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| <b>Collection/Office of Origin:</b> | Chief of Staff, White House Office of |
| <b>Series:</b>                      | Card, Andrew, Files                   |
| <b>Subseries:</b>                   | Subject Files                         |

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| <b>OA/ID Number:</b>     | CF00554/1   |
| <b>Folder ID Number:</b> | CF00554-004 |

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**Folder Title:**  
Briefing Book: NATO Summit, Rome - 11/6-8/91 [4]

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**WITHDRAWAL SHEET**  
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| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                                                                | DATE     | RESTRICTION                      |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Scen setter           | Meeting with Prime Minister Silva (2 pp.)                                                    | 11/91    | P-1, F-1, "C",<br>P-5            |
| 2. Talking<br>points     | Points to be made at meeting with Prime Minister Silva (2 pp.)<br>(SENT FOR AGENCY REFERRAL) | 11/91    | P-1, F-1, "C"                    |
| 3. Profile               | Political profile (1 p.)                                                                     | 10/29/91 | P-1, F-1, "C",<br>P-5            |
| 4. Scen setter           | Meeting with Prime Minister Martens (2 pp.)                                                  | 11/91    | P-1, F-1, "C",<br><del>P-5</del> |
| 5. Profile               | Political profile (1 p.)                                                                     | 10/29/91 | P-1, F-1, "S",<br>P-5            |
| 6. Scen setter           | Meeting with Prime Minister Mulroney (2 pp.)                                                 | 11/91    | P-1, F-1, "S",<br>P-5            |
| 7. Profile               | Political profile (1 p.)                                                                     | 6/27/91  | P-1, F-1, "C",<br>P-5            |
| 8. Scen setter           | Meeting with Prime Minister Schlueter (1 p.)                                                 | 11/91    | P-1, F-1, "C",<br><del>P-5</del> |
| 9. Profile               | Political profile (1 p.)                                                                     | 10/9/91  | P-1, F-1, "C",<br>P-5            |
| 10. Scene-<br>setter     | Meeting with Prime Minister Mitsotakis (1 p.)                                                | 11/91    | P-1, F-1, "C",<br><del>P-5</del> |
| 11. Profile              | Political profile (1 p.)                                                                     | 8/28/91  | P-1, F-1, "C",<br>P-5            |

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**COLLECTION**      Bush Presidential Records  
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**FILE LOCATION**    Briefing Book: NATO Summit Rome, Italy 11/6-8/91 [4 of 5]  
                                 [OA/ID CF00554]

**RESTRICTION CODES**

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

- P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advise between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
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|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|----------|-----------------------|
| 12. Scene-setter         | Meeting with Prime Minister Oddsson (1 p.)    | 11/91    | P-1, F-1, "C",<br>P-5 |
| 13. Profile              | Political profile (1 p.)                      | 8/26/91  | P-1, F-1, "C",<br>P-5 |
| 14. Scene-setter         | Meeting with Prime Minister Santer (1 p.)     | 11/91    | P-1, F-1, "C",<br>P-5 |
| 15. Profile              | Political profile (1 p.)                      | 10/29/91 | P-1, F-1, "S",<br>P-5 |
| 16. Scene-setter         | Meeting with Prime Minister Lubbers (1 p.)    | 11/91    | P-1, F-1, "C",<br>P-5 |
| 17. Profile              | Political profile (1 p.)                      | 6/27/91  | P-1, F-1, "C",<br>P-5 |
| 18. Scene-setter         | Meeting with Prime Minister Brundtland (1 p.) | 11/91    | P-1, F-1, "C",<br>P-5 |
| 19. Profile              | Political profile (1 p.)                      | 10/29/91 | P-1, F-1, "C",<br>P-5 |
| 20. Scene-setter         | Meeting with President Gonzalez (2 pp.)       | 11/91    | P-1, F-1, "C",<br>P-5 |
| 21. Profile              | Political profile (1 p.)                      | 10/23/91 | P-1, F-1, "S",<br>P-5 |
| 22. Scene-setter         | Meeting with Prime Minister Yilmaz (1 p.)     | 11/91    | P-5                   |

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                         Andrew Card Files

**FILE LOCATION**    Briefing Book: NATO Summit Rome, Italy 11/6-8/91 [4 of 5]  
                                 [OA/ID CF00554]

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| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                                                                | DATE     | RESTRICTION                       |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|-----------------------------------|
| 23. Talking points       | Points to be made at meeting with Prime Minister Yilmaz (1 p.)<br>(SENT FOR AGENCY REFERRAL) | 11/91    | P-1, F-1, "C"                     |
| 24. Profile              | Political profile (1 p.)                                                                     | 10/29/91 | P-1, F-1, "C",<br>P-5             |
| 25. Scene-setter         | Meeting with John Paul II (2 pp.)                                                            | 11/91    | P-1, F-1, <del>"C"</del> ,<br>P-5 |
| 26. Talking points       | Points to be made at meeting with John Paul II (5 pp.)<br>(SENT FOR AGENCY REFERRAL)         | 11/91    | P-1, F-1, "C"                     |
| 27. Profile              | Political profile (1 p.)                                                                     | 10/29/91 | P-1, F-1, "C",<br>P-5             |

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**COLLECTION** Bush Presidential Records  
Chief of Staff  
Andrew Card Files

**FILE LOCATION** Briefing Book: NATO Summit Rome, Italy 11/6-8/91 [4 of 5]  
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# Agency Referral/Mandatory Review Disposition Sheet

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This document sheet records the disposition of all actions in response to agency referral and/or mandatory review requests. Full citations for each record are listed on the preceding withdrawal sheets and correspond to the document numbers listed below.

| DOCUMENT NO. | ACTION TAKEN              | DATE OF ACTION | RECLASSIFICATION | CASE NO.  |
|--------------|---------------------------|----------------|------------------|-----------|
| 02           | Document Released in Full | 12/23/98       |                  | 98-0142-F |
| 23           | Document Released in Full | 12/23/98       |                  | 98-0142-F |
| 26           | Document Released in Full | 12/23/98       |                  | 98-0142-F |

|                      |                                                                                |
|----------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>COLLECTION</b>    | Chief of Staff, White House Office of<br>Card, Andrew, Files                   |
| <b>FILE LOCATION</b> | Briefing Book: NATO Summit Rome, Italy 11/6-8/91 [4 of 5]<br>OA/ID NO. CF00554 |

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POINTS TO BE MADE

MEETING WITH PORTUGUESE PRIME MINISTER ANIBAL CAVACO SILVA

BILATERAL

- The U.S. wants close defense cooperation with Portugal. We are prepared to establish a framework for broadened cooperation in other areas in the base negotiations.
- I understand the political difficulty in the Azores caused by an end to ESF. But frankly, changes in the world, our own budgetary limitations and Portugal's dynamic development mean it would not be appropriate for Portugal to continue to receive ESF.

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PER E.O. 12958

CASE No. 98-0142-F  
JG P, 5/25/99

NATO

- We don't see contradictions between a European Security Identity and continuation of NATO's essential role in Europe. Indeed, I fully support a more integrated Europe. It can make a more effective partner for us.
- Here in Rome, we are reaffirming NATO's role, adapting our strategy, reaching out a helping hand to the East and supporting Europe's desire to have a security identity.
- But this identity must be consistent with and complement NATO. We frankly have concerns that some would like to create a European force delinked from NATO and in competition with it.
- We hope that Portugal and others committed to the importance of the Atlantic partnership will work to ensure that the EC recognizes the vital role of NATO and makes clear that any

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new defense identity should reinforce the Alliance not detract from it.

EC

- We hope to work closely with you during your EC Presidency. I look forward to meeting with you next spring in your capacity as President of the European Council.

AFRICA

- We are generally pleased with the implementation of the Angola Accords.
- We need to continue to work closely to ensure full implementation of the Accords, particularly the formation of new national armed forces and the setting of an election date, preferably in September 1992.

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MEETING WITH BELGIAN PRIME MINISTER WILFRIED MARTENS

SCENESETTER

NATIONAL ELECTIONS UPCOMING

The September 29 departure of the Flemish nationalist Volksunie party from the five-party coalition led to a cabinet reshuffle and the scheduling of elections on November 24. A new government will not likely change foreign and defense policies.

URUGUAY ROUND

Belgium generally hides behind France's intransigence on agricultural reform, and Martens counts Flemish farmers as an important constituency.

We want Belgium to recognize the political as well as economic importance of advancing the round and of reaching agreement in key areas by the end of November.

NATO/EC

Belgian officials believe that differences in the Franco-German and Anglo-Italian proposals on European security can be bridged successfully.

Both Foreign Minister Eyskens and Defense Minister Coeme endorsed the Franco-German proposal for a European defense force on the condition that its structure is compatible with NATO.

Belgium has endorsed the Baker-Genscher approach to NATO liaison with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

ZAIRE

Martens may seek to arrange a meeting with you and Mitterrand to discuss next steps in Zaire. We think this can be handled at lower levels. We are very grateful to the Belgian troops who evacuated many Peace corps volunteers and American missionaries from the interior of Zaire, overland and with U.S. aircraft. All Belgian troops may have now departed Zaire.

We are in close touch with Belgium and France to promote preparations for national elections and the establishment of democratic institutions. Mobutu must cede real power to a transition government. We are making a tough demarche to Mobutu this week and asking him to cede control of all state finances and will discuss the results with Belgium and France. While we have preferred to avoid joint demarches with Belgium and France for a variety of reasons, we agree on basic objectives and expect that our close cooperation will continue.

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Aid programs (except emergency humanitarian aid) should be deferred until public resources are effectively controlled. We hope a new GOZ will allow credible financial controls to be introduced.

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MEETING WITH DANISH PRIME MINISTER POUL SCHLUETER

SCENESETTER

PURPOSE

To affirm the excellent status of U.S.-Danish relations.

BACKGROUND

Current U.S. relations with Denmark are excellent.

Schlueter deeply values his personal relationship with you and was extremely pleased to call at the White House October 16.

**Domestic Political Situation.** Schlueter, who heads Denmark's Conservative Party, has skillfully managed to survive as leader of a minority coalition since 1982.

Recent polls indicate that the gentle slide in Schlueter's popularity -- and that of his party -- has been stemmed of late.

**Intra-European and Transatlantic Relations.** Schlueter is a firm NATO supporter and does not want to damage transatlantic ties with an ill thought out European Security Identity (ESI). Polls show that popular support for NATO has never been higher.

There is nevertheless support in the Government and the populace for joining the Western European Union (WEU) and a willingness to discuss a future ESI.

All mainstream Danish parties support the principles of NATO's relationship to ESI agreed to at the June NATO Ministerial in Copenhagen.

**NATO Issues.** In NATO's command structure review, Denmark is caught between loyalty to its Nordic partner Norway and its desire to maintain a military relationship with Germany. Denmark chairs the NATO committee tasked to reach a compromise by the December DPC Ministerial.

Denmark has expressed quiet concern over the implications of the proposed Franco-German joint military force.

Denmark fully supports the Baker-Genscher approach to NATO liaison with the emerging democracies of Central and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

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MEETING WITH GREEK PRIME MINISTER MITSOTAKIS

SCENESETTER

PURPOSE

To affirm excellent standing of U.S.-Greek relations; to welcome Prime Minister Mitsotakis to Washington in December; and to urge him to renew Greek efforts on the Cyprus issue.

BACKGROUND

Even though U.S.-Greek relations are currently excellent, Prime Minister Mitsotakis is under intense pressure at home as his coalition shows signs of fraying. His party, New Democracy, has fallen behind PASOK in the opinion polls, and domestic criticism mounts as the economic situation worsens and prominent ministers in his cabinet resign or are fired.

**Greek FMF Debt.** During the Presidential trip to Greece this past summer, among the issues discussed was a request by the Greeks for FMF debt relief. The State Department recently informed Greek representatives that the U.S. was not in a position to forgive or reschedule this debt. We continue to provide extensive military assistance to Greece (\$350 million in FMF grants and credits are likely in FY 92).

**Cyprus.** The Greeks have proven very forthcoming on Cyprus but will have more hard concessions to make if a settlement is to be reached. Although the intransigence of Turkish Cypriot leader Denktash combined with Turkish hesitancy in advance of their elections to prevent a high-level meeting from taking place in October, we count on the Greeks to help spur the process again in November.

**Greek-Turkish Relations.** In addition to Cyprus, muslim minority rights in Western Thrace and Aegean seabed disagreements currently stress the Greek-Turkish relationship. The Turkish actions during the recent election of the Orthodox Patriarch, however, represent a welcome relief to this stress. The Turks did not exercise their right of veto over any of the candidates presented by the Holy Synod to the Istanbul Governor's office and they did not delay the process, returning the list to the Synod only one day after Turkey's election on October 20. Reports indicate that at least some Greeks attribute the lack of Turkish interference with this process to U.S. intervention.

At your invitation, Mitsotakis will travel to the U.S. in December for an official working visit.

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MEETING WITH ICELANDIC PRIME MINISTER ODDSSON

SCENESETTER

PURPOSE

To affirm the excellent status of U.S.-Icelandic relations.

BACKGROUND

You met with Prime Minister Oddsson on September 24 in New York on the margins of the UNGA and with President Vigdis Finnbogadottir in Washington on October 9 in connection with "Vinland Revisited."

The Icelanders were very pleased with both meetings and with the access they received.

**U.S. Nuclear Initiative.** Icelanders from all parts of the political spectrum welcomed your initiative on nuclear arms reductions, especially the decision to remove nuclear weapons from surface ships.

Both supporters and opponents of negotiating with the Soviets on naval arms control have presented the initiative as vindicating their position. Your initiative will remove a source of controversy from U.S.-Icelandic relations.

**U.S. Military Cutbacks at Keflavik.** The U.S. military is informing the GOI that \$122 million of construction at Keflavik base will not be carried out as planned. As another in a series of cutbacks in Iceland, it will reinforce Icelandic feelings of insecurity that the U.S. defense commitment to Iceland may be weakening.

We have assured Iceland many times that cutbacks do not mean a lessening of our commitment to Iceland's security but rather that they reflect the changed political situation and increasing budgetary constraints.

**Whaling.** The Icelanders have undertaken a study of how to proceed with the International Whaling Commission. No decision has been taken.

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MEETING WITH LUXEMBOURG PRIME MINISTER SANTER

SCENESETTER

LUXEMBOURG'S EC TROIKA ROLE

You last met Prime Minister and then-EC President Santer April 11 at the White House for the most recent US-EC Summit.

The GOL remains active on the EC Troika. It has assigned key personnel to the rotating EC Presidencies to provide continuity for managing extended crises like Yugoslavia.

The GOL deftly managed its EC Presidency. Luxembourg is a pragmatic compromiser. The drafts on EC Political and Economic Union prepared by the Luxembourg Presidency continue to be points of reference.

EC/NATO

Although pro-Atlanticist, Luxembourg is keeping a low profile in the security/defense debate. Foreign Ministry officials do not believe the EC summit will settle in a meaningful manner the definition of a European Security Identity (ESI) or procedures to implement a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP).

Nonetheless, the GOL expects EC members will sign a document on European Political Union (EPU) in Maastricht.

NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

Luxembourg welcomed the US nuclear initiative as an act of statesmanship at a critical time in East-West relations.

Santer has singled out the US intention to concentrate stored nuclear material in specific areas as a positive example to help the Soviets maintain central command and control over their nuclear weapons.

SOVIET ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE

GOL Foreign Minister Poos believes it is premature to provide additional economic assistance until authority between the union and the republics is clearer.

COMBATTING MONEY-LAUNDERING

We appreciate the GOL's cooperation in the U.S. investigation of BCCI, and its present prosecution of members of the Cali Drug Cartel. DEA witnesses are important elements of the GOL prosecutor's case.

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## MEETING WITH TURKISH PRIME MINISTER YILMAZ

### SCENESETTER

#### PURPOSE

To reiterate to the Turks our strong desire that Turkey remain committed to active participation in UN efforts to solve the Cyprus problem.

#### BACKGROUND

Prime Minister Yilmaz will represent Turkey at the NATO summit. As the head of a caretaker government after losing his mandate in the October 20 elections, Yilmaz has not yet made clear his role, if any, in the new government. Mr. Suleyman Demirel, will likely try to form a government with either Yilmaz' Motherland Party (ANAP) or Inonu's Social Democrats (SHP). The new Turkish government is not expected to take shape until the first or second week in November.

During the campaign for the October 20 Turkish national elections, it became apparent that President Ozal no longer had the leverage to keep pressure on Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktash to compel him to work in good faith for a Cyprus settlement.

The UNSYG's October 8 Report on Cyprus characterized Denktash's references to Turkish Cypriot sovereignty as counter-productive to positive progress on this issue. The UNSYG promised to resume his work in November on the basis of his original mandate.

Security Council Resolution 716 of October 11, which the U.S. sponsored, endorsed the Secretary General's findings and urged him to continue his mission.

Cyprus remains a difficult issue for the Turks who will be preoccupied with forming a new government in the coming weeks.

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POINTS TO BE MADE

MEETING WITH TURKISH PRIME MINISTER YILMAZ

CYPRUS

- Now that the elections are past, I hope that the Government of Turkey will continue to devote its serious effort and full participation in the search for a fair and permanent solution to the Cyprus issue.
- The set of ideas advanced by the Secretary General, which Turkey and the Turkish Cypriots helped to develop, should provide the Turkish Cypriots with security and political equality.
- The settlement we envision will not only help Turkish Cypriots, but in addition will help Turkey.
- The Secretary General is interested in convening a high-level meeting on Cyprus before his term of office ends -- that means a meeting in November or early December. I am also interested in that.
- I know your government is in a state of transition - but Cyprus remains an issue relevant to all Turks.
- I hope you will use your influence with Mr. Denktash to persuade him to work constructively with UN representatives in the weeks ahead to complete work on the UN set of ideas, and then attend a high-level meeting in New York.
- It is certainly in our mutual interest to preserve what has already been accomplished and also to push for a high-level meeting under UN auspices to complete and sign this agreement by the end of 1991.

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MEETING WITH HIS HOLINESS, POPE JOHN PAUL II

SCENESETTER

PURPOSE

You last called on the Pope during your May 1989 trip to Rome. He has just returned from a ten day visit to Brazil. You met with his Foreign Minister, Archbishop Tauran, on October 24. You will want to share impressions on events in Europe and enlist the Pope's support for our Middle East peace efforts. Following your audience you will meet briefly with the American community at the Vatican and make brief remarks.

BACKGROUND

**Europe.** The Pope is concerned about the new European Identity following the fall of Marxism and is convoking a Synod of all European Bishops November 28-December 14, the first in modern history. The meeting will focus on such themes as "one Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals" based on a common Christian heritage.

**Soviet Union.** The Pope was pleased by your nuclear initiative and the Soviet response. The Vatican rapidly and unequivocally condemned the Soviet coup attempt, reflecting the Pope's continuing confidence in Gorbachev. He will want to hear your assessment of the situation in the Soviet Union. The Pope recently said he would like to visit the Soviet Union soon, and Gorbachev quickly invited him. The Pope nurtures hopes of a religious revival in the Soviet Union and will probably urge sustained Western support for Gorbachev and generous humanitarian aid. The Vatican has followed a cautious line, similar to ours, on devolution of the republics, urging caution on Catholics in the Ukraine.

**Yugoslavia.** As Archbishop Tauran signaled to you, finding a solution to the Yugoslav situation is a top Vatican concern. The Pope is reportedly concerned that inter-ethnic conflict will quickly become inter-religious and spark similar strife in Romania, Hungary, Slovakia and the USSR. He sees this chain of events as threatening the religious revival in the East.

Since August, the Vatican has made clear its support for Catholic Slovenia and Croatia and sharp criticism of Serbia. The Vatican supports simultaneous imposition of a truce and recognition of the northern republics. It has actively pushed this idea among European states, with strong effect in Germany, Austria, and Italy. In October, the Pope requested that the U.S. take a more active role and back a UN peacekeeping force. He may well ask you to step up our involvement, though Tauran made clear that the Vatican has no specific proposals. You should review with the Pope our reasons for opposing early recognition.

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**Middle East.** The Vatican has become more assertive in promoting its interests in the region. These include protection and preservation of local Christian communities, fair treatment for the Palestinians and guarantees of universal access to Jerusalem. The Vatican has sought a modest role at the Middle East Peace Conference. In reply to a letter from "Prime Minister" Sodano, Secretary Baker responded that such a request would have more weight if the Holy See would finally recognize Israel diplomatically. The Vatican maintains that a "just solution" to the Palestinian issue and an international protective guarantee for Jerusalem and other holy places remain conditions for diplomatic recognition. Archbishop Tauran told General Scowcroft that while diplomatic recognition was not yet possible, the Pope was eager to have a new approach given the Madrid conference and would consider helpful steps. Subsequently, the Pope wrote you (and Gorbachev) with his best wishes for the Madrid conference. You should thank the Pope for his letter and encourage full Vatican support for the peace process and help in creating a positive environment for direct negotiations.

The key Middle East issue for the Pope is **Lebanon**, especially the position of the Maronites. The Holy See only half-heartedly accepts the Taif accords, and fears that Syria might attempt to annex Lebanon. The Pope still views Lebanon as a potential model for a multiconfessional society in the Islamic world and wants to protect and nurture Lebanese Christians, who make up about 30% of the population. The Vatican is preparing to convene a special synod for Lebanon that will emphasize interreligious reconciliation and less political activity by the clergy. Some Vatican officials suspect us of giving Syria a "green light" in Lebanon. In fact, we have insisted -- publicly and privately -- on Lebanon's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and supported withdrawal of all non-Lebanese forces.

**Latin America.** Senior Vatican officials are convinced that Haitian President Aristide is psychologically unstable and that the U.S. was wise to support his return to power only on condition that the institutions of the army and Church be respected. The Pope could provide welcome assistance to the process of national reconciliation in El Salvador with a statement publicly welcoming the New York Accords of September 25 and calling for a cease-fire and a definitive resolution of the conflict. The Vatican remains very concerned about the rise of Protestant fundamentalism, supported from the U.S., in Latin America. This was a focus of the Pope's trip to Brazil.

**Drugs and Social issues.** The Vatican is holding a world-wide conference on drug and alcohol addiction on November 21-23. Dr. Louis Sullivan and Bob Martinez are planning to attend the conference. You have asked the Pope to receive them. You should congratulate the Pope on this effort and share some of the successes and difficulties in our own efforts, including your decision to host a narcotics summit next February. Ambassador Melady also suggests that you share with the Pope some of your domestic efforts on the family, on reducing abortion on demand, and on helping parents who send their children to religiously-connected schools.

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POINTS TO BE MADE  
MEETING WITH HIS HOLINESS, POPE JOHN PAUL II

CHANGES IN THE EAST AND DEVELOPMENTS WITH NATO AND THE EC

- There have been so many dramatic changes since we last met two years ago. They offer great hope but at the same time, I believe that we now face tasks as daunting as any of those we encountered during the Cold War.
- We must do all we can to help the transformations in the East succeed. Those changes are still fragile even in Central Europe -- which you know so well -- and even more uncertain in the Soviet Union. I am very concerned about developments there.
- Let me assure you that we are doing and will do all we can to support this movement to freedom and democracy. But it will be a long and hard effort, and we in the West must work closely together. What are your impressions of the situation?
- There are equally important developments going on in the West. This week's NATO summit and forthcoming EC summit meetings are landmark events in adapting European and transatlantic institutions. I can assure you that the U.S. will not abandon its European responsibilities.

YUGOSLAVIA

- I know you are seriously concerned about the crisis in Yugoslavia. When we met in Washington, Archbishop Tauran eloquently expressed your serious humanitarian concerns

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about the plight of the Yugoslav peoples and especially with the approach of winter.

- We have been working closely with the EC to find a peaceful, democratic settlement. We believe the EC is best placed to lead this effort, but we remain ready to offer any support needed, including movement to sanctions if needed.

Unfortunately, this is a conflict which defies easy solution.

- We will accept any future political arrangements that are decided on peacefully and democratically by the peoples of Yugoslavia through dialogue and negotiation. But, I remain very worried that premature recognition of independence of any of the republics would just make this civil war international and perhaps fuel the flames even more.

- We believe that the current EC-sponsored Conference on Yugoslavia offers the best vehicle for conducting a dialogue among the parties.

- We also welcome Cyrus Vance's appointment as UN mediator and hope that this will further the mandate given to the Secretary General to advance the search for a just and lasting peace in Yugoslavia.

#### MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS

- Thank you for your letter welcoming the Madrid conference. The Conference and direct negotiations represent an historic breakthrough.

- For the first time, the parties to the conflict have agreed to sit down face-to-face, and through direct negotiations pursue a settlement based on 242 and 338.

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- The objective of this process is a just, lasting, and comprehensive settlement on all fronts designed to achieve real peace and reconciliation in the region.
- We appreciate the Holy See's interest in serving as an observer or guest at the Conference. The parties to the Conference have to decide on the attendance of observers.
- We believe that the credibility of your request would be enhanced if you would recognize Israel diplomatically.
- Short of that, I hope that you can use all of your influence to support this process and to help create an atmosphere conducive to fruitful bilateral talks.

LEBANON

- We support the unity, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Lebanon, as well as the withdrawal of all non-Lebanese Forces and the end of all armed militias.
- While I know you have doubts, we believe that Taif Agreement provides the best opportunity to achieve these goals.
- We support the Lebanese government's plan to disarm all militias and extend its authority over the whole country.
- The U.S. has told Syria in no uncertain terms that we expect it to live up to the letter and spirit of the Taif Agreement and to help promote Lebanon's independence and sovereignty.
- We will be following this process closely.

DRUGS AND SOCIAL ISSUES

- I want to congratulate you on the world-wide conference on drug and alcohol addiction which you have called for later this month.

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- I have asked my drug czar Governor Bob Martinez and my Secretary of Health and Human Services to attend. I hope you will be able to see them and hear about our efforts to combat these scourges.
- I have invited the Presidents of Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, Columbia, Venezuela and Mexico to participate in a drug summit in the United States next February.
- (You may want to say something about your policies toward the family, toward abortion and toward education.)

HAITI

- The outcome of the current crisis in Haiti will set an important precedent in the Western Hemisphere where many nations have fragile democracies vulnerable to military coups. We cannot let this assault on democracy succeed.
- The OAS moved with unprecedented speed and effectiveness to isolate the illegitimate Haitian regime and seek a resolution to the crisis.
- The U.S. has suspended aid, frozen GOH assets and barred financial dealings with the regime.
- I know that relations between the Church and President Aristide are strained. We recognize his faults, and we have made clear to him that some of his behavior as president was intolerable.
- We also have made clear that the OAS civilian mission that will go to Haiti to negotiate Aristide's return would also strive to observe and hopefully guarantee the human rights of all Haitians - including the Church.

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-- Nonetheless, Aristide is Haiti's democratically elected president. With that in mind, we hope you will provide your moral authority in support of a negotiated settlement of the crisis satisfactory to all of the parties.

EL SALVADOR

-- We believe the negotiations are very close to peace. We think it would be very helpful if you could publicly call upon the two sides to make every effort to complete the negotiations, so that a cease-fire can be in place before this Christmas.

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