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## **Clinton Presidential Records Mandatory Declassification Review**

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### TELEPHONE CALL TO BELGIAN PRIME MINISTER DEHAENE

**Status:** Our Ambassador asked Foreign Minister Claes for a Belgian police monitor contribution to the first phase Haiti multinational force on September 4. Claes understood the importance of such participation for the proper implementation of UNSC Resolution 940 and said Belgium would seriously consider a law enforcement contribution, possibly with a French-speaking team of paramilitary gendarmes. Claes was to raise the issue with Prime Minister DeHaene. The request could be considered formally as early as Friday, when the Belgian cabinet holds its regular meeting. Claes' positive response was somewhat unexpected given previous indications that Belgium was reluctant to become involved in Haiti at all, especially after losing ten UN peacekeepers in Rwanda. **Your goal is to reinforce the supportive message Claes presumably conveyed to DeHaene and to urge DeHaene to seek a prompt positive decision at Friday's Cabinet meeting.**

#### Talking Points

- Calling to discuss issue of serious concern to United States and world community: Haiti. UNSC Resolution 940 expressed exhaustion of international patience. Working to build multinational coalition force.
- UNSC Resolution 940 authorizes two phases: multinational force with UN endorsement, which we are leading; and UN Mission in several months.
- My goal remains getting Cedras and associates out peacefully. Building threat of force enhances odds that will work.
- If not, will forcibly remove them, restore democracy.
- Would then welcome Belgium's participation in police monitor role as soon as we establish internal stability, i.e., a few days after intervention. Conflict between Belgian police monitors and Haitian military unlikely.
- French language capability, democratic tradition, professionalism make your *gendarmerie* perfect for police monitoring task.
- Share your anguish at tragic murder of Belgian peacekeepers in Rwanda. Working together to resolve that crisis. Haiti another humanitarian crisis we must resolve, but threat to peacekeepers not expected to be so severe.
- Ambassador has discussed details with Foreign Minister Claes (*phonetic: Klaas*). Hope you and Cabinet will decide on early participation in police role.

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*Visit to Washington: DeHaene is planning a trip to Washington this Fall. No dates have been set but he will want to meet with you.*

Talking point

- Know of your plans to visit. My staff looking at dates. Will get back to you.

*NATO Succession: Foreign Minister Claes appears to be the strongest of the candidates actively seeking to succeed Manfred Woerner. His candidacy has not yet, however, been formally declared.*

Talking point

- Seeking a strong successor to Woerner.
- (If Claes mentioned by name) Claes one of stronger candidates. Prepared to give him fullest consideration.

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### TELEPHONE CALL TO BOLIVIAN PRESIDENT SANCHEZ DE LOSADA

**Status:** On September 6 President Sanchez de Lozada told our Ambassador that he agreed in principle to contribute 100 police personnel for the MNF and UNMIH. Final commitment is subject to Bolivian political and legal requirements that President Sanchez de Lozada believed would not be impediments. He also stated that more specifics were needed on the transition from MNF to police monitoring and the relationship monitors would have with UNMIH. Your aim is to ensure that the Bolivian police arrive within a week of the intervention.

#### Talking Points

- Enjoyed our meeting in June at the World Cup; look forward to meeting again in December at Summit of the Americas.
- Your strong interest in sustainable development is on target. We are going to do everything we can to support you.
- Just learned of your decision in principle to join the multilateral coalition.
- Recognize you have legal aspects to work out, but still wanted to call to express appreciation.
- Prospect of Haitian regime stepping down voluntarily increased by Bolivia's participation. Decision lends weight to common cause.
- Hope you meet Ambassador Watson and Ambassador McNamara in Rio. They will give full details on MNF.
- Crucial that Rio group endorse UN authorized effort to restore democracy. I count on your support.
- Biggest challenge in Haiti following intervention: help the Haitian people maintain civil order.
- Haitian police weakened through years of misuse. But they can be recast into an effective force if they have help.
- We have a plan to re-build the police force. But this will take time.
- I am most concerned about the time just after intervention, when Haitian police will need firm guidance to do their job.

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- We need police monitors--soldiers or civilian police--to ensure that Haitian police act responsibly and to link them Coalition military forces in emergencies.
- Also need forces to back up police, ensure order. Vital for development of Haitian economy, for democracy to take hold.
- U.S. forces will do Phase 1, the intervention, but we would like Bolivia's offer of 100 police within a week after intervention.
- Understand concerns about loss of life.
- Bolivian personnel will not be part of the assault force, not be involved in combat; rather, will be in support role.
- We will handle transportation and all other costs.
- Bolivian presence on the ground essential to broader support for democracy in Haiti, will create foundation for more prosperous and free hemisphere.
- Can we count on you to help us?

(IF RAISED)

*Fernandez Visa: Goni could raise our continuing refusal to issue a visa to his political ally Max Fernandez because of concerns about possible trafficking activities.*

Talking point

- We have examined the case and although I cannot go into the details we concluded that MR. Fernandez does not qualify for a visa.

*Anti-Narcotics Program: Bolivia is engaged in a new anti-narcotics drive called New Dawn, which is having some success.*

Talking points

- Am encouraged by your current anti-narcotics operation, New Dawn. Keep up the pressure. Know it is a difficult operation.
- Urge you to supplement the operation with an effort to help coca growers find alternative economic activities.

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### TELEPHONE CALL TO BRAZILIAN PRESIDENT FRANCO

**Status:** Brazil is not intending to contribute forces to the MNF. They will, however, be a key player at the Rio Summit in shaping the Summit declaration on the Haiti issue.

#### Talking Points

- As we speak, Assistant Secretary Watson is in Rio addressing the Rio Group members on support for our objectives in Haiti.
- We want the illegal regime in Haiti to give way peacefully to democracy. We are hopeful the international community will remain firm in sending a strong message to the illegal government that it has no alternative to departing immediately.
- The de facto leaders take comfort from mixed messages, and thus welcome new messengers. We should ensure that the only message the de facto regime receives is UN Security Council Resolution 940.
- We appreciate any further action you can take to convince other nations of the importance for everyone to speak from the same script.
- We look forward to continuing to work closely with you and your government in the coming weeks as we seek to restore democracy in Haiti.

#### (CONTINGENCY POINTS -- IF RAISED)

##### Summit of the Americas

- We held a very useful round of consultations with your government on the Summit of the Americas in Brasilia on August 26.
- Although we will meet again with you in the context of our consultations with the Rio Group in Washington on September 21, we also wish to continue our bilateral discussion on preparations.
- More detailed consultations on the Summit agenda will continue in the coming months. We anticipate a fruitful process of generating specific initiatives that can carry our goals forward at the Summit in December.
- We consider Brazil a democratic leader in the hemisphere and value your insights and advice on how to proceed.

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*Cuba: The Rio Group Summit, which is meeting in Rio de Janeiro this week, will consider an initiative urging the U.S. and Cuba to begin a broad dialogue.*

- I urge that this be reconsidered. Such an initiative, while well-intentioned, could derail our immigration talks with Cuba and encourage the Cuban authorities to believe they need only stall while international pressure builds on the U.S. to abandon the embargo.
- One of the fundamental causes of the despair that is driving the Cuban people to flee their country is the lack of basic freedoms and respect for human rights in Cuba.
- We have seen no improvement in the Cuban government's human rights record. On the contrary, we have seen further abuses such as the sinking of the tugboat "13 of March" and the callous encouragement to the Cuban government to its people to risk their lives by taking to the high seas in flimsy rafts.
- The U.S. will continue to bring before the United Nations and other international organizations evidence of human rights abuses by the Cuban government.
- We would appreciate any support you could provide in the United Nations and other international fora in calling on the Cuban government to respect the human rights of its people.

*Treaty of Tlatelolco: Cuban government officials have stated publicly that the Cuban government intends to sign the Treaty of Tlatelolco.*

- We applaud the Cuban government's announcement and efforts on the part of the Brazilian government to discuss the importance of the treaty with the Cuban government. We anticipate the Cuban government will sign the treaty at the earliest opportunity.

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### TELEPHONE CALL TO CANADIAN PRIME MINISTER CHRETEN

**Status:** Canada will be the largest contributor of police monitors in phase II (UNMIH). They could make a major contribution to and in fact lead the police element in phase I. However, although Canada sponsored UNSC Resolution 940, Chretien has resisted participating in the multinational force, probably out of concern that involvement before complete pacification in Haiti and without UN control of the international presence could further stress a domestic political base already uncomfortable with the risks to Canadian forces in UNPROFOR. Yet Canada was the most forthright Friend pushing hard for Aristide's return, due to a concentration of Haitian-Canadian voters in key Quebec districts. They criticized us for hesitancy. Now they must follow through. We need their own capabilities and if they join it will encourage others.

You pushed for Canadian phase one police participation in an August 16 letter to Chretien. His reply declined such a role. Subsequent clarifications that we envisage Canadian arrival in "phase one-and-one-half" (i.e., after initial stabilization) have elicited Foreign Ministry willingness to send police monitors as early as 7-10 days after intervention. We are consulting at high levels on their procedural concerns. At the same time, a Cabinet decision apparently is needed. **Your aim in this call is to get Chretien to commit to early participation.**

#### Talking Points

- We have led efforts to resolve Haitian crisis -- "Friends of Haiti", Resolution 940 co-sponsors.
- Must stand together during coalition phase authorized by Resolution 940.
- Effort to build broad coalition gaining strength. Thirteen nations committed to military or police participation. But we need more police in early stages.
- Participation by allies with Caribbean ties especially important. British and Dutch participating. Calling Dutch Prime Minister Kok (*phonetic: Kawk*) to seek their police. Also calling French to urge they send police in coalition phase. Mitterand told me France committed to close cooperation.
- Grateful Canada taking lead on police in UNMIH, phase II. Need to maintain law and order from the first days. In line with Canadian commitment to Haitian democracy, urge you to provide 100-200 Canadian police monitors in first phase.
- Understand now Canada could deploy police several days after military leaders removed, when initial stabilization complete.
- Problem is your officials saying can only do it if police under UN command. As UNSC Resolution 940 reads, police are under coalition command. But Canada could command MNF police component.

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- Such a police contribution will be mainstay of coalition and encourage other participants to sign on. Commitment now will number Canada among those whose determination enabled Haitians to build a hopeful future.
- Who can Ambassador Blanchard work out details with?

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*Visit to Canada: You have decided to make a one-day visit to Canada this Fall. A decision has not yet been made whether to accept the time period formally proposed by Canadian Governor General Hnatyshyn (October 1-21) or to suggest alternative dates. Your reply to Hnatyshyn accepting the invitation in principle awaits signature.*

Talking point

- Look forward to one-day visit this Fall. Appreciate offer of October 1-21. Hope to respond soon so we can identify a mutually-convenient date.

*Softwood Lumber Refund: An extraordinary challenge panel dismissed all U.S. appeals against Canada in the softwood lumber case. Canada wants prompt refund of C\$800 million in bonds against our countervailing duty assessment.*

- Understand urgency in seeking prompt refunds. But I must handle Congressional interests. Our experts examining best way to meet both sides' concerns.

*Fish Disputes: Canadian treatment of U.S. fishermen in recent disputes on Icelandic scallops and Pacific salmon have caused concern, particularly in Congress.*

- Would welcome positive Canadian response to our proposal for binding dispute settlement on Icelandic scallops issue.
- Let's have our salmon negotiators reach multi-year agreement before next year's season.

*Cuba: In general, Canada believes that our shared objectives of promoting a democratic opening and improved human rights in Cuba are better pursued through dialogue than isolation. A few months ago, Canada resumed humanitarian assistance to Cuba. The Canadians have not taken a public stance on the current migration surge from Cuba or our response to it.*

Talking points

- Hope measures we have taken will stabilize Cuban exodus.
- Migration talks are promising, hope for early agreement on orderly emigration.
- Will not broaden talks unless Castro acts to respect human rights, make democratic reforms.

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*NATO Succession: Canada is weighing options, interested in ensuring that NATO avoids the appearance of disunity over choosing a successor to Woerner and undecided whether to promote a compromise candidate should there be a deadlock.*

Talking point

- Not prepared to take position yet on specific candidates. Agreement on a strong successor must take account of rotation at the top of other European institutions and various succession traditions. Our people should keep in touch as selection process develops.

*Quebec: September 12 provincial elections pit separatist Parti Quebecois (PQ) leader Jacques Parizeau against incumbent Liberal Premier Daniel Johnson, who is closing the gap in recent polls but is well behind among native French speakers. The PQ has pledged to hold a referendum on Quebec's future within ten months if it wins.*

Talking point

- Americans following the campaign with interest. We have long enjoyed excellent relations with a strong, united Canada. How Canadians craft constitutional change is for them to decide.

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### TELEPHONE CALL TO CHILEAN PRESIDENT FREI

**Status:** Participation by the Chilean paramilitary *carabineros* in the first phase multinational force is particularly important since it will both give us greater Latin cover, which we need, and provide the services of a highly professional police force. In your June 28 meeting with President Frei he said he could not provide *carabineros* because of institutional opposition from the armed forces and *carabineros* commander General Stange, whom he had tried unsuccessfully to force from office on human rights grounds. You told Frei you understood and that it was more important to maintain Chile's progress toward full civilian control of the military.

As police monitors have become a top priority we have approached many countries for contributions, including Chile again. Foreign Minister Figueroa was cautiously positive and told our Ambassador that he, Frei and the Defense Minister would seriously consider our request. Stange remains a concern, but Figueroa said that matters have improved since your June meeting and that seeking *carabineros* participation in Haiti was no longer impossible. **Your aim is to urge Frei to make the political commitment to send a sizable contingent of *carabineros* to the MNF once the security situation is stabilized by our forces.**

#### Talking Points

- Calling to ask that Chile provide police to act as monitors of Haitian police, as part of multinational force now assembling to implement Resolution 940.
- We will provide bulk of military units ourselves and U.S. forces would do intervention.
- We need police monitors in phase two starting few days after intervention to ensure that Haitians who will enforce law on interim basis do so properly.
- Ambassador Kamman conveyed to Foreign Minister our request for sizable contingent of *carabineros*, at least 100, as many as 250-300.
- *Carabineros* have deserved reputation as professionals. That and their international experience (El Salvador) suits them well to police monitor role once democracy restored, Multinational Force in control and they can operate safely.
- Discussed this proposal in your June visit. Realize a sensitive area, that relations with armed forces delicate. Resurrect request only because so important, *carabineros* so skilled.
- Foreign Minister Figueroa told Ambassador you would consider request seriously, and he raised several specific concerns.
- Confident those concerns can be resolved. We would handle transport, other costs. Our concept of operations flexible, can accommodate Chile's special requirements.

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- Will appreciate your participation in Multinational Force along lines I described, but need decision soon. Who can Ambassador Kamman work out details with?

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*Free Trade: The Vice President spoke to Frei about this by telephone a few weeks ago and told him we were working hard with the Congress to get fast-track authority. You also assured Chile's new Ambassador of our commitment when you received his credentials last month.*

Talking point

- As Vice President Gore said, am working with Congress to get the legislative authority needed for effective free trade negotiations. Confident I will get it.

*Rio Group Summit: The Rio Group, comprising most Latin countries, will meet in Brazil at the end of this week. We want the Group to issue a supportive declaration on Haiti and have approached Chile in this regard. We also look to Chile to push an effective anti-corruption initiative for the December Summit of the Americas, following up on a recent NSC/State team pre-Summit consultation. In both cases, we anticipate unhelpful Brazilian positions, reflecting their opposition to UNSC Resolution 940 on Haiti and to our ambitious Summit agenda.*

Talking points

- Appreciate support for Resolution 940 on Haiti. Hope Rio Group statement will support it.
- Pleased our Summit of the Americas team had good talks in Santiago. Want to keep working with you, appreciate Chile's willingness to join in promoting anti-corruption initiative.

*Relations with Peru: The Peruvian government recently decided not to submit a boundary agreement with Chile to its Congress for ratification. Chile has already ratified the agreement, which resolves disputes lingering from the 19th century War of the Pacific between the two countries. It is furious with Peru and has withdrawn its Ambassador from Lima. We are neutral in this dispute and wish to remain uninvolved.*

Talking point

- Hope you can resolve issue with Peru. Realize recent developments disappointing to you .

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### TELEPHONE CALL TO COLOMBIAN PRESIDENT SAMPER

**Status:** Colombia has made no commitment on participation in the MNF or UNMIH. It has said it would "study" participation after hostilities cease, but before transition to UNMIH. Your aim is to get a significant Colombian presence on the ground in Haiti.

#### Talking Points

- You are off on a strong start as president.
- Appreciate excellent relationship you and your colleagues have with Ambassador Frechette. Your team is first-rate.
- Look forward to meeting with you at Summit of the Americas in Miami in December.
- Colombian support crucial to UNSCR Resolution 940.
- Biggest challenge in Haiti following the intervention: help the Haitian people maintain civil order.
- Haitian police weakened through years of misuse. But they can be recast into an effective force if they have help.
- We have a plan to re-build the police force. But this will take time.
- I am most concerned about the time just after intervention, when Haitian police will need firm guidance to do their job.
- We need police monitors--soldiers or civilian police--to ensure that Haitian police act responsibly and to link them Coalition military forces in emergencies.
- Also need forces to back up police and ensure order. Vital for development of Haitian economy.
- Would like 2 infantry companies and 100 police to help in police monitor roles within a week after intervention.
- Colombian personnel will not be part of the assault force, not be involved in combat; rather, will be in support role.
- Colombian presence on the ground essential to broader support for democracy in Haiti, will create foundation for more prosperous and free hemisphere.

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- We would handle transportation and other costs.
- Can we count on you to help us?

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*Possible Samper Visit: Samper might be in Washington on or about September 15 for President Gaviria's swearing in at the Organization of American States, but we do not recommend that you meet with him.*

Talking points

- We are delighted that President Gaviria will be heading the OAS. He will bring new dynamism and creativity to that important post.
- I am glad you will be here to celebrate with us.

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## TELEPHONE CALL TO PANAMANIAN PRESIDENT BALLADARES

**Status:** You sent Secretaries Babbit and Cisneros to Perez Balladares' September 1 inauguration. His new government has been favorably disposed to us, agreeing to shelter up to 10,000 Cuban refugees, for example. We have been supporting Panama's national police as the replacement for Noriega's disbanded National Guard. The government is considering contributing 30-40 of those U.S.-trained personnel to a later MNF state under controlled conditions, perhaps to act as Secret Service protection for Aristide. You recently sent a joint letter to Perez Balladares stressing the importance of joining the coalition. High ranking State officials followed up at the inauguration and at the Central American Foreign Ministers Conference just concluded in Costa Rica. Your aim is to get at least 100 police monitors from Panama.

### Talking Points

- Agreement to shelter Cubans shows great compassion and courage.
- Effort to build coalition gaining strength. Many Caribbean countries joining. Important that all countries in hemisphere work with UN.
- Biggest challenge in Haiti following the intervention: help the Haitian people maintain civil order.
- Haitian police weakened through years of misuse. But they can be recast into an effective force if they have help.
- We have a plan to re-build the police force. But this will take time.
- I am most concerned about the time just after intervention, when Haitian police will need firm guidance to do their job.
- We need police monitors--soldiers or civilian police--to ensure that Haitian police act responsibly and to link them Coalition military forces in emergencies.
- Also need forces to back up police and ensure order. Vital for development of Haitian economy.
- Would like 100-200 police to help in these roles within a week after intervention.
- We have supported Panama in building a national police. We know how capable they are.
- Panamanian personnel will not be part of the assault force, not be involved in combat; rather, will be in advisory role later in the first week after the intervention.

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- We would handle their transportation and other costs.
- Panamanian presence on the ground essential to broader support for democracy in Haiti, will create foundation for more prosperous and free hemisphere.
- Can we count on you to help us?

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