount of effort is in the front end of this problem and not let it get to the stage where you have to intervene in other ways.

Q If I could follow that just briefly, one of our DOD experts on the subject of disarmament stated recently that the current -- currently that there is not a problem with uncontrolled fissionables available from Russia, but there could be very soon a very serious problem. But, Dennis, the evidence is pointing toward a current problem with uncontrolled fissionables being marketed, being available. How would you respond to that?

MR. BOXX: I think you've seen the U.S. government in a number of ways try to deal with that -- the ones I've just mentioned under the Nunn-Lugar program. The FBI director, Mr. Freeh, just recently went to Russia to try and deal with this particular issue and in fact, I think, set up an office there. The State Department is very engaged in it. So I think the government approach to this is one that takes it very, very seriously. There's nobody that I know of in this government suggesting that this is not a problem or a potential problem. It clearly is, and it's something that we have to deal with and I think are dealing with.

Q Dennis, experts say that plutonium has a footprint, that it's possible to tell where it came from, what country, what kind of a plant. Is DOD working with the Germans at all to determine where this plutonium came from?

MR. BOXX: We are in contact with the Germans on this incident and previous incidents. We're confident that the German authorities will pursue and evaluate all their leads, and we have a very close relationship with them to try and assist wherever they think they may need it. Q Which form do those contacts take?

MR. BOXX: I believe those are, at this point, principally State Department contacts, Mark, but I'm not sure which office. I think -- I believe Lynn Davis over there has got a lead role in a lot of this.

Q Is it your assumption it came from Russia?

MR. BOXX: We don't have any indication that it would be able to pinpoint either the source of it or who brought it.

Q Isn't it possible, though, with the footprint to tell where it came from?

MR. BOXX: I'm not sure of the technical part of it, Joe. I'd really be guessing if I did. I just don't know the technical side of it that well.

Q There are people in this building who say that knowing the footprint you can tell where it's from.

MR. BOXX: I can't --

Q Is it because you don't want to point fingers, or is it too sensitive, too political?

MR. BOXX: It's because I don't know. (Laughter.)

Q Okay.

MR. BOXX: Barbara?

Q North Korea for just a second.

MR. BOXX: Okay.



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Q In this agreement that we've now somewhat preliminarily reached with them on giving them reactor technology and all that, could you just review for us the status right now of what the Pentagon wants to see in the way of military conditions in North Korea, and specifically the status of the fuel rods before you guys would feel that they have met the terms of an agreement and non-proliferation concerns and you would move ahead and give them reactor technology?

MR. BOXX: I would really only want to echo some of the things you've already heard, and that is that while we've reached an agreement on a number of elements that could lead to final resolution, and that that's a very positive step, there is much more work to do. The work includes settling the issue of fuel rods, light water reactors. There are a number of areas that are yet to be resolved -- site inspections. But I don't believe that it would be appropriate for me to get into what the Department of Defense criteria might be for a good agreement. Those are discussions that take place within the interagency development of our policies and then through the negotiation process in Geneva, and I just don't think it would be productive for me to do. Q Well in just the non-proliferation concerns, what would we want to see the status of those fuel rods be?

MR. BOXX: I think we've made it clear that we'd like to see them removed from North Korea.

Q And go where?

MR. BOXX: To another location.

Q Would we be willing to take them? What are we going to do with them?

MR. BOXX: I think I'd leave those kinds of questions to the experts at the State Department.

Q Dennis, there's an interesting story in the London Times about the CIA supplying, opening up a covert channel to send weapons into Bosnia, getting around the arms embargo. Do you have anything at all on that?

MR. BOXX: I've seen the report also. As you know, as a matter of policy we just don't talk about intelligence matters. But I find that story far less interesting than you do. (Laughter.)

Q Don't you have any weapons you'd like to get rid of?

MR. BOXX: I think the story was a bit far-fetched, but I think I'd better leave it at that.

Q Well what about the second element, that you would be shipping arms through allies' embargo?

MR. BOXX: I'm just not going to get into helping describe what I just called a far-fetched story.

Q What about the training aspect of it, which is separate, apparently? Would that be done under any -- as an open program?

MR. BOXX: I'm a little reluctant to talk about what we might do in the event of a policy that we might take on. I would rather leave that for now until we get a little further along in terms of developing what the U.S. policy will in fact be, when and if it becomes necessary to lift the arms embargo.

Q (Inaudible) -- in Cuba? With Cuba, Cuban refugees coming out, anything?

MR. BOXX: Nothing --

Q -- fishing -- curious --

MR. BOXX: Nothing new that I've heard today. I mean, the reports -- I think there was a vessel yesterday that was reported -- I might have something on that.

Q The tanker in Mariel?

MR. BOXX: The tanker, right. (Pauses to consult briefing papers.)

Q While you're looking, has anybody ever determined how a crop duster aircraft can carry 21 people? (Laughter.)



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MR. BOXX: I found the question -- the answer.

Q Small people.

MR. BOXX: Beyond what has already been reported, I'm told that the individuals aboard that tanker voluntarily left and returned to Cuba yesterday afternoon. That's really all I have. Not much.

Q What happened to the tugboat that was 14 miles north of Puerto -- (inaudible due to coughing) -- yesterday morning? And the Cubans broke off contact with it.

MR. BOXX: I don't see anything on it, Ed. I don't have anything.

Q Are we trying to get the French to stay longer in Rwanda?

MR. BOXX: Well, we've seen the reports that they have indicated that they plan to leave. We continue to take the position that their presence there or a presence there is very important for the stability of that region. We're working hard to bring the UNAMIR forces up to speed. As a matter of fact, today the first C-5 carrying equipment for the Ethiopian contingent of that force landed in Kigali, I believe -- seven trucks, seven trailers, with more flights to come. So we're moving quickly, realizing the sensitivity of the issue, to get the UNAMIR forces in place to replace the French forces when they pull out of that region. Whenever that might be.

Joe?

Q Dennis, relief workers have expressed concern over what they thought might become a trend of refugees streaming back across the border in the opposite direction that the U.S. and other countries would like to see, in other words, fleeing Rwanda. From the U.S. standpoint and the people you have over there, has there been any observation of traffic reversing itself, heading back out of Rwanda?

MR. BOXX: Are you speaking here of leaving the southwest region where the French are into Bukavu?

Q Right.

MR. BOXX: We've seen the press reports that indicate mass migration, but frankly, our information is not anywhere near that level of activity. There is a slow but steady stream; I think the number was something like a thousand a week.

So we are not seeing it in terms of, at this point, a mass migration. That is a concern, frankly. We are worried about what the impact would be to, say, Bukavu should there be a mass migration. And we're watching that very carefully.

Q Is there anything being done at the moment to set up to be able to cope with unexpected refugees so that the world doesn't find itself in the same situation as we did in Goma?

MR. BOXX: I think you have to remember that we have a different situation now in Rwanda than we did several weeks ago when we first brought this effort in there. There is currently a significant infrastructure now that has been put in place, both through U.S. efforts, other nations' efforts, the U.N. We now have a far better capability of dealing with problems with Rwanda because of the resources that are there. So we would hope that that kind of an approach, that kind of a capability, would significantly diminish the impact of a mass migration. But, still, a mass migration will be a severe problem and will bring great strain on the resources that are there.

Yes, sir?

Q What size of U.S. troops are being considered for peacekeeping forces near the Israeli-Syrian border? And there is any conditions by the Israeli government on U.S. troops positioning there?

MR. BOXX: I'm sorry. I don't have anything on that. I'll take the question.

Q Dennis?



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MR. BOXX: Yes?

Q One more -- back to the Bosnian question. Several weeks ago, there were articles, dispatches, about Iranian input -- Iranian weapons, Iranian terrorist trainers -- being put into the equation on the side of the Bosnian Muslims. And about two weeks ago, a DOD official on background mentioned something about the borders being leaky. There was some arms flow -- he didn't know -- didn't specify how much -- from sea, land and air.

MR. BOXX: What borders are we talking about?

Q We're talking about the borders from Kurache (ph), I believe -- primarily from Kurache (ph) into Bosnia. And maybe others. But he was talking about sea primarily. And then a fellow named Mohammad Mohaddessin, an Iranian dissident leader, speaking here in Washington one week ago today, confirmed that there -- he thought -- he felt his intelligence sources accurately counted about 400 Iranian terrorists -- these were Revolutionary Guards -- terrorists were in Bosnia or on the way to Bosnia, but he said in Bosnia. Have you anymore information about this particular matter?

MR. BOXX: I have absolutely nothing I can enlighten you on that one, Bill. Sorry.

Q Thank you.

MR. BOXX: Thank you.

END

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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JUNE 8, 1994, WEDNESDAY

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REGULAR BRIEFING

BRIEFERS:
STROBE TALBOTT, DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE

BODY:

... achieve that?

MS. SHELLY: Okay, that -- that was addressed a little bit, as you know, in the ministerial meeting in May, and there were some mechanisms, I think, that were set up to try to determine ways in which the enforcement could be tightened. I'm going to have to go back and see where that is at this point. There is discussions on this, I know, that have taken place between some of the ministers who are involved or the countries that have been involved in that ministerial meeting. I can't be more precise at this point, but we'll post -- I'll take your question formally.

Yeah?

Q On Bosnia?

MS. SHELLY: Yes.

Q Another disturbing dispatch I read this week alleged that arms were coming from the military hardware left over from the eastern regime, the eastern German regime, coming into Bosnia and being introduced; that I believe Saudi Arabia was involved in sending arms in violation of the international arms embargo; and also it mentioned Iran as sending arms and explosives, et cetera. Can you confirm or have any comment regarding these allegations?

MS. SHELLY: No, I don't have any information on that for you.

Other subjects? Yes?

Sorry, let me -- this one first. Yeah?

Q The International Court of Justice has requested individual countries to submit their views on the use -- on the legality of the use of nuclear weapons by Friday. And the question is, does the United States intend to submit its views on this matter to the ICJ? And secondly, apart from the ICJ request, what's the view of the United States on the legality of the use of nuclear weapons?

MS. SHELLY: Yeah, that's one I definitely don't have in my pocket today. I'll take that. I know you'd be really shocked if I had an answer to that. So I'll take that, I'll post an answer.

Yes?

Q Does the U.S. have any assistance planned for the earthquake ...



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FOCUS - 3 OF 5 STORIES

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JULY 19, 1994, TUESDAY

SECTION: DEFENSE DEPARTMENT BRIEFING

LENGTH: 4228 words

HEADLINE: DEFENSE DEPARTMENT
REGULAR BRIEFING

BRIEFER: KATHLEEN DELASKI TUESDAY, JULY 19, 1994

BODY:

... part of peacekeeping force if it arises, would be there? Is it a year?
More than two years?

MS. DELASKI: Certainly the U.S. government feels that all these things ought to
be fairly firm in the words that the -- terms by which you get in and the terms
by which you get out. But I don't have anything to discuss on that today.

Q Thank you, Kathleen. (Round Three ?), Mr. Gertz's article today, reasserts
the existence of Iranian terrorist trainers in Bosnia, Iranian arms coming
through Croatia to Bosnia, and then secondly opens a new avenue here of weapons
flow coming via Malaysia from a country we wouldn't -- we really wouldn't want
to see get involved in Bosnia, as I think one of our senior officials said here
in the Pentagon. Have you any comments, any guidance, about this? Or could you
even come out and condemn any arms shipments from any sources?

MS. DELASKI: I cannot ...



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LEVEL 1 - 3 OF 5 STORIES

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BRIEFER: KATHLEEN DELASKI TUESDAY, JULY 19, 1994

BODY:

MS. DELASKI: Welcome today. A couple of announcements, just a little update on Secretary Perry's trip to the Balkans and related areas. He has completed his third day of his eight-day visit. During visits with government and defense officials in Romania and Bulgaria, the secretary initiated bilateral discussions which include talks on future joint exercises and military-to-military exchanges.

He pledged to help Bulgaria and Romania acquire excess military equipment for peacekeeping operations outside the Balkans. This assistance will be limited to non-lethal excess articles that the U.S. military has such as communications, medical and transportation equipment. Excess articles will be provided on a grant-aid basis whereby the recipient would receive the equipment at no charge, but would be responsible for the cost of packaging and shipment of the articles. Today, also, you may have seen in the wires already that Secretary Perry met with U.S. forces stationed at Camp Able Sentry headquarters in Skopje in the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia. The secretary stated that he was extremely impressed with how well the mission was being accomplished and the high morale of our troops there, as well as the reception that those forces are receiving from their hosts in Skopje.

Secretary Perry then went on to Athens where he is now. He was scheduled to meet with Prime Minister Papandreou this evening, and he will also, during the rest of this trip, visit Albania, Turkey, Bosnia, Croatia and Italy, before returning to Washington on Saturday.

Some of you may have heard this already. Admiral Richard Mackey (sp) was confirmed by the U.S. Senate Friday as the new commander-in-chief of the U.S. Pacific command, and he was given a promotion ceremony yesterday, and got on an airplane last night, and he's there. And he is -- has assumed duties today. And there will be a formal change-of-command ceremony on a date that will be determined later.

I have a couple of general officer announcements for you. First, for the Army, the president has nominated Major General David Bramlett (sp) for appointment to the grade of Lt. General and assignment as deputy commander-in-chief and chief of staff, U.S. Pacific Command, Camp Smith, Hawaii. He has been serving as the commanding general, Sixth Infantry Division, at Fort Wainwright, Alaska.

For the Air Force, the president has nominated Major General Lester Lyle (sp) for appointment to the grade of Lt. General, and assignment as commander, Space and Missile Center -- Systems Center at the Air Force Materiel Command, Los Angeles Air Force Base in California. He has been serving as the commander of



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Ogden Air Logistics Center at Hill Air Force Base in Utah. And finally, the president has nominated Major General Richard Scofield for appointment to the grade of lieutenant general and assignment as commander, Aeronautical Systems Center, Air Force Materiel Command, at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base in Ohio. General Scofield is currently serving as program executive director for strategic programs at the Air Force Program Executive Office here in Washington.

And with that I can take your questions.

Q Kathleen, a U.S. official traveling with Secretary Perry was quoted as saying that the United States considering along with its NATO allies some more vigorous enforcement of the safe areas in Bosnia if the peace plan was rejected. Can you amplify or explain what these officials are talking about?

MS. DELASKI: We can't go any further in describing what that might be than Secretary Perry has in an interview which I think most of you have seen by now. I can provide it for anyone who hasn't. What's important to note is that anything that we're describing are possibilities. The North Atlantic Council's, in fact, meeting tomorrow to discuss possibilities. But all of this is only contingency planning for the -- in anticipation of whatever decision, which we still don't know yet, that the two governments -- or the two -- I'm sorry -- that the self-styled Serb parliament and the Bosnian parliament are making. We have a response from the Bosnians -- from the Muslims. We do not have a response from the Serbs. We understand that that will probably not be coming until tomorrow, and they will make that presentation to the contact group. They will make it available to the contact group. So what I'm saying is I can't elaborate on what might be if they don't accept the plan.

Q But just to be clear, is the United States, along with its NATO allies, considering defending expanded safe areas in Bosnia with more vigorous airpower? Is that an option under consideration?

MS. DELASKI: I don't want to characterize how vigorous the airpower would be. But as several groups, including the contact group, have indicated, that there are options of pressure that NATO is considering. Yes. Among the options are to expand the safe haven zones and the stricter enforcement by NATO aircraft of exclusion zones around the safe areas. Those are the two options that we're looking most carefully at. We, NATO; not we, the U.S. alone.

Q The U.S. is stepping up aid flights to Rwanda. Is there any consideration about actually doing more than just flying aid in, but actually putting civil affairs people or water distribution people or medical people physically on the ground? And, if not, why not?

MS. DELASKI: You know about the 70 -- well, let me back up. There are 78 flights that we're projecting that begin Thursday to help bring in more aid, particularly to Goma in this case. Beyond that, we are looking at some other things, and we don't have anything to announce today, but we are looking at the kinds of things you're talking about.

Q So there is a will to get more involved beyond just flying in supplies?

MS. DELASKI: There's a will to help the situation in Goma, which is unprecedented and has everybody very concerned.

Q Can you describe generally what we're talking about?

MS. DELASKI: I can't, because we haven't -- it has not crystallized yet. I think when we have anything more to describe to you we certainly will, but we're looking at ways to help the relief flights get into Goma and to help that material get to the people that need it.

Q Back to Bosnia just for a moment and just to complete the circle, you've discussed just briefly contingency planning for if there isn't any peace agreement. Can you tell us anything at all about what kind of contingency plans



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are underway if both sides do agree to a peace agreement?

MS. DELASKI: I think you've been hearing about that for about a year. We've been describing the contingency plans in very abstract form for some time as to what happens if both sides sign up to a peace agreement. The U.S. has expressed its interest in providing ground troops for a peacekeeping mission. The make-up of that force has been speculated about. We are willing to provide up to 50 percent. We would like the force to be under NATO command and control. The numbers have been -- you've heard different numbers. We don't know the exact numbers at this point that we would provide. But I -- let me reassert our interest and willingness to be part of that peacekeeping force should there be a peace agreement.

Q How quickly would that force move in, in the Pentagon's thinking, after? Would it be immediate? Within days? Would it be --

MS. DELASKI: I don't know the answer to that. I doubt it's been decided. It probably depends upon the terms of the agreement and how quickly we, the Pentagon, and we, the U.S. government, along with other allies, could come to terms on the make-up of the force and what its specific missions were.

Q In the past, the administration's statements have indicated that our willingness to put troops on the ground would depend not only on an agreement, but on the other -- both sides' willingness to abide by the agreement.

MS. DELASKI: That's true.

Q Is there a possibility that there would be a wait-and-see period to see whether any peace agreement would actually hold and people would relocate as expected before we send people in?

MS. DELASKI: I can't answer that. It's certainly an important point. I can't answer that yet. I just don't know.

Q Do you have any developments on the law enforcement aspects or prosecution aspects of the Iraqi shutdown? Any action being taken that can be announced now against either the AWACS crews or others?

MS. DELASKI: Those have --

Q Any timetable on how quickly something might be taking shape on that?

MS. DELASKI: No, I would -- I think those questions should be directed to EUCOM. We're not -- DOD is not directly involved in the -- in that aspect of it. If I learn anything or -- we'll check and see if we know of anything that's been promulgated. And if we do, I'll let you know, John, but I don't know of anything so far.

Q Back to Bosnia, is there any kind of solid finding as to how long the U.S., as a part of peacekeeping force if it arises, would be there? Is it a year? More than two years?

MS. DELASKI: Certainly the U.S. government feels that all these things ought to be fairly firm in the words that the -- terms by which you get in and the terms by which you get out. But I don't have anything to discuss on that today.

Q Thank you, Kathleen. (Round Three ?), Mr. Gertz's article today, reasserts the existence of Iranian terrorist trainers in Bosnia, Iranian arms coming through Croatia to Bosnia, and then secondly opens a new avenue here of weapons flow coming via Malaysia from a country we wouldn't -- we really wouldn't want to see get involved in Bosnia, as I think one of our senior officials said here in the Pentagon. Have you any comments, any guidance, about this? Or could you even come out and condemn any arms shipments from any sources?

MS. DELASKI: I cannot confirm those reports. What we know about transfers we know from intelligence sources, and as you know, we can't discuss our intelligence-gathering methods or sources. So I can't comment on the direct charges that you bring up through your article there. But we call on all nations to fully respect the U.N. Security Council resolutions regarding the



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arms embargo. And it is certainly the U.S. policy to respect the U.N.'s arms embargo on the nations that formerly comprised Yugoslavia.

Q But you will not deny the article -- the content of the article?

MS. DELASKI: Don't read anything into that. I just cannot discuss it with you because I can't discuss the reports.

Q I understand. Thank you.

MS. DELASKI: That doesn't mean I'm confirming it or denying it.

Q That closes off a very important subject, though. Can you just forget about this article and just say are arms being shipped into the Bosnian Muslims?

MS. DELASKI: We have seen reports to that effect, but getting into any details

--

Q I mean, do you know if they're true? I mean, do you know if they are being shipped in?

MS. DELASKI: I can't -- that's all I can say about it. I'm sorry.

Q Haiti?

MS. DELASKI: Is yours on Bosnia?

Q Also Haiti.

Q Go ahead, Steve.

Q I was just going to ask, is there anymore talk about moving the Comfort?

MS. DELASKI: Yes. I don't have an exact date, but the Comfort is expected to return to its berth in Baltimore very soon, probably in the next few days. In fact, some -- the first contingent of the personnel onboard is arriving today back here.

Q Why is that? Is there just no need for it anymore?

MS. DELASKI: Exactly. The Comfort is returning home. It's -- at least for the time being, it's not being utilized, and at \$63,000 a day, it was felt prudent to bring it home.

Q Is it fair to infer that the return of the Comfort demonstrates that -- tacitly that the experiment of shipboard processing was a failure?

MS. DELASKI: No.

Q But wasn't the objective of the shipboard processing plan to forestall having to open a refugee camp at Guantanamo Bay, and didn't, in fact, it not accomplish that purpose at all?

MS. DELASKI: I think that it accomplished the purpose in a sense that it provided space and a temporary migrant processing center while we came up with land options. That's exactly why we sent it down there. And it served that purpose very well. Yes, we were trying to avoid using Guantanamo, but that doesn't mean that our foresight in sending the Comfort down there was not very -- borne out as being a wise decision. Don't you think?

Q Kathleen, on the cost of the Haiti operation, I think last week you gave us a couple of figures -- 30 million and 10 million, or something like that, for two different aspects of the operation.

Q Secretary Deutch, in a radio interview yesterday, gave a figure of around \$100 million (dollars). You now have a new, updated total, overall costs and coverage

MS. DELASKI: You say \$100 million for operations so far?

Q My understanding -- I'll have to go back and re-read it, but as I heard it yesterday it was -- he gave a figure of about \$100 million (dollars) overall costs including Guantanamo, Coast Guard -- I don't know whether that included a military task force or not.

MS. DELASKI: Yeah, I'll check the transcript. I know that he was asked specifically "What do you think a Haiti invasion would cost?" And that was very different from what we were talking about -- the numbers that we gave you. But, and that's not the ballpark figure that he gave --



Q But I thought he was asked specifically what is the Comfort costing? And he said "I don't have figure for that, but the overall Haiti operation's about a hundred million -- if I remember correctly.

MS. DELASKI: Okay, well, I don't have -- See, the problem is, if you ask different people in terms of what's appropriated versus what's been spent -- I mean we can ask different compartments within DOD and get a different answer -- maybe he asked somebody different. I'll check the transcript and see what the numbers should be. But they're -- it depends on how you count.

Q Right.

MS. DELASKI: We'll try and firm that up for you.

Q You always said you wanted to keep the military option open in Haiti. Is the -- do you feel there is adequate medical facilities, either on land or on the amphibious warships to deal with any such invasion?

MS. DELASKI: Yes. Guantanamo for one, has the Air Force Hospital, and we feel we have the resources we will need in the area, if the need should arise.

Q Secretary Perry was quoted in -- I believe an interview with the Navy Times, and -- correct me if I'm wrong in this -- saying that the United States at this moment was not perhaps able to handle the Pentagon's goal of two major regional conflicts or contingencies. Could you clarify or amplify what he meant, when he was talking about that?

MS. DELASKI: The message out of the bottom-up review, and which every one of the departments still believes today, is that we have the forces and the capabilities to successfully win two nearly simultaneous major regional conflicts of the type that today's threat environment could produce.

What Secretary Perry was talking about there is that we have a number of force enhancements planned, some of which are coming on board even -- have come on board, some of which over the next five years will be built up. Those really are the key to winning two nearly simultaneous major regional conflicts of the type that would be considered large scale or full scale major regional conflicts.

What he said was that if -- particularly in the Persian Gulf region, we -- our potential adversaries are not of the -- are not -- they're -- the threat that they pose now is much weaker than it was in the Gulf War, particularly with Iraq, which we're talking about, but yet could be built up over time, and that the availability of these force enhancements, they will come into being -- or, I'm sorry, those force enhancements will be -- come on line, he believes and many believe, in time to meet a revitalized threat by an Iraq or an Iran, for instance.

Q Well with the U.S. military deployed in so many places now -- in Bosnia, Iraq, off the coast of Somalia, Haiti -- could the United States handle these two major regional conflicts today with all these forces deployed around the world and all these hot spots?

MS. DELASKI: Obviously, as we've said all along, if you get into a situation where you have two nearly simultaneous major regional conflicts, a couple of things have to give. You can't do the peacekeeping operations that we have been doing, peacekeeping or even humanitarian efforts. Those would have to be curtailed dramatically if you go to a two major conflict scenario.

Secondly, we've said all along that you can't have all of your forces geared towards one of those conflicts, that you have to depend on a fairly substantial swing effort. In other words, you have to switch over some of the assets from the first conflict to the second. That's why the adverb "nearly" is so critical. These are nearly simultaneous conflicts. No one has said that we could fight two simultaneous and win two simultaneous major regional conflicts.

So with those caveats, I don't -- the kinds of things that we're engaged in



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today are not the same -- none of them constitute a major regional conflict and most of them constitute things which would probably have to be curtailed drastically if you did come into a situation with two major regional conflicts. So I don't think that the analogy is apt.

Q A Rwanda question. Is there an aversion to -- you talked about, you know, you're considering some other aspects of involvement in Rwanda. Is there an aversion to any kind of what you might call a large scale military-directed humanitarian relief effort because of the Somalia experience? Is that directly affecting U.S. policy to Rwanda?

MS. DELASKI: No, I don't think so. We have gotten involved with -- in fact, we have now -- I think it's probably today, perhaps as early as today, the Goma airlift will put the number of flights -- relief flights over 100. So the scenario here for us is more analogous to what we're doing in Bosnia than it is to what we were doing in Somalia. But I don't think that there's a reluctance to get involved. There's a reluctance to get involved with ground troops, yes, but then that's not because of Somalia.

Q I guess what I mean is, is there a feeling that, you know, Somalia was something that was perhaps more costly than envisioned and that in the -- looking back in hindsight it may not have been vital to American national security interests compared to a European situation which somehow sometimes gets ranked higher on people's scale; i.e., Bosnia. So is there -- I'm wondering if there's now a feeling that we're not going to make that mistake again, we're not going to go get a bunch of people killed.

MS. DELASKI: Well, I think if you're trying to make the jump that we're willing to get involved in European countries and not African countries, I come back to the point that we're providing humanitarian relief in Rwanda the same as we're doing in Bosnia. We're not putting ground forces into Rwanda -- I mean, I'm sorry, into Bosnia, we're not putting ground forces into Haiti. So we're not making a distinction between African and European countries.

Q General Meyer (sp), (doing ?) the Readiness Commission, apparently has concluded that U.S. forces are involved in too many different operations and that readiness spending is stealing away from long-term modernization and effecting long-term readiness.

Is the secretary going to endorse that report or implement it, or is there going to be some kind of official --

MS. DELASKI: First, I haven't seen -- I mean, I've seen an executive summary of the report, and I haven't seen the point you've just made. I'm not saying it's not in the report somewhere. I haven't seen that point, so I'm in no way confirming what -- your suggestion. If that is in the report, I don't know. I do know that it gives quite a -- it gives a positive assessment of readiness overall. Will the secretary endorse it? I'll have to figure out what our exact response is going to be to it.

Q Is it going to be used as a blueprint for some kind of action, or is it going to be used as a pulse taking or --

MS. DELASKI: Well, as you recall, with the interim report, Secretary Perry on the spot accepted it and put it into motion, put the recommendations into motion right away, all of the recommendations that were made in the interim report, and I can't imagine that -- or I could tell you that we take it very seriously and we will be implementing many, if not all, of the recommendations that come out of the report, I'm sure. It's not just being read and mused upon.

Q Another thorny matter concerning -- this is from yesterday's Times, an AP dispatch about the seizure of plutonium, a small amount of plutonium, which Director Woolsey, I think earlier -- I think earlier this summer said, earlier this month said that he considered the nuclear (struggling ?) was among the most



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dangerous security threats in the post-Cold War world. And then late in this article -- this one-fifth of an ounce of plutonium, of course, not amounting to very much, but indicating possibly, according to Der Spiegel, the German news source, they said that investigators in Germany have evidence that 330 pounds of this same weapons-grade plutonium may be hidden somewhere in Europe, coming from, allegedly, some source in Russia with the complicity of some Russian officials. Do you have any comment or guidance on this?

MS. DELASKI: Why don't we take that question for you and look into it. Don't have it at hand.

Q Can you update us? What's the plan for rotating the Marines on the Inchon who were deployed on short notice? How soon might the Wasp be going back? And will you be able to replace that expeditionary unit with another Marine expeditionary unit or some other configuration?

MS. DELASKI: We hope to have the Inchon ARG coming out of the Caribbean region by the end of August. That is the goal. One strong possibility is that it would swap out with the Wasp again or that we may replace it with a different group. And the hope is to -- well, actually, I don't know -- let me take the piece on whether we would replace it with another MEU.

Q Somalia? Just given the deteriorating security situation in Somalia and the fact that some U.N. troops have been killed and some, I believe, taken, kidnapped, what are U.S. diplomats still doing there? Why haven't the U.S. people been evacuated from -- (inaudible word)?

MS. DELASKI: Many of them have left in an orderly drawdown, at least temporarily, while the situation was tense. The people who remain there at the liaison office, the State Department has made a determination that the threat is not sufficient for them to leave their duties. But if you want further information on that, I think you need to ask the State Department. They're watching it closely.

Q Can you update us also -- is there any -- we've been told that the situation in Algeria has been deteriorating. Are there any contingency plans for any possible evacuation of Americans there?

MS. DELASKI: We certainly if need be -- we're looking at contingency plans for any country like that where and when and if Americans are felt to be in danger, and we feel we can handle that kind of scenario if need be.

Q Kathleen, on the issue of the legislative conference on the defense budget, is the DOD now accepting the 2.6 percent pay raise position that the House and Senate have taken, or is that one of the points that you're still disagreeing with; you want to go back to 1.6?

MS. DELASKI: That's a hard question. Let me find out exactly what our comptroller people want us to say because they're in the middle of the delicate discussions about this. I don't want to blunder into it. Let me find out exactly what the language should be, and we'll post that.

Q Has the Army sent its guidance for women in ground combat to DOD?

MS. DELASKI: No.

Q Any timetable, any idea when it's going to happen?

MS. DELASKI: Soon.

Q When the ground war is resolved in the Army, I guess.

Q Kathleen, one more on Haiti. We've had such good news this week with regard to the refugees. Do we -- do you have an explanation? Does the DOD know why they have been staying off -- staying on shore? And is this expected to continue?

MS. DELASKI: Well, we'd like to think that the word has gotten out that the place to be processed is the in-country processing centers. But we won't know whether that's the case until the weather improves in the region. As you know,



Federal News Service, JULY 19, 1994

the seas have been very high. So we can't tell whether it's bad seas, which means that only large boats are even venturing out into the ocean. We don't know whether -- we can only speculate until we find out -- until the seas calm down. If the -- the numbers have been very low. We had 170 over the last 24 hours, and that, as many of you have seen, has been just a low trend for about a week now. But I cannot say to you categorically as I would like to that that's because they've gotten the message until the weather improves.

Q Thank you.

Q Thank you.

END

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JUNE 28, 1994, TUESDAY

SECTION: DEFENSE DEPARTMENT BRIEFING

LENGTH: 5380 words

HEADLINE: DEFENSE DEPARTMENT
REGULAR BRIEFING

BRIEFER: KATHLEEN DELASKI TUESDAY, JUNE 28, 1994

BODY:

... many of our students from our (DINFO ?) school are here, in an advanced training course and we wanted to welcome them to our briefing.

And with that, I can take your questions.

Ah, Charlie's not yet here. (Oh, Charlie's back ?).

Q Thank you, Kathleen. Referring to a story in the Times on Friday --

MS. DELASKI: Which Times?

Q The -- excuse me, the Washington Times.

MS. DELASKI: Oh.

Q This is our colleague Mr. Gertz's story on Iranian weapons sent via Croatia. Does the department -- can the department confirm or deny the basic story that the United States government is aware of weapons being sent into Croatia for the Bosnians, sent from Iran, possibly financed by Saudi Arabia? Have you any comment or confirmation on this?

MS. DELASKI: Well, I think we've dealt with that one before. I'll have to take that question.

Q This is a new story.

MS. DELASKI: A new story.

Q A second story, I think.

MS. DELASKI: We'll look into it for you.

Q Will you look into that?

MS. DELASKI: Sure.

Q Okay.

...



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Clinton defends U.S. inaction on Iran-Bosnia deal

Several probes under way in Congress

By Bill Gertz
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

President Clinton yesterday confirmed he did not oppose Iran's covert weapons shipments to Bosnia-Herzegovina but defended the policy as proper.

"Our record on that is clear," Mr. Clinton told reporters during a photo session with Greek Prime Minister Costas Simitis. "There was absolutely nothing improper done."

Mr. Clinton also said he is not concerned about congressional investigations into the matter.

White House spokesman Michael McCurry later denied that the president's policy of not opposing the arms shipments constituted U.S. approval for them.

"What happened is that when the question arose in a high-level meeting between U.S. diplomats and officials of the government of Croatia, our representative had no instructions on how to respond to that issue," Mr. McCurry said.

Administration officials disclosed last week that Mr. Clinton approved a policy of not opposing covert weapons shipments from Iran to Bosnia's Muslim government beginning in early 1994.

The Croatian government asked in February or March 1994 if the United States would oppose a secret arms pipeline from Iran to Bosnia. The administration notified Zagreb that it would not block the shipments.

The secret policy was contrary to public efforts, including the use of U.S. warships, to block weapons deliveries to Bosnia.

The arms, as well as about 400 military advisers supplied by Iran, enabled the Bosnian government to hold off Bosnian Serb rebels until a peace agreement was signed in December, ending the bloody 3½-year ethnic war in the Balkans.

But tacit approval of the arms shipments exposed what critics say was a duplicitous two-track policy of publicly supporting a United Nations arms embargo on the Balkans while secretly backing the Iran arms shipments, which allowed Tehran to establish a foothold in Europe.

The Dayton peace agreement requires all Iranian and foreign troops to leave Bosnia, but several hundred remain.

The Washington Times, quoting U.S. intelligence sources, reported yesterday that the Bosnian government informed Iran last month it had no intention of reducing its ties to Iran now that the war is over.

Iran believes its presence in Bosnia is being solidified and offered up to \$100 million in aid to Bosnia, according to the sources.

Asked about The Times' report, Mr. McCurry denied that permitting Iranian arms shipments to Bosnia has made it harder to get Sarajevo to sever its links to Tehran. "We told them in the Dayton accords that they could no longer accept assistance [from Iran]," Mr. McCurry said.

The administration wants an end to both military and economic assistance from Iran, fearing it will be used to promote Iranian terrorism and other subversive activities "contrary to our interests and, we believe, contrary to the interests of the international community," Mr. McCurry said.

He said the administration suggested "successfully" to Bosnia that it reduce its ties to Iran and "that's what has happened."

Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole, who pushed hard for unilaterally lifting the embargo, said Mr. Clinton's two-track policy raises questions about whether the administration was "intentionally duplicitous" toward Congress on the arms ban.

Clinton, Yeltsin talk arms

Leaders unable to reach accord

By Warren P. Strobel
and Bill Gertz
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

President Clinton and Russian President Boris Yeltsin yesterday discussed two contentious arms-control disputes during a 40-minute phone conversation in advance of their summit meeting later this month.

White House Press Secretary Michael McCurry said the two presidents did not resolve the disputes over missile defenses and over a treaty limiting the number of non-nuclear weapons in Europe.

He said the arms-control discussions were part of a broader conversation on topics like the war in Chechnya, an upcoming summit on nuclear safety, Mr. Yeltsin's reelection campaign, and the death of Commerce Secretary Ron Brown.

The two presidents are due to participate in an eight-nation summit in Moscow on April 19 and 20 to discuss how to safeguard nuclear materials left over from the Cold War. They will hold bilateral talks on April 21.

The White House was embarrassed the last time the two men spoke, at the anti-terrorism summit in Egypt when The Washington Times published a classified cable suggesting Mr. Clinton and Mr. Yeltsin had pledged to work for each other's re-election.

Mr. Clinton, according to the State Department cable, asked for Mr. Yeltsin's help in clearing up "negative" issues such as the dispute between the two countries over poultry. The poultry industry is the largest employer in Mr. Clinton's native Arkansas.

Mr. McCurry, making the point that "over 30 states in this union are very heavily involved in exports of poultry products," said there was no discussion of that issue yesterday. It has been referred to a U.S.-Russian commission headed by Vice President Al Gore and Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin.

Any talk of politics, he said, was limited to "mostly President Yeltsin offering some observations on his own campaign."

On arms control, the presidents discussed a pending agreement to clarify the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty by defining what short-range missile defenses are allowed under the pact.

U.S. officials said they had hoped to conclude an agreement at the summit on the "theater" — regional — missile-defense demarcation, as well as a side agreement expanding the ABM signatories to include former Soviet states.

U.S.-Russian talks on ABM issues broke off in late March without resolving a dispute over Russian demands to limit high-speed interceptors for regional missile defenses.

John Holum, director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, said they could not reach a partial accord on slower systems in the Geneva talks. U.S. officials said the talks are deadlocked over Russian demands to limit faster U.S. systems until a second formal agreement is reached.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 10, 1996

Labor Party leader courting Clinton, U.S. media

By Paul Mylea
REUTERS NEWS AGENCY

LONDON — Britain's opposition leader arrives in the United States today on a visit his supporters hope will buff up his image as a statesman.

In a visit carefully planned by Chief of Staff Jonathan Powell, who was political secretary at Britain's Washington embassy until 17 months ago, Labor Party leader Tony Blair will meet with top businessmen, politicians and U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

But in a bid for top media billing at home as well as in the United

States, the highlight of the three-day trip will be a visit to the White House for talks with President Clinton and Vice President Al Gore.

Mr. Blair's aides want to ensure a warm welcome after a disastrous 1987 White House visit by Neil Kinnock, then the leader of the Labor Party. Mr. Kinnock was humiliated when President Reagan mistook his deputy, Denis Healey, for the Labor leader. Administration aides then lashed Mr. Kinnock for his policy of unilateral disarmament.

The background to Mr. Blair's trip is significantly different. Unlike Mr. Reagan's warm admira-

tion for Margaret Thatcher, relations between Mr. Clinton and the current prime minister, John Major, are merely businesslike.

Mr. Clinton, with a lead in the 1996 presidential race and poll ratings at a three-year high, is expected to look for tips about how Mr. Blair has maintained a 30-point poll lead over the government since he took over the Labor leadership in mid-1994.

Mr. Blair and Mr. Clinton, who have already met twice, are scheduled to meet Friday for 20 minutes — described as the standard time allotted to opposition leaders. But commentators expect the talks to exceed that in an effort to show the

personal closeness between the two men.

The importance of the visit is reflected in the eagerness with which Mr. Clinton's aides have given U.S. media access to Mr. Blair.

The New Yorker magazine has already run a profile titled "The Next Prime Minister." Mr. Blair has also given interviews to the New York Times, the Wall Street Journal and other newspapers.

During his visit, he will appear on a string of morning television programs and meet executives from Time, Newsweek, The Washington Post and major American television networks.

Greek official talks plainly about Turks

Seeks 'normal' ties, not 'friendly' ones

By Refet Kaplan
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Diplomats are rarely known for freely speaking their minds.

Not so with the new foreign minister of Greece, who during his visit to Washington this week offered some blunt talk about his country's differences with Turkey.

"We don't want to love them," Theodore Pangalos said of the Turks during a wide-ranging interview yesterday with reporters and editors of The Washington Times. "I don't imagine any Greek of my generation wants to love them."

The 57-year-old minister said flatly that "friendly relations are impossible" between Turkey and Greece, given the current state of tension between the two. "What we want are normal relations," he said in the interview, just hours before Greek Prime Minister Costas Simitis met with President Clinton at the White House to discuss Greece-Turkey relations and other issues.

Mr. Clinton, said by an aide to have been "enormously encouraged" by yesterday's meeting, offered to dispatch John Kornblum, acting secretary of state for European affairs, to the region this summer for talks. But while Mr. Kornblum's efforts may ease tensions somewhat, any long-term solution to the dispute remains elusive.

During the interview, Mr. Pangalos chided what he called the "sentimental . . . attitude" of Turkey to talk of close links with Greece while the government in Ankara pursued policies that only deepened divisions.

He said relations between the longtime foes can be normalized only if Turkey drops its claim to a pair of disputed islets in the Aegean Sea — or takes the matter to the International Court of Justice. The two countries nearly went to war in January over the islets; they pulled back their forces only after urgent U.S. intervention.

Mr. Clinton said yesterday that the United States supported taking

Greece-Turkey disputes to the International Court of Justice "or some other international arbitration forum."

Mr. Pangalos said Greece would continue to block the financing of a multimillion-dollar European Union economic deal with Turkey until the government in Ankara at least stated its intention to take the Aegean dispute to the World Court. He said that as a full member of the European Union, Greece had "a perfect right" to hold up the deal, despite opposition to the move from some allies.

The Clinton administration strongly supports the EU deal with Turkey, which it considers a key ally on NATO's southern flank.

But in another sharp criticism directed at Turkey, Mr. Pangalos charged Ankara was taking advantage of its value to the Western alliance.

"They are spoiled by the West," he said. "They do things other countries dare not do."

The minister sharply criticized Turkey's human rights record, specifically as it applied to the millions of ethnic Kurds concentrated in the southeast.

"Turkey is exterminating the Kurds through different actions," he charged. "Turkey is a country with no respect for human rights."

The Turkish government and the separatist Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) have been locked in a vicious, 11-year battle for control of the country's southeast. Turkey has charged that the organization, which has been condemned as a terrorist group by the European Union and the United States, receives support from Greece.

Mr. Pangalos yesterday strongly denied his government had any role in supporting terrorist actions against Turkey and said Greece did not favor the creation of an independent Kurdish state, an avowed aim of the PKK.

Mr. Pangalos has been foreign minister since Jan. 22, when he joined Mr. Simitis' government after the ailing Andreas Papandreu was forced to give up power.

Benefits of Brown's push for business

Ron Brown turned the minor post of commerce secretary into a major powerhouse for business — one, ironically, which the pro-business Republican Party seeks to abolish.

Since no one will promote U.S. business better, especially abroad, Ron Brown's passing poses the question starkly: Who's right? Activist Democrats who view business as a major special interest for government to promote vigorously? Or laissez-faire Republicans who view business kindly but passively, capable of promoting itself with scant or no government support?

Though predisposed towards conservative Republican positions, I believe the Democrats make the case here. Since Herbert Hoover — known solely because he later became president — only two commerce secretaries this century left a big mark. Malcolm Baldrige on the "pull" side since the Baldrige Award spurs American manufacturing firms on to excellence. And Ron Brown on the "push" side by fighting for U.S. products and contracts abroad.

Granted, both government roles help big business more than small or medium firms. Cadillac's well-advertised winning of the Baldrige Award and Boeing's winning foreign competitions epitomize whom government is best able to help. Small firms, which account for the most job growth, tend to be left out of big competitions. Hence the Gingrich Republicans' problems with U.S. government fostering business in general — and the Commerce Department in particular.

Nonetheless, Ron Brown-like pushes of U.S. business abroad help the whole U.S. economy and smaller firms indirectly, as subcontractors to the big boys. Given the unabashed practices of foreign governments to push their firms' bids — not just the Japanese and Koreans but also the French and Israelis — the laissez faire Reagan and Bush stance are no longer appropriate, if indeed they were in the 1980s. Bill Clinton's activist petitioning of foreign leaders for U.S. companies to win major bids abroad is the right one.

That's not to buy the whole Democratic package of an "industrial policy," which falsely assumes government is good at picking winners and losers, whether in activities or technologies. President Carter's launching an industry-government partnership to develop *synfuels* — turning corn seed (or some such) into gasoline — seems inane now. Mr. Carter's other innovation, to promote solar energy, dimmed fast.

European governments formed a partnership on supersonic transport. The Concorde has proven an innovative, glitzy money-loser. Rather than the first of a high-tech

advancement, it became a highly subsidized mistake of benefit only to the rich. Nor has the Japanese government fared much better, despite the high standing of its "model" government agency. MITI tried hard to keep Toyota from building cars and Sony from making transistors (whose technology Sony bought anyway for \$25,000 in the early '50s). More recently, MITI steered Japanese firms wrong on high-definition television.

Why can't governments help much here? Because government officials are no more brilliant than industrial executives and have a lot less incentive to choose carefully. Moreover, innovation demands timeliness. Research nowadays is like fresh fish: Use it fast or it soon becomes worthless. Government, however glorious its virtues elsewhere, is not the fastest-moving entity. And government leads invariably to politics. Even with the wisest criteria and the fleetest government, politics can distort an industrial policy. As a British official quipped to me, "Government trying to pick winners soon degenerates into the losers picking ministers." Powerful industries, the ones most apt to receive help from those in power, soon help their supporters get or stay in power.

What government can do to promote business boils down to four steps. The first two Democrats have mastered best; the latter two are Republican specialties. First, use Ron Brown-ish persistence and intelligence to push U.S. products and win competitions abroad, and to encourage foreign investments here. Second, help create a first-rate work force by creating first-rate education — primarily kindergarten through high school but also research at universities, where half of all basic research is conducted.

Third, assure a fair and thriving free market. This needs protection of intellectual property rights, both at home and abroad (including in China, a prime violator today). Speeding up the patent and copyright processes, and toughening enforcement, help most. Encourage research in various non-monetary ways, through prizes and spreading information. And fourth, minimize the load on business. Regulations for safety and environmental clean-up can be done better, as Gingrich Republicans assert.

Less may be more here. U.S. firms are already over-regulated. To stem the regulatory tide, each proposed new regulation should be accompanied by a "compliance cost assessment" to analyze the cost to industry of the regulation and of the cumulative impact of all regulations applied to effected firms. Match today's required "environmental impact statement" with a new "competitiveness impact statement" on each new regulation. And require a sunset provision so regulations die after awhile. Some may then be resurrected, if needed, but many won't be needed then, even if they are now.

America today is exceedingly well-positioned to win global competitiveness. Here is an area where true bipartisanship can pay off handsomely for America's future. This would be Ron Brown's greatest legacy.

Ken Adelman is a columnist for The Washington Times and is nationally syndicated.

PAUL GREENBERG

White House double agents

Remember the Clinton administration's long and sustained objections to arming embattled Bosnia, or what was left of it? Remember how such a policy would make peace impossible, divide the Western Alliance, endanger the peacekeepers in the field, and only enrage the aggressor?

Well, if you do remember that suspect line the White House promoted year after year, ethnic cleansing after ethnic cleansing, then ... forget it. *What?* Yep, it turns out that, while this administration was formally defending the indefensible arms embargo against the principal victim of Yugoslavia's civil war, it was winking at arms shipments to Bosnia from, of all suspect sources, the mullahs' Iran.

The good news is that, at some point during that extended bloodbath, the light dawned — and the White House stopped swallowing its own propaganda. For some two years, it sanctioned this secret — well, formally secret — flow of arms to the Bosnians. The weapons kept arriving, along with Iranian guerrilla fighters, even after American and allied troops arrived to enforce the peace last January.

So last summer, when Bob Dole and other critics of the arms embargo were debating this issue in the U.S. Senate, the administration had already dropped the policy it was still publicly defending. It's as if the White House could do the right thing in Bosnia only secretly.

Sure enough, with the embargo partially lifted, the Bosnian forces rallied. They were able to shift the balance on the battlefield and set the stage for the peace agreement that the United States midwived at Dayton.

The bad news is how the Clinton administration carried out this sound policy — not just secretly but partially, duplicitously, amateurishly, and in tacit conspiracy with the world's leading nest of terrorists. (One dangerous result of the White House's double game is that some of the Iranians and the zealots they trained remain in Bosnia, like more land mines waiting to be tripped.

Nor has the White House been playing games just with our European allies, but with the Central Intelligence Agency, Congress and the American people. When the CIA's spy satellites detected these arms shipments, it had to suspect that the State Department and the National Security Council were running their own foreign policy — with intelligence operation to match. Soon enough one arm of the American government was spying and informing on another, and the flow of weapons and advisers to Bosnia became only a semi-secret.

In order not to divulge the American role in the arms pipeline, the White House wound up lying at home and abroad — or at least trying to cover up. It did not notify Congress about the secret arms deal, and the president tried to thwart the Senate when it challenged the arms embargo openly.

Talk about a gang that can't conspire straight: Having set out to play Bismarck or at least Henry Kissinger, those masterminds at the State Department and White House — Strobe Talbott and Anthony Lake — wound up looking like Inspector Clouseau, or maybe Ollie North in Iran-Contra. That long-running show now has a sequel. Unfortunately.

Now will come the usual multiple investigations, weasel-worded explanations and general moral confusion. Sen. (and presidential hopeful) Dole already has asked for three or four congressional committees to investigate — intelligence, foreign relations, armed services and the judiciary, too. The parallels with Iran-Contra grow. Must the country now have a White-water in foreign relations, too? What ever happened to presidents who could offer an apology, and an opposition that could accept one?

Once again a White House whose first instinct is to say whatever will please all sides has been caught preaching one thing, practicing another, and not doing a very good job of either. The result will not inspire credibility in an institution that has grown sadly short of it in recent years: the American presidency. There are times, it seems, when going with the flow can carry a ship of state right over the water-fall.

Paul Greenberg is editorial page editor of the Arkansas Democrat Gazette in Little Rock and a nationally syndicated columnist.

The Washington Times

/ WEDNESDAY, APRIL 10, 1996

The ferocious four and the Cold War

By Peter A. Jay

It's now generally understood that Ronald Reagan won the Cold War, and it is no longer heretical to come right out and say so, except in a few limited circles that cling to the old taboos.

As the years go by, a lot of serious scholars will be looking at the Cold War and trying to understand exactly how it was won. How did President Reagan pull it off? First of all by relying on his own sure instincts rather than on polls and newspaper editorials, and secondly by assembling a dedicated group of intellectuals, most of them Democrats, who shared his vision and signed on for the long and often bitter struggle to convert it to reality.

This was not the Realpolitik of Richard Nixon, business as usual behind an anti-communist facade. Mr. Reagan not only thought the Soviet colossus an evil empire, but he said so openly. He not only said so openly, but he set out to defeat it.

Now, in an exhaustively reported and highly engaging book, "On the Brink," Jay Winik of the University of Maryland has produced what will surely be one of the most important and enduring accounts of this extraordinary episode in the annals of American foreign policy.

Mr. Winik's book provides powerful if not incontrovertible evidence that the Soviet collapse was the direct result of policies set in place and determinedly pressed by Mr. Reagan. But while it is scholarly in its thoroughness, it is consistently readable as well. Like all the best current history, it's also good journalism, rich in human emotions and vivid personal detail.

Written — and occasionally over-written — in a lively anecdotal style,

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Mr. Winik's book focuses on four people who in the Reagan years led the development of an aggressive high-stakes approach to the Soviets, a posture that to critics such as George Kennan seemed to be pushing the world to the brink of war.

The four were Jeane Kirkpatrick, Mr. Reagan's ambassador to the United Nations; the Democratic lawyer Max Kampelman, his human-rights negotiator; Elliott Abrams, an assistant secretary of

POLITICAL BOOKS

ON THE BRINK: THE DRAMATIC BEHIND-THE-SCENES SAGA OF THE ERA AND THE MEN AND WOMEN WHO WON THE COLD WAR

By Jay Winik
Simon & Schuster, \$30, 672 pages, illus.

state, a Harvard-trained lawyer with a New York neoconservative pedigree who had been Pat Moynihan's chief of staff; and Richard Perle, arms-control expert and protégé of Sen. Henry M. "Scoop" Jackson of Washington.

By the time Mr. Reagan entered office, these four had known each other for some time. All had been members of the Committee for a Democratic Majority (CDM), a Jackson-centered group committed to rescuing the party from the loony left, which had controlled it since 1972. All but Mr. Perle had attended a pivotal meeting with Jimmy Carter in the White House in January 1980.

The CDM had sought the meeting in the hope that Mr. Carter, as he began the last year of his first term, could be persuaded to take a firmer, less conciliatory stance toward the

Soviets. The group had supported Mr. Jackson for president in 1980 and knew that Mr. Carter owed it no favors, but knew also that he needed political support from the right. In addition, it was thought that the recent Soviet foray into Afghanistan might have opened Mr. Carter's eyes.

Also at the meeting were Norman Podhoretz and Midge Decter (soon to be Elliott Abrams' in-laws), former Adm. Elmo Zumwalt, the political scientist Austin Ranney

be taken seriously, it wouldn't be by Jimmy Carter.

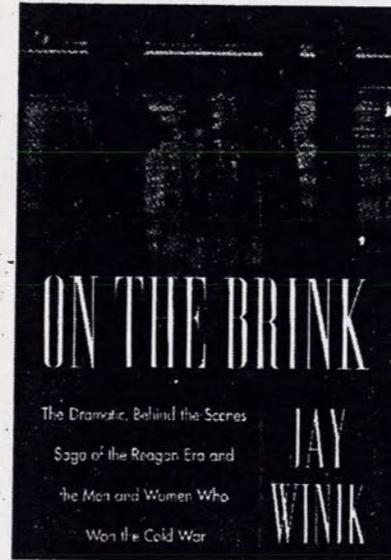
And in their own individual ways, they began the difficult process of adjusting their allegiances. In a little more than a year, most of them would be working for Mr. Reagan. As lifelong Democrats they occasionally reflected on how odd that was, but they were soon too busy for much of that sort of introspection.

Mr. Winik tells their interwoven stories like a screenwriter, cutting from scene to scene, employing frequent explanatory flashbacks, introducing scores of important characters. Tension builds in myriad subplots, yet the author never loses control of his narrative.

We see Mr. Perle deep in the hyper-complexities of nuclear arms control, Mrs. Kirkpatrick at the United Nations or in one of her collisions with the campus left — such as the time Smith College, which awarded her an honorary degree, told her that if she came to accept it personally it couldn't guarantee her personal safety. We see Mr. Kampelman at the Madrid talks on human rights. We watch the brilliant Mr. Abrams, named an assistant secretary of state at the tender age of 32, become entangled by the scandal that came to be known as Iran-Contra.

And of course there is Ronald Reagan: in 1987, shocking the co-existence-minded at Berlin's Brandenburg Gate ("Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate! Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!"); in 1988, after their last summit, walking amiably with Mr. Gorbachev through Red Square; and, 18 months later, out of office, when the wall at last came down.

It's a dramatic, powerful story, history at its most magnificent. And in "On the Brink," Jay Winik demonstrates the deftness of the truly fine historian by organizing his material so well that the tale seems to tell itself.



and CDM chairman Ben Wattenberg. These weren't Carter cronies, but they represented a considerable measure of Democratic clout.

The session in the Roosevelt Room was a disaster. According to those present, Mr. Carter was alternately insulting and incoherent, ending the meeting with an off-the-wall request for the group to offer suggestions for foreign policy toward Uruguay. Vice President Walter Mondale made a noble effort to salvage something from the meeting, but it was too late. Most of those present had been made to realize that if their views were to

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MAY 2, 1995, TUESDAY

SECTION: DEFENSE DEPARTMENT BRIEFING

LENGTH: 2347 words

HEADLINE: DEFENSE DEPARTMENT
REGULAR BRIEFING

BODY:

MR. BACON: I'll be glad to take your questions on other issues.
Suzanne?

Q Do you have any --

Q Well how about on this issue?

MR. BACON: On this issue? You've just had --

Q Could you just expand a little bit on the Pentagon influence on the policy decision? MR. BACON: The main role the Pentagon has played is to make it very clear to the government over a long period of time that this was both a costly and a somewhat risky proposition, maintaining large groups of refugees in Guantanamo Bay. The secretary has spoken about this, General Shalikashvili has spoken about this, they've spoken about it publicly and they've spoken about it privately, and what they've said privately is almost exactly what they've said publicly.

Q Could we go back again? How many -- how many -- the general said, I think, unless I misunderstood him, he said over 5,000 had already been sent back, or did he say they've been okayed to come back?

MR. BACON: I believe -- all of these figures were made available at the White House, but my understanding is there are now about 5,000 people at Guantanamo Bay who are either qualified or will be qualified to be paroled back to the United States. These are people who fall into several groups; they're elderly, they're ill, or they're unaccompanied minor children, or they're the care-givers for the elderly and the ill. And these are the groups -- it's from these groups of people that they're bringing back 500 people a week. If you look at the figures that were put out by the White House, they said they would bring their policy -- the policy calibration, here, to bring back the 15,000 people as part of the 20,000 people a year who can come in from Cuba.

There are about 21,000 people now at Guantanamo Bay, Cubans, so the remaining people are those we believe either would have been paroled or will be sent back to Cuba because they have criminal records or they have done something to stir up opposition to the American troops there, they have led demonstrations or something like that and have proven themselves unworthy to stay there and will be sent back to Cuba. And those, I understand, the Cubans have agreed to accept back.

Q How many is that?

MR. BACON: Bill, all of that was laid out by the White House and I would really urge you to get the information from them because they have fact sheets. My recollection is that it's around 500 but please check with the White House for



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the more accurate figures because they did put out a lot on that this morning. Jim?

Q Change the subject?

MR. BACON: Sure.

Q On the situation in Croatia, are we in any way approaching the point where there might have to be a U.S. or NATO intervention in order to protect or extract U.N. peacekeepers caught in the fighting over there in Croatia.

MR. BACON: I think right now it's premature to talk about that. Obviously, the idea of an extraction has been on the minds of our allies since late last year and we have been working on an extraction plan since late last year and that plan has evolved considerably since then. Our hope is that UNPROFOR forces will be able to stay in that area. There are now almost 23,000 UNPROFOR forces in Bosnia; there are about 15,000 UN forces in Croatia. That's coming down. That's about twice the number called for in the agreement with Croatia. So it will come down to seven or eight thousand over time. We believe that these forces are serving a valuable purpose of two things: Humanitarian aid; they're helping to bring in humanitarian aid and they're helping to limit the fighting. Both the fighting within Bosnia and Croatia and also, more importantly, to prevent the fighting from spreading out beyond those areas into other parts of the former Yugoslavia.

Q What about the protection or evacuation of U.S. personnel, say, in the embassy in Zagreb which I understand they had to duck and take cover today?

MR. BACON: They are in fact -- we are evacuating non-essential personnel from the embassy in Zagreb and dependents as well. I believe we're pulling out today five non-essential personnel from the embassy and 28 dependents.

MORE

Q Out of how many people at the embassy?

MR. BACON: I don't know what the total is; you should ask the State Department about this. It's their decision to pull them out, obviously. But we are cutting down on our staff.

Q -- pick them up by helicopter or how?

MR. BACON: I do not know how they're leaving, Sid. They're leaving today, I doubt if they're going by helicopter, they're probably going by train. But I -- or airplane; I mean you can fly in and out of Zagreb.

Yes?

Q Ken, yesterday the wires reported that some of the UNPROFOR troops in Sarajevo were being confined to barracks. And I believe over in Croatian fighting some other UNPROFOR people were being used as hostages. With that possible trend toward hostage-taking again, like we had in Bihac, who and by what criteria, but specifically who will be making the decision as to when it gets too hot and too dangerous for UNPROFOR?

MR. BACON: It's a decision that will be made -- there are 26 countries with troops in the former Yugoslavia now and there are about 39,000 troops there altogether. Those countries individually and (corporately ?) and also the U.N. will make the decision, if a decision is made that it's too difficult to stay. Right now the U.N. believes that UNPROFOR should stay there, and that's our belief as well. But they will make the decision. This is not an American decision, because we don't -- we have a very tiny number of support personnel in that area. We are not contributing troops to UNPROFOR, as you know.

Q Yes, but can you tell delineate the criteria that will trigger --

MR. BACON: No, I can't -- we're not making that decision. That's a decision that the countries, the 26 countries and the U.N. will make. It's not a decision we



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will make and it's not a decision NATO will make. What NATO has said is that if UNPROFOR or the U.N. decides to come out, then NATO will help in the extraction.

Q Can you detail the U.S. troops that are there, where they are now and how many? MR. BACON: Yes. The first part and probably in a way the newsiest parts of those troops are -- a very small number of communicators are in the process of moving into Croatia now to assist in a NATO effort to set up a communications network that could be used to support a withdrawal if a withdrawal comes to pass.

Now there are five or six, I believe, Americans who have gone in as part of a group of -- that will eventually be 20 in the first phase of that group to set up a communications network. There are -- in Croatia there are, I believe, about 300 people, many of them medical personnel. There are 136 that are assigned to the Air Force's 60th Medical Group. They operate a hospital that provides support for U.N. forces in the former Yugoslavia.

Q Where is that hospital?

MR. BACON: That hospital is in Zagreb, I believe. There's a group called Joint Task Force Provide Promise (Forward), or if you want to abbreviate that, JTFPP(F). (Laughter.) And there are 300 -- did you get that down? -- there are 300 people there in that task force, and as I say, most of them are Air Force medics, or 136 of them are Air Force medics. They do communications and other support operations.

In Bosnia there is a much smaller number of Americans. The biggest group we have is in -- of about 500 or 600 people, is part of the U.N. force in Macedonia, which is designed to keep the war from spreading into Macedonia. And in Bosnia, I will find in my extensive information packet here we have in Bosnia 45 people assigned to UNPROFOR, the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, NATO and EUCOM. They're basically liaison people. Some are communications people. And the people in Croatia, aside from the 136 Air Force people assigned to do medical work, they are assigned to UNCRO, which is the U.N. Force in Croatia, the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, and NATO, basically as liaison people.

Q Are they all military or are there some civilians?

MR. BACON: They're basically military. They're predominantly military. Suzanne (sp)?

Q The five or six Americans that you mentioned, the communicators, eventually 20, is that a NATO group? And do you mean it will be eventually 20 Americans or are the five or six Americans part of a larger --

MR. BACON: The 20 Americans will be part of a larger group. And they will -- they should all be -- I think there are 80 in the first group going in to set up a communications operation, and they should be in by the end of this month.

Q (Off mike) -- associated to NATO?

MR. BACON: Yes. This is a NATO operation and they are operating under NATO operational command to set up this communications operation.

Q The 18 is the NATO total?

MR. BACON: Sorry?

Q The 18 is the NATO total?

MR. BACON: Yes. And the 20 will come from the U.S.

Q You said the DD (ph) is the first group. Does that indicate therefore there are additional groups?

MR. BACON: There could be, there could be more later depending on how quickly and how extensively we need to set up a communications operation there. But so far the only deployment of communicators to Croatia to set this up, approved by the U.S., is 20.



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Q Late last year the United States and other NATO warplanes bombed an airfield in Croatia at Ludvina (sp) because it was determined that aircraft there had been used for cross-border attacks. Given the fact that there's been a report this weekend of another such bombing raid in Bosnia from that airfield is there any contemplation of an airstrike on that field again?

MR. BACON: The answer to that question is that's it's a decision that has to be made first by the U.N. and secondly by NATO. And I'm not aware that right now that's being contemplated. But I'm not a spokesman for either the U.N. or NATO, and I think it's their call.

(Cross talk.)

Q Could you give us a little rundown on the Perry-Tamezawa talks?

MR. BACON: Sorry?

Q (Inaudible due to outside interference.) The Japanese --

MR. BACON: I don't know. I've been so busy preparing for this briefing and I believe they were still meeting when I came down here so I cannot give you a readout, but I'll try to get something later on for you.

Q Is it fair to assume that North Korea was on the agenda for those talks?

MR. BACON: Well, you can assume that, but since I have not talked to anybody about what happened at the talks I would be reluctant to make any public assumption about what happened. But of course you can assume anything publicly you want.

Q And often do. (Laughter.)

MR. BACON: Well, I -- yeah?

Q Are you aware of a policy stance from the (fire?) department in terms of what the position of whether taggants should be put into explosives used by the military? Evidently the NRA is claiming that the military has opposed the insertion --

MR. BACON: I'm not aware of that. I'll check in to it.

Q If you would, I'd appreciate it. Thank you.

(Cross talk.)

Q Along those lines, has the pentagon checked whether the two gentlemen detained today in the Oklahoma City thing are connected in any way --

MR. BACON: Give me the names of those who have been detained.

Q Michael Land.

Q One is Michael Land and the other one is --

Q Robert Jacks.

Q Robert Jacks, yeah.

Q Can you give us the other names on your list, too? (Laughter.)

MR. BACON: Could you give me the name of Mr. Land again, please?

Q Michael.

Q Michael Land.

MR. BACON: I have the name of Gary Allen Land.

Q Oh, I'm sorry.

MR. BACON: Is that the name?

Q Yeah.

MR. BACON: We have not found any record -- any military record so far. And the second name?

Q Jacks.

Q Robert Jacks.

MR. BACON: Robert Jacks?

(Brief pause to confer with department staff.)

I'm sorry. Commander Franklin has told me that the number of advance NATO communicators is 50, not 80. So anywhere you have 80 in your notes, turn it to



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50. Thank you.

The other, Robert Jacks -- we are still checking on Robert Jacks.

Q When you say Land -- you have not found any military record, you're talking about active military record or -- (inaudible) -- MR. BACON: I said no military record.

Q (Inaudible) -- no military record at all?

Q No indication that he has served in the military?

MR. BACON: No indication that he has served in the military. But this is -- I don't want to get your hopes up, but on the other -- this is preliminary. This is our first check. I don't expect that to change, but we're trying to be open to the true facts here, as always.

STAFF (?): Thank you.

Q One more.

MR. BACON: All right. Go ahead.

Q One more, if I could, on Iran.

MR. BACON: This is truly the last question, though.

Q Oh, all right sir. A high level Department of State official yesterday, expert in Iran, verified that the Iranian government -- or the Iranian Hezbollah, I think, but through government sponsorship, was responsible for many troubles in Algeria -- (inaudible) -- shipped weapons in violation of the embargo to Bosnia, were thought very definitely to be involved in that explosion in Argentina at the Israeli facility there, and other atrocities. Does the Department of Defense believe that it should be a part of our policy to interdict, to somehow embargo arms shipments from Iran, especially the export of terrorism?

MR. BACON: First, as you correctly point out, Secretary Christopher and other people at the State Department did detail many of the reasons why we worry about Iran today. The Department of Defense carries out the policies of the government, and if the policy of the government is to interdict shipments, we will carry that out, but I don't want to speculate right now about what the policy may be.

Q At present, then, that is not our policy?

MR. BACON: I'm not aware that it is.

STAFF: Thank you.

MR. BACON: Thank you.

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