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Folder Title:

POTUS Trip to England, Northern Ireland, Ireland, Germany and Spain (November 29-December 3, 1995) [1]

Staff Office-Individual:

Press-Crowley, Philip J. (PJ)

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 29, 1995

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

Presidential Visit to Spain for Biennial U.S.-EU Summit

The United States, Spain, which holds the Presidency of the European Council, and the European Commission have agreed that Spain will host the next United States-European Union Summit meeting on December 3, 1995. At the invitation of His Majesty King Juan Carlos I, President Clinton will visit Madrid to meet with Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez and European Commission President Jacques Santer. President Clinton will also meet with King Juan Carlos and Prime Minister Gonzalez to discuss issues of bilateral interest during this, his first official visit to Spain.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

July 6, 1995

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

President Clinton to Visit to United Kingdom and Ireland

The President is pleased to accept the invitations of the British and Irish governments to visit the United Kingdom and Ireland, November 29-December 2. In the UK, the schedule will include meetings in London with Prime Minister Major and a visit to Northern Ireland; and in Ireland a meeting with Prime Minister Bruton. The goals of the trip include strengthening the transatlantic partnership in which the United Kingdom plays such a special role, nurturing our close ties of friendship and culture with Ireland, and underscoring the President's support for the joint efforts of the Irish and British governments and the people of Northern Ireland to achieve a lasting and peaceful settlement.

#

As of 10/12/95

**PROPOSAL FOR TRAVEL
THE UNITED KINGDOM, IRELAND AND SPAIN
NOVEMBER 27, 1995 - DECEMBER 3, 1995**

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 27, 1995

8:15 pm Wheels up Andrews Air Force Base

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1995

7:15 am Wheels down London, England

8:00 am Breakfast Meeting with Major (Pool Spray at top)
9:00 am

9:35 am Wreath Laying at Tomb of Unknown Soldier and Tour of West Minster
10:05 am Abbey

10:10 am Depart en route Embassey

10:20 am Arrive Embassey

10:25 am Reception with Embassey staff
11:10 am

11:15 am Deapart Embassey en route Ambassador's Residence

11:30 am **Arrive Ambassador's Residence**

11:35 am **Down Time/Briefing Time/Meetings**
12:30 pm

1:00 pm **Lunch with the Queen**
3:00 pm

3:30 pm **Down Time***
7:30 pm **Options:** **Speech Prep/Briefing Time**
 Interviews
 OTR Down Town London

*** It will be dark at this time.**

8:00 pm **US hosted Dinner in London**

RON **London, England**

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1995

8:40 am Depart Ambassador's Residence en route 10 Downing Street

9:00 am Meeting with PM Major

11:20 am

9:00 am - 10:30 am Meeting

10:30 am - 11:00 am Debrief

11:00 am - 11:20 am Press Availability

11:30 am Speech Prep

12:15 pm

12:30 pm Address Parliament

1:30 pm Guild Hall the House of Lords

2:00 pm Helo to Windsor Castle*

* Note if unable to use helos, drive time to Windsor is approx 1 hour.

* Windsor Castle is TBD. POTUS has the option of staying in London and doing an OTR there.

2:45 pm Tour and Visit to Windsor Castle

4:00 pm (Prince Charles' attendance is TBD)

4:15 pm Walking Tour/OTR Downtown Windsor*

4:45 pm

* It will be dark at this time

5:25 pm	Depart Windsor via Helos en route Ambassador's Residence
6:00 pm	Meeting with Labour Leader Tony Blair at Ambassador's Residence
6:30 pm	(Pool Spray at top -- Ambassador's Residence)
6:30 pm	Down Time
7:15 pm	
7:30 pm	Dinner hosted by Major*
10:00 pm	*Possible OTR with Major after dinner
RON	London, England

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1995

7:30 am Depart Residence via helo en route the airport

8:00 am Wheels up London, England

9:10 am Wheels down Derry, N. Ireland

9:45 am Arrive City Hall

9:50 am Reception with O'Neil Clan and VIP's
10:10 am City Hall

10:20 am Speech at Guildhall in City Hall
11:00 am

11:15 am Meet and greet with Citizens of Derry and Walk the City Walls of Derry
12:05 pm

12:15 pm Depart for Airport

12:45 pm Wheels up Derry

1:15 pm Wheels down Belfast

1:50 pm	Arrive Speech site
2:00 pm	Speech
2:45 pm	Location TBD (Mackie Plant or Business near the peace line)
3:00 pm	Depart location tbd en route location tbd
3:20 pm	Walk Peace Line/Community Event/Discussion w/Real people
3:50 pm	
4:00 pm	Depart location tbd en route East Belfast
4:20 pm	Arrive location tbd East Belfast
4:30 pm	Event East Belfast or Down Time (TBD)
5:15 pm	
5:20 pm	Depart East Belfast en route location TBD
5:30 pm	Arrive location tbd

5:35 pm **Reception with Unionist and Nationalist with pull asides**
7:00 pm **during the reception**

7:10 pm **Depart location tbd en route City Hall**

7:30 pm **Tree Lighting Ceremony City Hall**
8:30 pm

8:45 pm **Down for the day***

Possible OTR or Dinner tbd

RON **Belfast N. Ireland**

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1995

7:55 am Depart the Hotel en route the airport

8:30 am Wheels up Belfast N. Ireland

9:30 am Wheels down Dublin, Ireland

9:35 am Small Arrival Ceremony

10:20 am Meeting with President Robinson and tree planting ceremony

11:00 am

11:05 am Depart President's Residence en route down town.

11:30 am Short Tour Trinity College or speech prep

11:45 am

12:00 pm Rally Downtown Dublin

12:45 pm Either at Trinity College or Bank of Ireland

1:10 pm Meeting with Prime Minister Bruton*

2:20 pm

*Breakdown TBD

2:25 pm Hold/Speech Prep
2:40 pm

2:45 pm Remarks to Parliament (5-10mins) and exchange of gifts
3:30 pm

3:40 pm Meeting with Opposition Leader Bertie Ahern
4:00 pm

4:05 pm Depart Parliament en route otr

4:20 pm Arrive site

4:25 pm OTR
5:15 pm

5:25 pm Depart en route Ambassador's Residence

5:45 pm Arrive Residence

5:50 pm Radio Address Prep Time
6:15 pm

6:15 pm Radio Address with Embassey Staff
6:45 pm

6:50 pm Down Time
7:30 pm

7:45 pm Depart Ambassador's Residence en route Dublin Castle

8:00 pm Irish Government Hosted Dinner
10:00 pm Dublin Castle

RON Dublin, Ireland

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1995

7:30 am Depart the Ambassador's Residence

8:00 am Wheels up Dublin

8:45 am Wheels dn Kerry International Airport

9:25 am Arrive Ballybunion Golf Course

10:00 am Golf*

3:30 pm

*If unable to play due to inclement weather there will be touring and other options available.

3:45 pm Depart Ballybunion via helos en route location TBD

4:15 pm Arrive location tbd

4:30 pm Business/Investment Event in Western Ireland

5:15 pm

5:45 pm Arrive Down Time

6:45 pm Dromoland Castle

7:00 pm **US Hosted Dinner**
9:30 pm **Dromoland Castle**

10:00 pm **Arrive Airport**
Open Departure TBD

10:15 pm **Wheels up Shannon Airport**
[Flight Time: 2hr 10 mins]
[Time Change: +1]

1:25 am **Wheels Down Madrid, Spain**

1:40 am **Depart Airport**

2:00 am **Arrive El Pardo Palace**

RON **Madrid, Spain**

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1995

7:45 am Depart El Pardo Palace en route the Moncloa Palace

8:00 am Breakfast Bilateral Meeting with Felipe Gonzalez, Prime Minister of Spain
8:45 am

8:50 am Meeting with Jacques Santer, President, The European Commission
9:00 am

9:05 am US/EU Meeting
10:30 am

10:30 am Debrief
10:50 am

10:55 am Signing of Trans-Atlantic Declaration and Press Availability
11:20 am

11:30 am Depart Moncloa Palace en route Location TBD

11:45 am Open TBD*
12:30 pm

*If more time becomes available possible stop at the Prado Museum

12:40 pm	Meeting with Jose Maria, Leader of the Popular Party of Spain
1:00 pm	El Pardo Palace (TBD)
1:05 pm	Depart El Pardo Palace en route Zarzuela Palace (Home of the King)
1:20 pm	Lunch with King Carlos
2:20 pm	
3:00 pm	Wheels up Madrid [Flight Time: 7hrs 10mins] [Time Change: -6]
4:10 pm	Wheels down Andrews Air Force Base
4:20 pm	Depart Andrews en route White House
4:40 pm	Arrive White House
5:30 pm	Kennedy Center Honors Reception at White House

UK/Ireland
Nov 27 - Dec 3, 1995

** Denotes Press focus for the day

MONDAY, NOV 27th (D.C.)

Pre-trip Interviews US; TV? UK/Ireland?
Round table - US Journalists
Round table - UK/Ireland Journalists
10 min each BBC/ITN or RTE
Catholic/specialty press?

TUESDAY, NOV 28th (London)

** 10 Downing Photo op
Possible foreign policy meeting
Lunch with Queen

WEDNESDAY, NOV 29th (London)

Press conference w/Major
** Speech

THURSDAY, NOV 30th (Belfast)

** Speech
Walk thru Derry/Belfast Neighborhoods

FRIDAY, NOV 31st (Dublin)

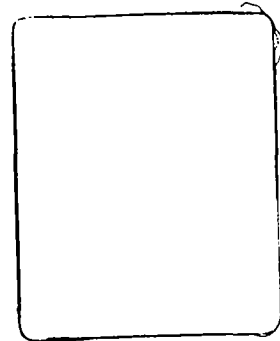
Bruton Press Conference
Dail (Parliament Greetings
** Speech to people of Dublin

SATURDAY, DEC 1st (Western Ireland)

Down/Golf

SUNDAY, NOV 2nd (Spain)

** EU Summit
Spanish President Bilat



UN
Oct 22 - 24, 1995

SUNDAY, OCT 22nd

Press Interviews? USA Today replacement?

** Speech

MONDAY, OCT 23rd

Mandela Photo

** Yeltsin

TUESDAY, OCT 24th

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** Chinese Meeting

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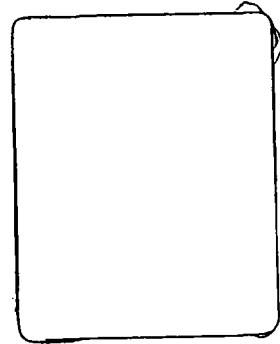
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Mandela Photo

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TUESDAY, OCT 24th

Bosnia Photo

** Chinese Meeting

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary
(Dublin, Ireland)

For Immediate Release

December 6, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND

Bank of Ireland at College
Green

Dublin, Ireland

2:10 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. (Applause.)
First, let me say to all of you Dubliners and all Ireland, Hillary and I have loved our trip to your wonderful country. (Applause.) To the Taoiseach and Mrs. Bruton; Lord Mayor Loftus and Lady Loftus; City Manager Frank Feely; to all the aldermen who conferred this great honor on me.

To the Americans in the audience, welcome to all of you. (Applause.) Are there any Irish in the audience? (Applause.) I want to say also how pleased I am to be here with a number of Irish American members of the United States Congress; and the Irish American Director of the Peace Corps, Mark Gearan; the Irish American Secretary of Education Richard Riley; and the Secretary of Commerce Ron Brown, who wishes today he were Irish American. Thank you all for being here. (Applause.)

I was on this college green once before. Yes. In 1968, when I was almost as young as some of the young students over there. (Applause.) Lord Mayor, I never dreamed I would be back here on this college green in this capacity, but I am delighted to be here. And I thank you. (Applause.)

I am told that in earlier times the honor I have just received, being awarded the Freedom of the City, meant you no longer had to pay tolls to the Vikings. I'm going to try that on the Internal Revenue Service when I get home. I hope it will work. (Laughter.) Whether it does or not, I am proud to say that I am now a free man of Dublin. (Applause.)

To look out into this wonderful sea of Irish faces on this beautiful Irish day I feel like a real "Dub" today -- is that what I'm supposed to say? (Applause.) Not only that, I know we have a handy football team. (Laughter.)

Let me say that, as a lot of you know, because of events developing in Bosnia and the prospect of peace there, I had to cut short my trip. But there are a few signs out there I want to respond to. I will return to Ballybunion for my golf game. (Laughter and applause.)

I am also pleased to announce that President Robinson has

accepted my invitation to come to the United States next June to continue our friendship. (Applause.)

There's another special Irish-American I want to mention today and that is our distinguished Ambassador to Ireland, Jean Kennedy Smith -- (applause) -- who came here with her brother, President Kennedy, 32 years ago and who has worked very hard also for the cause of peace in Northern Ireland. (Applause.)

Years ago, Americans learned about Dublin from the stories of James Joyce and Sean O'Casey. Today, America and the world still learn about Dublin and Ireland through the words of Sebastian Barry, Paula Meehin, Roddy Doyle -- (applause) -- through the films of Jim Sheridan, Neil Jordan; through the voices of Mary Black and the Delores Keane -- (applause) -- and yes, through the Cranberries and U-2. (Applause.) I hear all about how America's global -- the world's global culture is becoming more American, but I believe if you want to grasp the global culture you need to come to Ireland. (Applause.)

All of you know that I have family ties here. My mother was a Cassidy, and how I wish she were alive to be here with me today. She would have loved the small towns and she would have loved Dublin. Most of all, she would have loved the fact that in Ireland, you have nearly 300 racing days a year. (Laughter.) She loved the horses.

I understand that there are some Cassidys out in the audience today. And if they are, I want to say in my best Arkansas accent, cead mile failte -- (applause) -- beatha saol agus slainte. (Applause.)

One hundred and fifty years ago, the crops of this gorgeous island turned black in the ground and one-fourth of your people either starved from the hunger or were lost to emigration. That famine was the greatest tragedy in Irish history. But out of that horrible curse came the most bittersweet of blessings -- the arrival in my country of millions of new Americans who built the United States and climbed to the top of its best works. For every person here in Ireland today, 12 more in the United States have proud roots in Irish soil. (Applause.)

Perhaps the memory of the famine explains in part the extraordinary generosity of the Irish people, not just to needy neighbors in the local parish, but to strangers all around the globe. You do not forget those who still go hungry in the world today; who yearn simply to put food on the table and clothes on their backs. In places as far away as the Holy Land, Asia and Africa, the Irish are helping people to build a future of hope.

Your sons and daughters in the Gardai and the defense forces take part in some of the most demanding missions of goodwill, keeping the peace, helping people in war-torn lands turn from conflict to cooperation. Whenever the troubled places of the earth call out for help, from Haiti to Lebanon, the Irish are always among the very first to answer the call.

Your commitment to peace helps conquer foes that threaten us all. And on behalf of the people of the United States, I say to the people of Ireland: We thank you for that from the bottom of our hearts. (Applause.)

Ireland is helping beat back the forces of hatred and destruction all around the world -- the spread of weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, ethnic hatreds, religious fanaticism, the international drug trade. Ireland is helping to beat back these forces

that wage war against all humanity. You are an inspiration to people around the world. You have made peace heroic. Nowhere are the people of Ireland more important in the cause of peace today than right here at home.

Tuesday night, before I left the United States to come here, I received the happy word that the Taoiseach and Prime Minister Major had opened a gateway to a just and lasting peace, a peace that will lift the lives of your neighbors in Northern Ireland and their neighbors in the towns and counties that share the Northern border. That was the greatest welcome anyone could have asked for. I applaud the Taoiseach for his courage, but I know that the courage and the heart of the Irish people made it possible. And I thank you for what you did. (Applause.)

Waging peace is risky. It takes courage and strength that is a hard road. It is easier, as I said yesterday, to stay with the old grudges and the old habits. But the right thing to do is to reach for a new future of peace -- not because peace is a document on paper, or even a handshake among leaders, but because it changes people's lives in fundamental and good ways.

Yesterday in Northern Ireland I saw that for myself. I saw it on the floor of the Mackie Plant in Belfast, with Catholics and Protestants working side by side to build a better future for their families. I heard it in the voices of the two extraordinary children you may have seen on your television, one a Catholic girl, the other a Protestant boy, who introduced me to the people of Belfast with their hands joined, telling the world of their hopes for the future, a future without bullets or bombs, in which the only barriers they face are the limits to their dreams.

As I look out on this sea of people today I tell you that the thing that moved me most in that extraordinary day in Northern Ireland yesterday was that the young people, Catholic and Protestant alike, made it clear to me not only with their words, but by the expressions on their faces that they want peace and decency among all people. (Applause.)

I know well that the immigration from your country to the shores of mine helped to make America great. But I want more than anything for the young people of Ireland, wherever they live on this island, to be able to grow up and live out their dreams close to their roots in peace and honor and freedom and equality. (Applause.)

I could not say it better than your Nobel Prize-winning poet, Seamus Heaney, has said: "We are living in a moment where hope and history rhyme." In Dublin, if there is peace in Northern Ireland, it is your victory, too. And I ask all of you to think about the next steps we must take.

Stand with the Taoiseach as he takes risks for peace. Realize how difficult it is for them, having been in their patterns of opposition for so long to the north of you. And realize that those of you who have more emotional and physical space must reach out and help them to take those next hard steps. It is worth doing.

And to you, this vast, wonderful throng of people here, and all of the people of Ireland, I say: America will be with you as you walk the road of peace. We know from our own experience that making peace among people of different cultures is the work of a lifetime. It is a constant challenge to find strength amid diversity, to learn to respect differences instead of run from them. Every one of us must fight the struggle within our own spirit. We have to decide

whether we will define our lives primarily based on who we are, or who we are not; based on what we are for, or what we are against. There are always things to be against in life, and we have to stand against the bad things we should stand against.

But the most important thing is that we have more in common with people who appear on the surface to be different from us than most of us know. And we have more to gain by reaching out in the spirit of brotherhood and sisterhood to those people than we can possibly know. That is the challenge the young people of this generation face. (Applause.)

When President Kennedy came here a generation ago and spoke in this city he said that he sincerely believed -- and I quote -- "that your future is as promising as your past is proud; that your destiny lies not as a peaceful island in a sea of troubles, but as a maker and shaper of world peace."

A generation later Ireland has claimed that destiny. Yours is a more peaceful land in a world that is ever more peaceful in significant measure because of the efforts of the citizens of Ireland. For touching the hearts and minds of peace-loving people in every corner of the world; for the risk you must now continue to take for peace; for inspiring the nations of the world by your example; and for giving so much to make America great, America says, thank you.

Thank you, Ireland, and God bless you all. (Applause.)

END

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Dublin, Ireland)

For Immediate Release

December 1, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AND PRIME MINISTER BRUTON
IN AN EXCHANGE OF TOASTS

Dublin Castle
Dublin, Ireland

8:35 P.M. (L)

MR. BRUTON: Mr. President, Finola and I heartily welcome you and your wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton, to our country. You have seen for yourselves and felt for yourselves the warmth of the affection and the admiration in which you are held throughout this island. The affection and admiration extends to you personally, to your administration, to the office that you hold, and particularly to the great country that you need.

We welcome, too, the bipartisan congressional delegation, representing your two great political parties who have come with you to Ireland.

Tonight is for remembering; it's for celebrating and it's for looking ahead. We think of past Presidents of the United States who have visited Ireland -- in June 1963, John Fitzgerald Kennedy captivated Ireland as he captivated the world. To us, he was not only a reminder of our past, but a vision of our future. We thank you for sending the late President's sister, Jean Kennedy Smith, to work with us now as your Ambassador. (Applause.)

The late President Richard Nixon visited this country in 1970. And President Ronald Reagan, who visited us in 1984, was, like you, a great friend of this country; a great man whose bravery in publicly acknowledging his illness has given courage, reassurance and consultation to millions across the globe who face the same challenge in their lives.

The ties which bind Ireland and the United States cover all human activity. The story of the Irish in America is the story of America itself. It's a tale of extraordinary success, shown in the presence here tonight of some outstanding Irish Americans. But to the spectacular achievements of the few must be added the lesser triumphs of the many -- Irish farmers and builders; policemen and nurses; teachers and firemen, who from Boston to San Francisco have made America what it is today.

In celebrating success let us not forget hardship. This is the 150th anniversary of the Great Famine which drove so many Irish to seek refuge in America, where they found a welcome and an ability to remake their lives through sheer hard work.

As Ireland itself changes, so, too, does its relationship with the United States. The highly educated Irish

emigrants of the 1980s and 1990s are helping make America today a stronger and a better place. They moved back and forth between the old world and the new with facility and ease. And many returned here, having worked in the United States, to become part of the young internationally-minded, well-trained work force which, combined with a good tax and investment climate, make Ireland a natural home, a natural base for great United States cooperations like Intel, Motorola, Microsoft, and Abbott.

In the 74 years since the treaty of 1921, signed this week 74 years ago, this state of ours, born in fire, has transformed itself into a mature European democracy, secure in its ethos, open to the world and proud of its youth.

(Speaks in Gaelic.) (Applause.)

American political ideas of liberty, of government based on the consent of the governed and of the separation of powers, have inspired our Irish Constitution. Your Constitution also acknowledges the fact that people do not always agree. Your second President, John Adams, said that "America has been a theater of parties and feuds for nearly 200 years." Judging from your own recent experience, Mr. President, I think you might agree with him. (Laughter.)

But quarrels pass; ideas remain. The use of political power must be based on moral values. As President Jefferson said, "Our interests soundly calculated will ever be found inseparable from our moral duties." Moral duties freely followed are the best compass in personal relations, the best compass in domestic politics, and the best compass in foreign policy.

We admire the achievements of your administration in foreign policy -- in Haiti, in the Middle East, and most recently and most notably, in Bosnia. Your country's moral vision has helped bring peace and stability to the world. I know that I speak for all in Ireland when I say thank you from the depth of my heart for the sustained commitment that you have shown in bringing peace to this country. (Applause.)

At the beginning of your presidency you said that you'd be there for the Irish not just on one day of the year, but every day of the year. You have lived up to that. And so, too, has Vice President Gore, Secretary Christopher, Tony Lake and his staff, and Senator George Mitchell. You and they have given your time and your energies not only to myself and to the Tanaiste, but to many political figures from every side of the divide in Northern Ireland. You've shown balance, as you saw yesterday in Belfast and Derry. You've won respect and confidence right across the divide, across which it is almost impossible to win common respect -- the respect that you have won, Mr. President.

And America has backed its words with deeds, as we're seeing in the work of the International Fund for Ireland, and most notably, in the follow-through of your initiative, the Washington Conference on Investment in Ireland.

In Northern Ireland, the key to success and agreement is dialogue. And in dialogue, all must accept those on the other side as they are, not as they might wish them to be. Irish Nationalism is beginning to understand and respect Unionism. Unionists are beginning to understand and respect Nationalism. Both must coexist and must grow together.

The principle of consent is profoundly important. Consent means that the constitutional status of Northern Ireland cannot be changed without the agreement of the people there. But consent also means that the system of government in Northern Ireland must be one to which both communities can agree. In once sense, neither side has a veto. And yet, in another sense, both sides have a veto. So getting agreement isn't going to be easy.

And I believe that we will find in some words of yours, Mr. President, the inspiration that will help us find that illusive agreement. Let us think of all the good that people do on a daily basis -- in schools and health care and in business in Northern Ireland. Let us think of the kindness the people there continue to show to one another every day of the week, across the religious divide even at the height of 25 years of trouble. That spirit needs to be reflected in politics.

You said in your inaugural address, "There's nothing wrong with America that cannot be cured by what is right with America." I say there's nothing wrong with Northern Ireland that cannot be cured by what is right with Northern Ireland. There is nothing wrong between North and South on this island that cannot be cured by what is right between North and South on this island. And there's nothing wrong between Britain and Ireland that cannot be cured by what is already right between Britain and Ireland.

While you were still a presidential candidate, in an interview, I believe, to The New York Times in 1992 -- June, I believe it was -- you said, "If you live long enough you'll make mistakes. But if you learn from those, you'll be a better person. It's how you handle adversity, not how it affects you. The main thing is never quit, never quit." Do you remember saying that? (Applause.)

We will not quit. We will not quit in our search for a balanced, fair and just settlement on this island, and between this island and its neighbors to which all can give equal allegiance.

I'd like to propose a toast -- to the President and the people of the United States of America. The President and the people of the United States.

(A toast is offered.) (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: To the Taoiseach and Mrs. Bruton, and to all of our hosts. Hillary and I are honored to be here tonight with all of you, and to be here in the company of some of America's greatest Irish Americans, including Senator George Mitchell, who has taken on such a great and difficult task; a bipartisan congressional delegation headed by Congressman Walsh; many members of the Ambassador's family, including Kathleen Kennedy Townsend, Lt. Governor of Maryland; the Mayors of Chicago and Los Angeles; Secretary Riley, the Secretary of Education; Mark Gearan, Director of the Peace Corps. And as I said, we have the Secretary of Commerce, Ron Brown, tonight, who wishes, more than ever before in his life, that he were Irish. (Laughter.) I think he is down deep inside. (Laughter.)

I thank you also for -- I see the Mayor of Pittsburgh here -- I know I've left out some others -- my wonderful step-father, Dick Kelley, who thought it was all right when I got elected President. But when I brought him home to

Ireland he knew I had finally arrived. (Laughter and applause.)

You know, the Taoiseach has been not only a good friend to me in our work for peace, but a good friend to the United States. Indeed, he and Finola actually came to Washington, D.C. to celebrate their honeymoon. I think it's fair to say that his honeymoon there lasted longer than mine did. (Laughter and applause.)

I managed to get even with at least one member of Congress -- or former member of Congress -- when I convinced Senator Mitchell to give into the entreaties of the Taoiseach and the Prime Minister to head this arms decommissioning group. Now, there's any easy job for you. (Laughter.) You know, in Ireland I understand there's a -- our American country music is very popular -- Garth Brooks said the other day he sold more records in Ireland than any other place in the world outside America. So I told Senator Mitchell today that -- he was telling me what a wonderful day we had yesterday in Derry and Belfast, and what a wonderful day we had today in Dublin, and I said, "Yes, now you get to go to work." I said, this reminds me of that great country song, "I Got the Gold Mine and You Got the Shaft." (Laughter and applause.) But if anybody can bring out more gold, George Mitchell can. (Laughter.)

I want to thank the Taoiseach for the courage he showed in working with the Prime Minister of Great Britain, from the day he took office, taking up from his predecessor, Albert Reynolds, right through this remarkable breakthrough that he and Prime Minister Major made on the twin tracks that he helped to forge just two days ago. This is an astonishing development really because it is the first formulation anyone has come up with that permits all views to be heard, all voices to speak, all issues to be dealt with, without requiring people to give up the positions they have taken at the moment. We are very much in your debt.

This has been an experience like none I have ever had before. Yesterday, John Hume, who's joined us, took me home to Derry with him. And I thought to myself -- all my life "Danny Boy" has been my favorite song -- I never thought I'd get to go there to hear it. But thanks to John, I did.

And then we were before in Belfast. And all of you, I'm sure, were so moved by those two children who introduced me, reading excerpts from the letters. You know, I've got thousands and thousands of letters from Irish children telling me what peace means to them. One thing I am convinced of as I leave here -- that there is a global hunger among young people for their parents to put down the madness of war in favor of their childhood. (Applause.)

I received this letter from a teenager right here in Dublin. I thought I would read it to you, to make the point better than I could. This is just an excerpt: "With your help, the chances given to reason and to reasonable people, so that the peace in my country becomes reality. What is lost is impossible to bring back. Children who were killed are gone forever. No one can bring them back. But for all those who survive these sufferings, there is future."

The young person from Dublin who wrote me that was Zlata Filipovic, the young teenager from Bosnia who is now living here, who wrote her wonderful diary that captured the imagination

of people all over the world.

I am honored that at this moment in the history of the world the United States has had the great good fortune to stand for the future of children in Ireland, in Bosnia, in the Middle East, in Haiti and on the toughest streets of our own land. And I thank you here in Ireland for taking your stand for those children's future, as well.

Let me say in closing that in this 150th anniversary of the Great Famine, I would like everyone in the world to pay tribute to Ireland for coming out of the famine with perhaps a greater sense of compassion for the fate of people the world over than any other nation. I said today in my speech to the Parliament that there had not been a single, solitary day -- not one day -- since 1958, when someone representing the government of Ireland was not somewhere in the world trying to aid the cause of peace. I think there is no other nation on Earth that can make that claim.

And as I leave I feel so full of hope for the situation here in Ireland and so much gratitude for you, for what you have given to us. And I leave you with these words, which I found as I was walking out the door from the Ambassador's Residence. The Ambassador made it possible for Hillary and me to spend a few moments this evening with Seamus Heaney and his wife, since I have been running around the country quoting him for two days. (Laughter.) I might say, without his permission. (Laughter.) And he gave Hillary an inscribed copy of his book "The Cure At Troy." And as I skimmed through it, I found these words, with which I leave you:

Now it's high water mark, and flood tide in the heart and time to go. What's left to say? Suspect too much sweet talk, but never close your mind. It was a fortunate wind that blew me here. I leave half ready to believe that a cripple's trust might walk and the half-true rhyme is love.

Thank you and God bless you. (Applause.)

I thought I had done something for a moment to offend the Taoiseach -- he was forcing me on water instead of wine. (Laughter.)

Let me now, on behalf of every American here present, bathed in the generosity and the hospitality of Ireland, offer this toast to the Taoiseach and Mrs. Bruton and to the wonderful people of this great Republic.

(A toast is offered.) (Applause.)

END

8:05 P.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Baumholder, Germany)

For Immediate Release

December 2, 1995

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT CLINTON
AND CHANCELLOR HELMUT KOHL
IN PHOTO OPPORTUNITY

Rheinlander Building
U.S. Army Base/Smith Barracks
Baumholder, Germany

3:40 P.M. (L)

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Good afternoon. I have just finished a very good set of briefings from our military commanders about the plans to deploy in Bosnia to enforce the peace agreement. And I have received a report from General Joulwan about the meeting of the North Atlantic Council which has, in essence, approved the military plan for implementing the peace agreement, which I signed off on just a few days ago in the Oval Office.

So I feel very good about what I have seen, about the morale of our troops. As you saw, I shook hands with several hundred of them and I then had lunch with a significant number of them. I think their morale is high. They are well aware that they have been very well-trained. They are very supportive of the rules of engagement which give them the tools they need to do their job.

But I would say more than anything else, the men and women with whom I spoke today are committed to the humanitarian mission of saving the lives of the children and innocent civilians. And they understand that they are going there not in war, but in peace, to facilitate a peace agreement, and that this is very different from having been involved in a conflict. And so we're working hard and I feel good about where we are.

I also had a wonderful extended visit with Chancellor Kohl on the way down here, and he shared a lot of his thoughts with me. And, of course, Germany has been a great partner in this and in some ways has borne, perhaps, the heaviest financial burden of the Bosnian war because of the many hundreds of thousands of refugees which have been taken in and sustained by the German people.

So I would like to ask Chancellor Kohl to make whatever comments he would like to make, and then we'll have questions.

CHANCELLOR KOHL: Mr. President, I would like to bid you once again a very warm welcome here to our country. This has been a very impressive day that we shared here today. And I must say that I'm gratified that I'm yet again able to say this here in Baumholder -- to say once again what, for us here in Germany the Alliance has meant these past four decades.

The Alliance for us meant peace and freedom for our country. It meant that we were given the opportunity, together with our American friends to overcome the division of our country and to win unity for Germany. And I don't think there's any other place where one is in a better position to say something like that than here. Because, Bill, I'm confident that when this message is being sent here from Baumholder to the United States then hundreds of thousands, even millions of Americans will remember the days when they, themselves, as soldiers or relatives spent time here in Baumholder. And I would like to state clearly that we have not forgotten what our American friends have done for us.

And it was a very impressive day for me, too, because it brought home to me the determination of the President of the United States and of the people of the United States to make, through their mission, possible that peace finally comes to Bosnia and that the agreement is being implemented.

And I would like to say to the mothers and fathers who send their sons and their daughters out with this mission out to Bosnia, that they send out their sons and their daughters in order to assure peace and to safeguard peace. And that is the best possible mission for any army in the world.

And I would like to use this opportunity here, Bill, to thank you, to thank the President of the United States for the determination to act that they have shown here. You are in a proud American tradition in so doing; a proud tradition that has always said that the United States should not look away, but that they should show leadership and become active.

Obviously, I would never dare to interfere in American domestic politics. But I would like to know as many Americans as possible that we hope for the broadest possible support of the people of the United States of America for the President and the Army in this important endeavor.

We, ourselves, have made a decisive step in the right direction -- 4,000 German soldiers will go, will be sent to the region. And I would like to wish all of the troops going into the region -- American troops, British troops, French troops, German troops, from whatever nation they may be sent -- I would like to wish them Godspeed and a safe return back to their families.

And I must say that I came away very much impressed from the luncheon, where I had the opportunity to talk to family members as well, impressed by the calm and the steadfastness of the wives and the relatives -- the wives, obviously being afraid, which is very understandable under the circumstances, but showing a quiet resolve to support their husbands and seeing how important this mission is.

Thank you.

Q How many Americans will be spending Christmas in Bosnia?

PRESIDENT CLINTON: You'll have to ask General Joulwan that. I don't know that. We will -- obviously, under the peace agreement, deployments have to begin shortly after the signing of the agreement. But it will take some considerable

amount of time for a full build-up. So I would think there would be probably fewer than half of the total force could be there by Christmas, maybe even less than that. That's a question you should ask General Joulwan. Right now it's strictly a matter of military planning.

Q Mr. President, have you approved the execute order for the deployment of U.S. troops? And, also, you have said many times that it's expected that it would be one year for the U.S. troops. Does that also pertain to other NATO troops? How long would they be there?

PRESIDENT CLINTON: The time frame is for the military mission, not specifically for the American troops. It is the military mission. Because of the specific functions delegated to the military, as opposed to the civilians -- keep in mind what the military is supposed to do is maintain the cease-fire, separate the forces, create the zone of separation, supervise the transfer of property and the redeployment of forces, and then maintain a secure environment so there can be free movement throughout the country, so the refugees can go home and the reconstruction can begin and the elections can be held. It is believed by all of our planners, and agreed to by the people who signed the peace treaty that that should be done in about a year. And it's completely different from the civilian practices.

The answer to your first question is, no, I have not, but I will as soon as it's presented to me. I have given a prior general approval to our military planners, as I announced to the Congress, to send a small force in to do the planning work in anticipation of the signing of the treaty, and no adverse developments between now and the treaty signing on the 14th in Paris. But that is all I intend to do before Congress has a chance to speak its mind. I thought -- I believe that I have no alternative. So I have not done it now, yet, but I will as soon as presented with the decision.

Any German press have a question? No --

Q Mr. President, as Commander In Chief, how difficult is it for you to look into the faces of these young men and women who are about to go into a dangerous situation to carry out your orders?

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Well, I wanted to come here to look into their faces and into the faces of their wives, their husbands and their children because I think they are about to do a very noble and important thing for our country and for the world. And I wanted to come here and directly say to them, here is why I want you to go and here is what you will be doing and what you will not be doing. We have done everything we could to minimize the risks, but there still are some and here is what we expect to do about that.

I wanted to give them those straight answers. I wanted to look at them -- you know, I spent quite a long time there today and I talked to several hundred of them briefly today, and I, frankly, was very moved by the responses they gave. I think they understand it's not a risk-free mission, but I believe they understand its importance and the fundamentally honorable nature of it.

Once again, the United States has no hidden or dark

motives here. We simply want to restore peace and democracy and a decent life to those people.

Thank you.

Q Mr. President, Chancellor Kohl expressed the hope that you would have the American people behind you. Do you think you do have the American people's support for it?

PRESIDENT CLINTON: I think that the support is building in the United States and I think that the support for the troops and their mission will be universal. It always has been and I believe it will be now.

END

3:52 P.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Baumholder, Germany)

For Immediate Release

December 2, 1995

BACKGROUND BRIEFING
BY
SENIOR MILITARY PLANNERS IN GERMANY

Filing Center
U.S. Army Base/Smith Barracks
Baumholder, Germany

2:00 P.M. (L)

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: I appreciate the opportunity to come talk to you today. First, I want to tell you that the plan has been ongoing for some time, like most of you know. And where we are in the plans process right now is NATO, the North Atlantic Council, approved an order to deploy soldiers at about 12:30 p.m.-1:00 p.m. yesterday afternoon. And as most of you know, U.S. forces are not part of NATO until the President, through the JCS, actually establishes an order to make us part. That hasn't happened yet, but we expect that to happen in the next 24-36 hours.

And as soon as that happens, what will go in is what we're calling enabling forces, which is about 700 U.S., maybe 2,500, 2,600 total from all the countries. Those are primarily logistics and communications folks that need to be in in order to control the deployment of the main force, which we expect to start flowing in the next couple weeks. So that should happen, oh, probably by tomorrow night or Monday morning at the latest.

Once we get the authority to put the main forces in, as you know our area is in the Tuzla, northern part of the Federation. And that's where you'll first see U.S. forces being inserted. And we're going to use light infantry initially because we can fly them in, and they'll basically secure the airfield there, and then we'll start flowing in our heavier forces.

Heavy forces have to be deployed primarily by rail. And as you know, the rail in Bosnia is not too hot right now. So they'll actually flow through Hungary, and then we'll road-march through Croatia. And if you've looked at the map, it's -- where we're going to go in southern Hungary is not very far from Bosnia. So we'll road march down through Croatia, come in from the north, and then go into our sector around Tuzla. That process, we think, will take around 60 days from the time we start it to get all of our forces in.

And by the time we get finished, we'll have just short of 20,000 U.S. forces that will be in the Bosnia-Herzegovina area. There will be another 5,000 that will be outside Croatia, Hungary, those kind of places, that will supporting primarily the 20,000 that

are in the country.

Of course, our mission is to implement the peace treaty, the military aspects of it. One of our primary responsibilities, of course, is force protection of our own forces. And to that end, we are taking very heavy armament to protect our soldiers in the form of tanks and Bradleys and Howitzers. Don't plan on using them, but we'll certainly have them there if we need them.

One of the first things, of course, we'll do once we establish ourselves, is start the marking of the border process, which is one of our responsibilities. And that's going to be a challenge as the winter sets in. In some places in our area the snow is already six and eight feet deep. So we will have a challenge, but we'll get the border marked and then start assisting in the implementation of the peace treaty.

That's about all I was going to say, initially. If you have questions on the plan or how we're going to execute it, I'll be glad to answer them.

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: A couple of issues for two minutes on force protection, and a couple of other things that have to precede movement into the area that we still need some authority to do: You've seen a lot of learned speculation about use of facilities and areas in Hungary. You've heard recently acknowledgement of the Hungarian government, that they've authorized use of facilities primarily in the vicinity of Kapsovar and Tzare. And in the period between the movement of the enabling force and the introduction of the major forces into Bosnia-Herzegovina we need to expand on those opportunities and establish what we call an intermediate staging base in Hungary. And that carries with it significant requirements in manpower and simple construction so that we have a base from which to move into Hungary.

A second piece of that is how soldiers are equipped to protect themselves in some rather vicious weather that my colleague alluded to when he mentioned six to eight feet of snow. And we have displayed for you on the stage examples of additional cold-weather gear that we've issued our soldiers, and you're free to examine it at your leisure.

With that, we're finished boring you and we'll try on your questions.

Q I've got a couple of questions. It's been written quite often in the States that this is described as the riskiest mission since the Persian Gulf War. Do you gentlemen agree with that characterization?

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: I don't happen to agree with that. My feeling is that you analyze a mission, which is what we did here, and then you look at what the potential hazards are to your soldiers and that's what you train to do.

One of the big hazards, of course, in the area we're going to is mines. They're are millions of mines in Bosnia. And so we have gone through extensive mine identification; have brought out folks that have worked with the UNPROFOR and have taught us techniques that they have learned to use in order to keep our soldiers safe. So it's a different mission for us, but it's certainly well within our capability, and I wouldn't say it's the riskiest.

Q The other question I had pertained to -- one of the things a lot of people in the States are worried about is that there will be another Beirut bombing type scenario. What are you doing to avoid having troops barracked all in one place or headquartered in one place that could become a target?

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: Well, as you know, our area is fairly large. It's probably -- the border that we'll be responsible for is in the neighborhood of 400 to 500 miles long. And with only 20,000 soldiers, although that sounds like a lot, they will be very spread out in battalion and company size locations in order to help monitor and control mark the border.

So we're not going to have any places where there are large concentrations, but on the other hand, we're also there with a very robust ROE that allows us to take precautions to keep folks from endangering our soldiers. I think you'll find that, one, we've learned a lot since Beirut, obviously; and two, that we -- it's a military mission and we just don't plan to let anybody do that to us.

Q To clarify what you said at the top of the briefing, when do you expect the President to approve the plan, the deployment plan, and when do you expect the first troops, part of this 2,600 enabling troops, to get to Bosnia?

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: The question is, when do we expect the President to approve the plan, and when do we expect troops to start moving on the enabling force. Our understanding is the President has approved the plan. The issue my colleague described for you was some additional actions that have to be taken by the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the levels of command between them and us. We expect all that to occur in relatively short order, and we expect to have forces moving in 24 to 36 hours.

Q Did he approve it this morning --

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: You'll have to ask him about that. We expect to have forces moving in 24 to 36 hours.

Q What is he now doing today with Clinton in terms of -- is he going to show him the detailed plans of what you intend to do, and then sign off on those, too, or what is going to happen --

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: I think that General Joulwan is explaining to him the specifics of the plan and answering questions he may have of how we plan to implement it. I think he has a pretty good understanding already; I think this is just the final confirmation with the on-the-ground commander of what we're actually going to do. And then we expect, upon conclusion of that, to get orders to move. And we'll start moving.

Q How concerned are you about the nonaligned fighters who are in this area who may be Muslim aligned, but are not Bosnia or Croatian or Serb? You're talking about a number of troops like that who are in these areas that really don't belong to anybody, kind of rogue units.

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: We're concerned about all armed individuals that are in our area that don't respond to organized leadership. We have a sizeable enough force, we have sufficient MPs who are inside of our area that we think in the very short order we can cause any thoughts that they may have of taking action to be not very profitable. We really don't see that as a

major threat, but it's something that we've trained to deal with if we need to.

Q -- talk has been just as you said now about how robust the rules of engagement will help protect the troops and accomplish the mission. Have those rules actually been spelled out -- so far or does part of that await the formal signing in Paris?

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: The question dealt with have the rules of engagement actually been spelled out, and I assume you mean approved. The rules of engagement are part of the Paris -- the rules of engagement are associated with the Paris agreement. We have had what we thought would be the final-approved rules and we have been practicing and implementing them throughout our training. We expect some small variations that will be very easy for us to incorporate.

So we have been practicing for some time situations, creating situations for our soldiers to help them understand how to employ them. The key thing is, of course, is we don't want anybody hurt in order to figure out what our action should be. So it's -- we take an action to prevent folks from being hurt.

Q -- 700-man force, do they parachute in?

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: No. They're all going to either go in by train, and we have about seven different trains that will go, because they're taking a lot of equipment. Some of them will fly in by military, fixed-wing aircraft. There isn't anybody jumping into this operation that I know of.

Q Do you have any idea of the eventual 20,000 U.S. troops, what proportion will be coming here from Baumholder?

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: Well, there's a whole brigade combat team coming here, so my guess is probably in then neighborhood of 2,200 or so -- and all live here.

Q And what portion of the troops here?

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: It's about a little over a tenth. I mean, there's 20,000 going in; there's 2,200 coming from here.

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: You should understand the composition of all of U.S. Army Europe. There's, as we speak, about 63,000 U.S. Army soldiers in Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy and Germany. About 20,000 of that number will go into Bosnia-Herzegovina. And additional several thousand will support the operation from what people have termed the "rim" of the operational area, primarily Hungary and Croatia.

So we'll have roughly two-thirds of our force stay right here in Germany, engaged in a wide variety of other missions in support of NATO and the European Command.

Q How do you respond to three different things that wives said while the President was speaking? One said -- this is somebody whose husband is going to work in mine clearance. "My husband spent three days in training. My husband's knowledge of the mines down there is a book with pictures in it." Does that seem right -- possible to you?

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: Well, I can tell you, I don't

know how that could be true. Each one of these soldiers have been through weeks of training on the ground primarily in Hohenfels. They started in Grafenwohr. And there is actually what we call "lanes," or about 400 or 500 meters of ground, and they walk down there, identifying where the mines are, and then they're taught what to do with them once you're identifying them. When we took them to Hohenfels, we took them in a situation that paralleled what they're going to see in Bosnia that had mines, and they had to deal with the fact that they happened upon them in the context of their responsibilities.

So I'm sorry she feels that way, but I can guarantee you her husband has had more training than that in mines. Absolutely more, and it hasn't been just pictures.

Q And the other -- the President was describing the rules of engagement, one wife sitting just out behind said, the President told you "kill first." Is that a fair assessment?

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: No, it's not. I mean, we're not -- we are soldiers who are trained to accomplish missions and defend and try to accomplish the goals of our country. Unfortunately, we do have to kill on occasion, but we're not in the killing business. What we do is respond to threats. And if necessary, we'll have to use lethal force, but that certainly isn't the way we like to handle threats.

Q And the last one was, a wife who was basically complaining about the President. "He doesn't have a military background. He shouldn't be here doing things like this." What would you tell a wife who said that?

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: He's our Commander in Chief. Our country has spoken. He's in charge, and we do what he tells us to do.

Q You said that the first troops will be going in in 24 to 36 hours. Can you be more specific about precisely where those troops are coming from, how many will come from here, what they'll be doing?

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: The question is asking us to be precise on the several hundred that will go in in the next 24 to 36 hours, which is an expectation based on likelihoods involving other processes that have to take place.

Q -- NATO troops going to come from -- and then your troops are going to get on the bus -- I mean, the train at Coleman Barracks in Mannheim.

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: Well, there's -- obviously with NATO everybody comes from where they live. And what's happening, we're all hopefully going to go to the same end point. So what you'll see is, you'll see trains primarily from Coleman Barracks. And the reason for that is because that's where the 5th Signal Command has a brigade. And most of the soldiers of the 700 are communication soldiers, that's where they live.

So they're going to get on -- what they're going to do is support AF South, which is Allied Forces South, which is Admiral Smith's headquarters. They're also going to support the ARRC, which is Lieutenant General Walker, British Lieutenant General's headquarters; and they will provide the communications for those headquarters so that they can control the main body when they move.

We also have some logistics forces, but they also will be related to those headquarters. So we're going to go where those headquarters need us to be, primarily Sarajevo.

Q When are you going to have the Hungarian staging area set up?

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: We would like, of course, to do that today. But we can't move forces into Hungary until our President authorizes that. So whenever he does we will start moving into Hungary and set up our logistics base there. The Hungarian government has already approved our entry as part of a NATO force. And it's just important that we get the proper authority. They will not move with initial enabling forces.

Q Let me get this straight. You've got about 20,000 people here at Smith Barracks --

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: No, we have about probably 2,500 to 3,000 here at Smith Barracks.

Q So all of them are going? The whole 1st Armored Division?

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: Most of the people that live here will be going, but not all of them.

Q And that's the 1st Armored Division?

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: The 1st Armored Division -- most of the 1st Armored Division will go, which is spread out over eight or ten different areas, but not all of them.

Q How many is that from the 1st Armored altogether?

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: The 1st Armored Division probably has 14,000 or so in it, and my guess is that about 8,000 or 9,000 of those are going.

Q A lot of the soldiers expressed frustration with the fact that nobody just knew who was going. Is that why, because --

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: No, the soldiers have known for some time who is going. I don't know why they're expressing -- even in the early days when we were trying to do the planning without allowing too much information to be let, you look at a guy and said, if you're in Grafenwohr training, that's a pretty good indication that you're going to go somewhere. And then later, which was months ago, we said not only is it a good indication, but you and your battalion are going to go.

So they have known for some time who is going. This is not a surprise. Everybody is going to have a Christmas; it may be early, but they'll have one. Nobody is going to wake up tomorrow and be told to go that didn't know they were going.

Q How many soldiers were out there today?

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: We put 4,000 people in the formation, invited several thousand more to come if they wanted and could get here, and then several thousand family members could be accommodated in the area. We didn't count the crowd. I don't think

it would be wise to get into that with you.

Q Could you explain please what we've told the soldiers about the exit strategy that many in Congress are so concerned about?

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: Okay. As you know, we get orders to do things and we get orders that basically have attached to them when we're through, and we can judge that. We have been told that we'll be in for no more than one year, and that the intent is that we're hoping within six or seven months of our arrival that things will stabilize sufficiently that we'll actually be able to reduce the size of our force.

In other words, we're going in strong and then hopefully we'll be able to reduce. We don't know whether that's true or not. We just know that the assessment is that in about a year that country will be stable enough that they'll have enough of the police and civil authorities in charge that they won't need our help anymore.

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: I want to emphasize the point here that, to the credit of the chain of command over here, we have been very open with our soldiers at every juncture as this mission has come our way, to the point of providing them great detail as to where we are in the various processes and involvement in the mission analysis and ongoing review of how we were doing the training. So any -- we would invite you to talk to our soldiers about all of that, and we're confident that they'll tell you they're pretty well aware of everything that has occurred and is likely to happen.

Q We know what these men are going to do in terms of clearing mines, widening runways, that sort of thing in the beginning. But they're going to be living there for the best part of a year. Are they policemen? Are they peace enforcers?

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: We are there to implement the military provisions of the treaty. We will have the military police with us, but we are not policemen, we are soldiers. We have a series of things that we'll be responsible for.

The first one, of course, is to mark the border that's been agreed upon in the peace treaty, and we'll do that in our sector. The second is to assist all the parties in living up to or complying with the provisions of the treaty. So we think that's going to keep us pretty busy for most of the time.

Q (inaudible)

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: Well, there's been some -- there is a provision that they talk about going into contonement areas or -- kind of like garrisons, like you're here now and we'll help them remember to do that. There's been some provisions about notification of movements. We'll establish some joint councils where our military leaders will be the leader of the council initially, and then we'll turn it over to civilians to assist in an orderly process of running the country, cause that to happen. So there are numerous things that we will do to help make this peace treaty work.

Q How involved will they be with the civilian population, with the process of government, with aiding refugees who might want to return home, that kind of thing?

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: The question is how we're going to relate to the civilian government and what the mechanics

are; is that the question?

Q What about the refugees?

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: These joint councils we have will have the elected leaders of the area on them, along with members of the U.N. helping community and some of the nongovernmental agencies. We are in the business of implementing the peace treaty. We're not there to distribute food and help refugees as a primary function. We certainly will help when needed, but that's not our primary function. What we hope we'll do is to create a secure environment that allows those agencies that are designed to do that to do their job.

Q Could you explain how the soldiers will carry out the arms control provisions of the treaty, how they will enforce them? I understand that they're supposed to -- the combatants are supposed to put their heavy weapons into containment areas, which didn't work under the U.N. command that's there now. What are you going to do differently, and what enforcement powers will you have?

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: As you know, of course, we're a military force that has a rules of engagement that allow use the force appropriate to cause the outcome that needs to happen, as opposed to a UNPROFOR force that was really an observe and report force, trying to convince everybody that they ought to be peaceful.

So once the forces are told to put their weapons away, we'll talk to the leader and we'll tell them what the requirement is, and we'll agree that that's what he needs to do, and then we'll ensure that he complies. And we hope that's voluntary, but the answer is we'll ensure he complies. We will not allow them to come back and -- like we saw. I mean, once they're in, they're in. The difference is we don't have our hands tied as the U.N. force. I mean, those are good soldiers, they just had rules that were not very conducive to causing people to do things that they didn't necessarily want to do.

We're not in the business of bullying; we're just in the business of causing people to comply with the rules.

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: Let me break in here and -- there is apparently -- and we're certainly been dealing with it in my office in the last week as we anticipated the movement of the enabling force -- let's be crystal clear on what this enabling force is about. It is to establish the command and control and communications network to support a variety of headquarters that have been assigned responsibilities in this mission. They range from establishing a headquarters in Sarajevo for Admiral Smith, AF-SOUTH Forward; establish a headquarters in Sarajevo for the Allied Rapid Response Corps under Lieutenant General Walker; and establish the backbone of our own communication incidental to our piece of the implementation force.

There is no intent to put anybody in this enabling force that is a combat soldier. These are people skilled in the use and application of military communications systems and the sustainment of those systems, the logistics piece of that, and their own self-sustainment for however long they're about this business.

The numbers you have heard range from 2,600 for all of NATO down to 700 for the United States forces. All we're talking to you about today is that 700 piece, which we expect to be moving in somewhere between 24 and 36 hours, assuming that a couple of more

orders processes take place within our chain of command.

Q -- infantry going to secure --

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: When is the light infantry going in to secure Tuzla? Once the order is given for the main body forces, or the --

Q They'll be the first ones in?

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: The first thing we plan to do is put in a headquarters of Task Force Eagle, our first armor division, and then light infantry to provide the security.

Q Which ones?

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: Which ones? Third and 325 in Italy. It's the only airborne infantry we have. But they're not going to jump. They're going to fly.

Q Could you break down the number of tanks and howitzers and personnel carriers you're going to be taking from the First Armored?

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: I can give you approximate numbers. There will be somewhat over 120 tanks, personnel -- they're not really personnel carriers anymore, they will be Bradleys -- will be a little bit over 200. And Howitzers will be in the number of about 45 or 50 -- sufficient, we think, to react, but not -- it's not an offensive capability.

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: I'd like to expand on that just a little bit. It is important for all of you and for anybody that would contemplate taking this force on to understand its capabilities in reduced visibility and at night. The great value of many of the systems we're sending are their night capabilities. And we intend to take full advantage of those.

Q On the question of immigration and refugees, if there started to be sort of a massive movement one way or the other of people trying to go across an area, would you try to control it or stop it, or what is -- what do you think your guidelines will be in that regard?

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: Of course, we're there to enforce the treaty. There is a civilian government that's in force. And they would basically make decision on what they want to do as far as controlling refugees that are moving through their country. We would assist, as we could, but that's really their responsibility. We would not say it's our responsibility to make decisions on who can go where, unless they were trying to go to an area that was restricted or were protected for some reason.

So we would really look upon this joint commission and the civilian authorities to tell us what they would like to do with these refugees.

Q Even if it endangered the sort of peaceful operation?

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: Well, we're not going to let anybody do that -- to endanger the peaceful operation. But we're also going to make sure that the officials in charge are making decisions about their country and how they want their country to run,

as opposed to the military commanders.

Q -- infantry, would that go in after the peace treaty?

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: Yes, the peace treaty needs to be signed before the -- what we have been told is the peace treaty will be signed before we're authorized to allow combat forces to go in. I keep hearing you report that that's going to happen on the 14th, so that's my best source of information. So we suspect that sometime after the 14th they would go in.

Q How many people do you think you'll get in, how quickly after that signing?

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: Well, we have a requirement to have a presence in Tuzla within 96 hours of being told to go in. If we're not told to go in as the signing occurs in whatever time it's -- waited, and we -- there's a big airfield in Tuzla, so it doesn't take very long to have a presence. So you'll see soldiers in there very quickly.

Q You mentioned that your forces are going to be spread somewhat thin across a rather large section --

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: No, sir, just spread out.

Q All right. Then my question is, if some kind of an incursion across the zone of separation or other situation arises, what's your rapid reaction capability?

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: We have -- when we did our analysis, one of the key things we did is not to allow any of our forces to be isolated. So at every level, from company on up, there's a reaction force -- company level at the platoon; battalion level at the company; at the brigade level it's a battalion; and at task force level, it's a brigade.

So there will be the ability to react to military emergencies like an incursion with forces that are in place at the point of the incursion as opposed to having to bring them in in order to do something. So we feel that we have sufficient reserves at all levels to deal with any kind of emergency that might arise.

Q Does that include a helicopter force and what kind of numbers?

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: We have a force, a reaction force that has a number of Apache helicopters in them that have a very long-range ability to see things and also engage things as necessary. We also have the ability with our Blackhawk helicopters to transport infantry soldiers, and then, of course, we have the ground force which will be comprised of tanks and Bradleys.

Tanks can't move everywhere in Bosnia, obviously; neither can Bradleys. But when they do move, they move rather quickly. And we hope to have them spread appropriately so that they're already there.

One of the great advantages of the M-1 tank is ability to see at night through its thermal sights. Very precise weapons system. It's a big round, but it's very precise. And the fact that it's sitting there normally is a very big discouragement. It can take first-round hits from virtually any weapons system on the

battlefield without hurting it. So just the fact that it's sitting there we're hoping will cause things not to happen.

Q Regarding the rules of engagement on having an eye, being able to see someone who is shooting at you before you shoot back, isn't this running into the same problems the U.N. troops had?

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: We are going to be able to respond to fire at the appropriate level. But it's not the same as until you identify exactly where it's coming from you can't shoot back. For instance, we are taking artillery radar with us that have the ability to track the rounds as they come in and tell where they come from, and we would expect to return artillery fire, measured artillery fire, at the location where it's coming from almost before the round hits the ground, because it's basically able to track it from where it starts -- certainly before the second or third round hits the ground. That is very different than the rules of engagement that have existed before.

Now, we're also not interested in collateral damage, but we're not interested in taking fire without returning it.

Q What about on the communications, media communications being available in Tuzla, what have you got planned?

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: Our understanding is that it's a real challenge. We're planning against your needs, but I've got to tell you, Pat, that you need to plan to bring it with you and point it south because it's going to be an adventure at the beginning. But we're committed to assist you in every way possible, at every level, down to the unit. We need to communicate with each other and we understand what you contribute to deterrents; we understand what you contribute to support. And we'll assist you in every way we can.

Q What about ATT phone lines? Are they coming in with communications?

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: You'll have to talk to them about it. They're certainly aware of the need, as we understand it.

Q You're coordinating that?

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: We are aware of the need, and we're getting after it real hard. But there's a lot of people in Tuzla that are communicating real effectively, and they're not getting any help from us at this point.

Q I have in mind what I want to say, but I don't exactly know how to phrase it, and I don't want to compromise security or anything, but what steps are being taken to prevent another disaster like the Beirut -- do you have to be very cautious about not being snuck up on and that kind of thing? Is every soldier in the theater going to be on special alert or can you just elaborate on --

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: Are you talking about deployed soldiers -- what provisions? Essentially we're a military force that has security all around, security all the time. We have weapons systems that weren't in Beirut that can see long distances day and night. Most of you have seen our night vision capability. It's very, very difficult to get close to a modern military force without them seeing it.

The key has been what do you about it. You see it, but

what can you do about it? We have the ability now and our rules of engagement is to take actions that we deem as appropriate. I'm not saying that there isn't going to be a threat. There obviously is going to be a threat. But we really believe that the way that we operate as a military force and the fact that we are one and we have regular helmets on with green covers and we will actually be able to do the things that need to be done. And we don't think that that's going to be a problem.

Q Hostage taking was a problem with U.N. soldiers. Do you feel that the different rules of engagement --

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: The difference in hostage-taking, I guess, the example would be if you were walking downtown and someone decided to make you a hostage versus if you were walking downtown with some policemen who had weapons because all of our soldiers will be armed all the time and they will be operating in units. So we don't see the same problem the U.N. had where they generally had themselves found in situations where in some cases, their weapons were taken away from them because they couldn't do anything different. We obviously have thought about and practiced and trained in what to do with a hostage, but we don't really see hostage-taking as one of our problems.

Q Could I ask you, is Mike or someone going to brief later about the President's meeting with General Joulwan? Should we expect --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Mike just went to the meeting with Joulwan he'll give you a readout when he comes back.

Q What about these enabling troops in Sarajevo? How will they be protected?

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: They also have weapons, and there are military police forces that are going with them. So there are security-type forces that will be going with the headquarters that these enabling forces are going to.

Q Is that in Sarajevo --

SENIOR MILITARY PLANNER: Oh, absolutely. I don't think there's any place in Bosnia that there isn't a threat. It's just a matter of how you deal with it, and we're going to make sure that we take the appropriate action.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Thank you very much. On behalf of Mike McCurry, I'd like to thank you. We appreciate it.

I've got a couple of things for you that Mike left with me. Mike is over at the President's meeting with General Joulwan now. And so he can give you a readout when he gets back. On Chancellor Kohl, we can give you a preliminary readout. They had a good car ride here. They rode one-on-one, so Mike has not had a chance to debrief the President on what went on. However, as they got in the car, he heard Chancellor Kohl ask the President about his trip to Ireland. On the docket to be discussed were Bosnia, deployment issues, IFOR issues, NATO expansion, and the NATO ministerial next week. And we'll give you more details later.

In reference to execute orders from the President, the President first of all approved the U.S. component, the U.S. input into the NATO plan last week after having briefed by General Shali. Mike and I were not sure which day that was because Shali had more

than one meeting.

Mike said that he expects that the President may give Secretary Perry the approval to issue an execute order as early as today. I don't have anything more on those subjects.

Q I don't understand that. The President approved this last week --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: He approved the U.S. part, the U.S. input to the NATO plan.

Q Then today he's approving the --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Today he is reviewing with the commanders how they're going to execute that plan.

Q -- execution plan been approved today?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: He doesn't have to prove anything; all he has to do is give the authority to execute the plan.

Q He would ask Perry to approve the order to -- what would he do? He would ask Perry to issue the order to put --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: He'll tell Tony Lake to give Secretary Perry the authorization for the Pentagon through the Joint Chiefs of Staff to issue the execute order.

Thank you very much.

END

2:41 P.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Baumholder, Germany)

For Immediate Release

December 2, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE TROOPS OF TASK FORCE EAGLE

U.S. Army Base/Smith Barracks
Baumholder, Germany

12:35 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: General Joulwan, General Nash, General Crouch, Secretary West. A special word of greeting to America's good friend, Chancellor Kohl, who has been a wonderful partner to our country, with great thanks to Germany for their partnership with this fine unit.

I am immensely proud to be here today with the men and women of the 1st Armored Division. You truly are America's Iron Soldiers. Previous generations of Iron Soldiers have answered our nation's call with legendary skill and bravery. Each time before, it was a call to war. From North Africa to Italy, they helped freedom triumph over tyranny in World War II. Then for 20 years, their powerful presence here stood down the Soviet threat and helped to bring victory in the Cold War. And just four years ago, when Saddam Hussein attacked Kuwait, the 1st Armored Division's awesome power turned back Iraq and protected the security of the Persian Gulf.

I know many of you were there. But I would like to remind you that in just 89 hours of combat, you destroyed 440 enemy tanks, 485 armored personnel carriers, 190 pieces of artillery, and 137 air defense guns. You should be very proud of that remarkable record. (Applause.)

Now America summons you to service again. This time, not with a call to war, but a call to peace. The leaders of Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia have agreed to end four long years of war and atrocities. They have asked for our help to implement their peace agreement. It is in our nation's interest and consistent with our values to see that this peace succeeds and endures. And we are counting on you, the men and women of Task Force Eagle, to get that job done.

For three years I refused to send our American forces into Bosnia where they could have been pulled into war. But I do want you to go there on a mission of peace. After speaking to your commanders and looking at all of you and listening to you, there is not a doubt in my mind this task force is ready to roll. (Applause.)

Your mission: To help people exhausted from war make good on the peace they have chosen, the peace they have asked you to help them uphold.

Just two weeks ago in Dayton, Ohio, the warring parties in Bosnia agreed to put down their arms, to pull back their armies and their heavy weapons, to hold free elections, to start rebuilding their homes, their towns and their lives. But they need help to do that, and they have asked America and our NATO allies and other willing countries to provide it.

They need that help because after nearly four years of terrible brutality trust is in short supply in Bosnia, and they all trust you to do the job right. Each side wants NATO to help them live up to the commitments they've made, to make sure each army withdraws behind the separation line and stays there, to maintain the cease-fire so that the war does not start again, and give all the parties the confidence they need to keep their word -- and also to give them the trust that the other side will keep its word, as well.

I pledged to the American people that I would not send you to Bosnia unless I was absolutely sure that the goals we set for you are clear, realistic and achievable in about a year. This mission meets those essential standards. I also vowed that you would not go to Bosnia until I was sure that we had done everything we could to minimize the risks to your safety.

You know better than anyone that every deployment has risks. There could be accidents. In a formerly hostile environment, there could be incidents with people who have still not given up their hatred. As President I take full responsibility for your well-being. But I also take pride in the knowledge that we are making this mission as safe as it can be.

You will take your orders from General Joulwan, who commands NATO. There will be no confusing chain of command. You are superbly prepared; you will be heavily armed. The reputation that you -- (applause) -- I didn't want anyone to think there was a division of the house on that point. (Laughter.)

Perhaps even more important, you will be heavily armed with the reputation that proceeds you. That and the technology and training that protect you will make those who might wish to attack think twice. But you will also have very clear rules of engagement that spell out the most important rule of all in big, bold letters: If you are threatened with attack, you may respond immediately and with decisive force. (Applause.) Everyone should know that when America comes to help make the peace, America will still look after its own. (Applause.)

Your presence will help to create the climate of security Bosnia needs. It will allow the international community to begin a massive program of humanitarian relief and reconstruction. It will bring the people of Bosnia the food, the medicine, the shelter, the clothing they have been denied for too long. It will help them rebuild their roads and their towns, open their schools and their hospitals, their factories and their shops. It will reunite families torn apart by war and return refugees to their homes. It will help people recover the quiet blessings of normal life.

This morning, after two days of working for peace in Northern Ireland, I met at the airport in Dublin with Zlata Filipovic, the young Bosnian girl whose now famous diary of her wartime experience in Sarajevo has moved so many millions of people around the world. She's my daughter's age -- just 15. But she has seen things that no one three or four times her age

should ever have to witness. I thanked her for a powerful letter of support for our efforts for peace in Bosnia that she wrote me just a few days ago. And then I told her I was on my way to visit with all of you.

This is what she said: "Mr. President, when you're in Germany, please thank the American soldiers for me. I want to go home." She also asked me to thank you and all the American people for, in her words, "opening the door of the future for her and for all the children of Bosnia."

Without you, the door will close, the peace will collapse, the war will return, the atrocities will begin again. The conflict then could spread throughout the region, weaken our partnership with Europe and undermine our leadership in other areas critical to our security. I know that you will not let that happen. (Applause.)

As you prepare for your mission, I ask you to remember what we have all seen in Bosnia for the last four years -- ethnic cleansing, mass executions, the rape of women and young girls as a tool of war, young men forced to dig their own graves and then shot down in the ground like animals, endless lines of desperate refugees, starving people in concentration camps. Images of these terrible wrongs have flooded our living rooms all over the world for almost four years. Now the violence has ended. We must not let it return.

For decades, our people in America have recognized the importance of a stable, strong and free Europe to our own security. That's why we fought two world wars. That's why after World War II we made commitments that kept Europe free and at peace and created unparalleled prosperity for us and for the Europeans as well. And that's why you are still here, even after the Cold War.

Europe can be our strongest partners in fighting the things that will threaten the security of your children -- the terrorism, the organized crime, the drug trafficking, the spread of weapons of mass destruction. But it can only be a strong partner if we get rid of the war that rages in the heart of Europe in Bosnia. We have to work with the Europeans on this if we're going to work on all those other problems that will be the security problems of the future.

When people ask -- as they sometimes do back home because they're so concerned about you -- well, why can't the Europeans do this without us, just remember that when you went to Desert Storm we asked for help from a lot of nations who could have taken a pass, but they stood up with us. And when we led in Haiti we were supported by a lot of other nations who had no direct interest in Haiti, but they answered our call and they stood up with us. Now in Bosnia we are needed. You are needed.

Men and women of Task Force Eagle, I know the burden of our country's leadership now weighs most heavily on you and your families. Each and every one of you who have volunteered to serve this country makes hard sacrifices. We send you a long way from home for a long time. We take you away from your children and your loved ones. These are the burdens that you assume for America, to stand up for our values, to serve our interests, to keep our country strong in this time of challenge and change.

In Bosnia your mission is clear. You are strong,

you are well-prepared, and the stakes demand American leadership that you will provide. You don't have to take it just from me. I have gotten it myself from the words of your own children. A seventh-grade English teacher at Baumholder High School, Patricia Dengel, asked her students to write letters to their parents who are preparing to go to Bosnia. I've seen a few of those letters and I was moved. I was moved by the fears they expressed, but even more by the pride and confidence they showed in you.

Justin Zimmerman's father, Captain Ronald Zimmerman, is a company commander with the 40th Engineering Battalion. (Applause.) This is what Justin wrote: "Dad, I know you'll be fine in Bosnia because of all the training you've had. I'll miss you and count the days until we see you again." And Rachel Bybee, whose father, Major Leon Bybee, is a doctor with the Medical Corps tells him, "I'm proud of your job, which is to help others. It must make you feel great to know you save lives."

Your children know you are heroes for peace, and soon so will the children of Bosnia. Your country and I salute you. We wish you Godspeed in the days and months ahead. You are about to do something very important for your nation, very important for the world, very important for the future that you want your own children to have.

God bless you all, and God bless America.
(Applause.)

END

12:48 P.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Baumholder, Germany)

For Immediate Release

December 2, 1995

RADIO ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE NATION

Rheinlander Club Rose Room
Rheinlander Building
U.S. Army Base/Smith Barracks

Baumholder, Germany

4:06 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: Good morning. Today I am speaking to you from Germany, and I am with the men and women of the United States Army's 1st Armored Division. For the last four days, I have been on a journey of peace that has taken me from Britain, to Ireland, to Germany. I have shaken the hands, heard the voices and seen the faces of those all over Europe who long for peace -- peace in Northern Ireland and peace in Bosnia.

I will never forget the two young children in Belfast, one Catholic who lost her father, and one Protestant. These children joined their hands and told the world of their dreams for a future of peace and their gratitude that America is working for peace.

I'll never forget the tens of thousands of people in Derry and in Dublin whose surging cheers and sea of American Flags symbolized the friendship between our people and their appreciation that America is a force for a fair peace in Northern Ireland.

People in England and Germany, and even people in Ireland, also said they wanted peace and an end to the tragedy in Bosnia. Wherever I went and whomever I talked to, from ordinary citizens to Prime Ministers and parliamentarians, the message to me was the same: American leadership for peace matters. American leadership for peace matters. American leadership is welcome in Europe. American leadership is necessary in Europe, whether to achieve peace in Northern Ireland, or join in implementing the peace in Bosnia.

Europe's freedom and strength and stability are essential to our own freedom, strength and stability. That's why twice in this century American troops have fought in wars on European soil. That's why we stayed there during the Cold War until victory was won. And that's why our soldiers are still stationed in Europe today.

Today I am visiting many of the brave young Americans who are preparing to leave for Bosnia. I spoke today to the 1st Armored Division, our country's Iron Soldiers. They are the front-line fighters of our country; they have been from World War II right through the Persian Gulf War. But this time, they're not being sent to war, they're being sent to guarantee peace. They have the noblest mission of all -- to stop incredible human suffering and

lift people's lives.

Over the last four years, a quarter of a million Bosnians have been killed, more than half of Bosnia's people have been driven from their homes, a million of them are still refugees. We have seen parents divided from their children, children deprived of their dreams, people caged like animals in concentration camps, women and young girls subject to systematic rape. We have seen unbelievable horrors. But now we have a chance to end this misery for good -- and we have a responsibility to act.

This will be a difficult mission in a hard corner of the world. But let's remember -- it is a peace that the people of Bosnia want. It is a peace that they have demanded. The leaders of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia understand that. That's why they reached a peace agreement in Dayton last month. And that's why they asked for America's help. They have made a serious commitment to peace, but they can't do it alone. There have been so many things happen in that poor, war-torn country that trust is a rare commodity, and they need our help to help reestablish the conditions under which people can live in decency and peace.

The three leaders of all three countries have emphasized in letters to me, and I quote, "that the NATO-led implementation force is essential to the success of the peace settlement." And they have pledged -- and again I quote -- "to take all possible measures to ensure the safety and security of all American and other forces and civilian personnel participating in the implementation force."

As of now, we expect that America will make up roughly a third of that implementation force, known as IFOR. More than 25 other nations, including our NATO allies, have also pledged to take part in this mission of peace. Because our nation is willing to lead, our strength will be multiplied and our burdens will be shared.

Earlier today I met with General Joulwan, the American Commander of NATO, under whom our troops will serve. He and General Nash, who will command our Task Force Eagle in Bosnia, gave me a thorough briefing on NATO's plan. The force will be strong with strong rules of engagement. Our young men and women will have the tools they need to do the job.

We do not expect significant opposition to IFOR, but in Bosnia, as in other places of the world, there will always be people who cannot move beyond their hatreds, who would still rather destroy than rebuild. If IFOR's safety is threatened by them in any way, I am confident that the strength, the speed and the decisiveness of its response will cause other potential attackers to think again.

I'm satisfied that our military commanders have done all they can to minimize the risks to our troops while maximizing their ability to carry out a clearly defined mission with a clear end point. And here in Germany I have seen firsthand that our troops are the best-trained, best-equipped, best-prepared fighting force in the world. They are skilled, they are strong, they are determined to succeed. They are also an extraordinary group of Americans. They are intelligent, they are good people, they are intensely patriotic, and they are proud of the mission they have been asked to carry out.

As soon as I return, I will be consulting closely with Congress on the details of the NATO plan. I welcome the statement

of those leaders who said they will work with me in the national interest. And I hope and expect that after careful debate, others will join in supporting the plan and our troops.

The mission is clear and so are the stakes -- for the Bosnian people, for the security of Europe, and for America's leadership around the world.

This morning in Dublin, I met with Zlata Filipovic, the young Bosnian girl who became famous the world over when she published her diary of life in war-torn Sarajevo. This morning, she asked me to thank our American soldiers for giving her and other children the chance to live in peace in their homeland. In a letter she gave me, she spoke in the name of children. She said, "Thank you for helping civilization not to die over there, because ordinary people and children truly don't deserve it. Thank you for opening the door of future to our children."

My fellow Americans, we should be proud we have opened that door for the children of Bosnia, for the people of Bosnia. They have chosen the road of peace. Their road is our road, and we must stand with them. We must be leaders for peace.

Thanks for listening.

END

4:11 P.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Baumholder, Germany)

For Immediate Release

December 2, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
DURING INTERVIEW WITH JOE GARVEY, U.S. ARMY EUROPE,
ARMED FORCES NETWORK

Rheinlander Club
Baumholder, Germany

4:40 P.M. (L)

Q The first question, Mr. President. You have spent the entire day talking to soldiers, shaking soldiers' hands. You've been briefed by the Task Force Eagle commanders. You've talked to spouses. What is the one thing that you'll walk away with here today?

THE PRESIDENT: An immense feeling of gratitude that our country has people who are this well-trained, this highly motivated, this patriotic and this good working for us. You know, these people have volunteered to serve their country, to go anywhere and do anything that their country needs, and they are an exceptional group of people and their families are exceptional people.

Now, because of the training they've had in Germany, they believe that the training probably will be harder than the mission; and, of course, we all hope it will be. So I think every American should feel an immense sense of pride and gratitude that people like the men and women of the 1st Armored Division are out there serving our country.

Q Changing gears just a little bit, has having a U.S. forward-deployed force in Europe been an advantage for the planning and ultimate execution of this Bosnia mission?

THE PRESIDENT: Absolutely. It's been a huge advantage. For one thing, we are here, obviously part of the unified NATO Command, but we can do our planning not just through General Joulwan and the NATO Command Headquarters, but right down through the Americans that are expected to do it and have it here in close proximity; it's made a big difference, and the training has made a huge difference.

We've been able, as you know, to recreate the conditions that our people were faced with in Bosnia here in Germany. We're fairly close by, we can get the same sort of topography, the same kind of weather conditions, and I think that that has made a huge difference.

I'm not sure we have ever sent a group of our men and women in uniform into a situation where they were better prepared in advance in almost on-site training. Neither of those things would have been nearly as good had we not had a forward

deployment in Germany.

Q I know you're a busy man. I have nothing else to ask you, Mr. President, unless you have something yourself you would like to add.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, the only other thing I would like to add is that I think it's important for the American people to understand that with our volunteer Army now, it's more and more of a family place. It's more and more a place full of exceptional people with good values and deep ties, either to their spouses and children who are with them while they're in the service, or to their parents back home.

And so, when we make a decision, when I make a decision, like the decision to deploy our troops to carry out the peace mission in Bosnia, it's a family decision, it affects families, and I am very mindful of that. And one of the things that I really appreciate is the extent to which caring for the families, thinking about their needs, making sure that they're treated in the proper way is a big part of the mission now. And I think that's something that we have gotten better at and something I hope we will continue to get better at, because if we're going to have a volunteer Army, we want the very best people in it and we want people to be able to succeed in uniform, but also in their family roles. And that is very, very important to me -- especially at Christmastime I guess I'm thinking a lot about it, but all year long we have to be better and better and better at that because this is a family commitment as well as an American commitment.

Q Thank you. I appreciate your time.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you.

END

4:44 P.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Madrid, Spain)

For Immediate Release

December 3, 1995

PRESS CONFERENCE BY THE PRESIDENT
AND LEADERS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

Moncloa Palace
Madrid, Spain

11:50 A.M. (L)

PRIME MINISTER GONZALEZ: Thank you very much. It is our pleasure to welcome to Madrid President Clinton, as well as the President of the Commission. And as you have seen, we have just finished signing the new transatlantic agenda, along with an action plan.

Thanks to this document and this summit between the European Union and the United States, we hope to be taking a new step forward, a quantitative leap forward, and to undertake new common action. This is enshrined in the documents we have just signed.

For the Spanish presidency, I would like to state that this was one of our priorities. We had a meeting in Cannes in June, and we decided to prepare an agenda for the next year's, until the end of the century. Since then we have been working very hard, and the United States' high-level group, as well as the Commission and Spain have worked very efficiently. And as you will see clearly from the documents, we have a clearcut vocation to work together from the political point of view in promoting democracy and human rights, as well as from a commercial point of view, an economic point of view, and strengthening the bonds on both sides of the Atlantic, as well as our struggle against terrorism and drug trafficking and organized violence.

We have common goals, and this morning we also spoke about converging actions such as the peace plan that was signed in Dayton with regard to Bosnia. I would like to point out that, keeping in mind our responsibility as the President of the European Union and the presence of Spanish troops and Spanish nongovernmental organizations in Bosnia, but I would like to point out how significant it is that the United States, that President Clinton has decided to send a large contingent of troops. And I think that this is of utmost importance for international solidarity. And this peace plan that will be signed on the 14th of December will become a lasting peace that will outlive the fight between the two communities of Bosnia and the former Yugoslavia.

So I would like to publicly thank President Clinton, his effort and the appeal he has launched to the American people to participate wholeheartedly in the peace plan. And I would also like to say that this new transatlantic plan is open to other countries on both sides of the Atlantic, such as Canada, Norway and Iceland. And I would like to make this as broad an

agenda as possible.

And now I would like to give the floor to Mr. Santer. And Mr. Clinton will be having the closing remarks.

Mr. Santer.

PRESIDENT SANTER: Presidents, ladies and gentlemen, I would just like to add some comments on what President Gonzalez has said. In my inaugural speech to the European Parliament on January 17th this year, I emphasized the importance of transatlantic links. I stressed that the EU's commitment should be reaffirmed, and I concluded that I was personally in favor of a transatlantic treaty.

So today, I believe is an historic moment for transatlantic relations, and that I think for three reasons. Firstly, because it shows that Europe and America now have the means and the will to provide the joint leadership that the world so urgently needs. We will not lead by threatening or excluding our partners, we will lead by example.

And take Bosnia. You, President Clinton, have shown such an example in Dayton, Ohio. Europeans and Americans are taking the courageous decision to send troops to enforce a peace in Bosnia. This shows that Europe and America can act together to promote peace, stability, democracy and freedom.

Moreover, we have already committed \$2 billion to help the victims, and we are ready to give more in order to rebuild that shattered country. I am confident that our partners will help us share the burden.

Secondly, this is an historic moment for the people of Europe and America. This is not just an agenda for politicians and civil servants. We are determined to fight side by side in order to tackle those issues that most affect the lives of ordinary people.

And, together, we will see that the drug traffickers and criminals have nowhere to hide within our borders. Together, we will fight poverty and disease, and we will bring our citizens themselves closer together -- students, academics, professionals, artists and others. We want to ensure that our common cultural heritage remains the glue that binds our two continents together.

And, finally, today we are making Europe and America more open for business, more open to each other and more open to the world. If it's made in Europe, it must be good enough for America and vice-versa. That's what the new transatlantic marketplace is all about.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Thank you very much. Let me begin by thanking Prime Minister Gonzalez for hosting this meeting and for the very energetic leadership that he has provided to the European Community and to the partnership between the European Community and the United States. I want to thank President Santer for his consistent, firm direction to the Community, and both of them for working with me over the last six months to launch this new partnership between the United States and the Community.

As the Cold War gives way to the global village, we have new opportunities and new security threats. We know what

those security threats are; we see them every day -- the ethnic and religious hatred, the reckless aggression of rogue states, the terrorism, the drug trafficking, the weapons of mass destruction that are increasingly threatening us all.

We know that poverty and job insecurity and barriers to open trade limit the reach of prosperity for all. We know that too many people remain vulnerable to disease and under-development around the world. We know now that these threats respect no borders, and that they demand the kind of concerted action that we adopt today with our agenda and action plan.

Until now the relationship between the United States and the European Union has largely been one of consultation. Today we are moving beyond talk to action. These joint initiatives in our agenda will directly benefit citizens on both sides of the Atlantic.

I'd like to highlight just a few of the areas in which we have agreed to work more closely together -- some have been mentioned already. First, we will together lead a global effort to organize the postwar reconstruction of Bosnia. After four years of war, the Bosnian leaders have agreed to peace. But now the Bosnian people need the support of the international community to revitalize their economy, to rebuild their lives; in short, to realize the promise of peace.

I have just come from visiting our troops in Germany who are training and who will soon travel to Bosnia. They are well-prepared, well-equipped, well-trained for this mission of peace. I am very proud of them. And I want to say a word of thanks to the Prime Minister and the people of Spain for their contributions, for the people from Spain who have already done so much in Bosnia and those who will join us in securing this peace mission.

Next, we will translate -- we will create a transatlantic marketplace in which we continue progressively to reduce the barriers to trade, commerce and investment. The worldwide GATT Agreement was a very important step forward. But our advanced economies can do better, can grow faster. We aim to create more good, new jobs on both sides of the Atlantic and to reinforce the world trading system that benefits every nation.

Third, we will continue and increase our support for the Middle East peace process.

Fourth, we will join in a new initiative to combat international criminals, terrorists and drug traffickers. As President Santer says they should have no place to hide.

Fifth, we will strengthen our environmental cooperation in important and specific ways. We will work to reduce lead exposure, a major threat to the health of all our children; to provide countries with sophisticated environmental technologies that are developing their own economies; and to better coordinate our disaster and our development assistance to the neediest people around the globe.

All these actions will further strengthen the transatlantic community, united around democracy, free markets and respect for human rights. Our destiny in America is still linked to Europe. This action agenda makes it clear that we will

remain as firmly engaged with Europe in the post-Cold War era as we have for the last 50 years. It also makes clear that our partnership is evolving, that we recognize new challenges but that we have to meet them together.

Finally, let me say that we in the United States are very pleased to welcome the nomination of the Spanish Foreign Minister, Mr. Solana, to be the next Secretary General of NATO. He is one of Europe's outstanding leaders. We believe he will be a firm hand and a strong voice for NATO. And we offer you our congratulations, sir.

PRIME MINISTER GONZALEZ: Thank you. And now we will have questions. Please tell us who you are asking the question of.

Q Good morning. A question to Prime Minister Gonzalez as to whether President Clinton has asked for a greater Spanish contribution in Bosnia of a military nature in NATO, more than the 1,200 people who are there -- if you've spoken about this in the general framework.

And also a question for you, Mr. Clinton. In view of the changes in Europe since the fall of the Berlin Wall, do you think that it is fitting for Spain to become part of the central military command structure in NATO?

PRIME MINISTER GONZALEZ: With regard to the first question, which was directed to me, we have not yet established the contribution of each country. Right now, we have in Spain 1,200 people, plus the naval contingent and logistic support, which is about 2,400 people. So, at present, we are going to keep up this effort, but, of course, we would be willing to speak to all our allies to make sure that this is enough or if we need more.

Mr. President, sir.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: If I might say that the most important thing is that we have enough troops and the right troops to perform the defined military mission. And we estimate that we need about 60,000. The United States has committed about 20,000, the British, about 13,000; the French, I think between 9,000 and 10,000. We have over two dozen other countries who want to contribute.

Spain has made a very, very valuable contribution already, including the NATO contribution with the Spanish pilots which should not be overlooked. And so, from my point of view, I think we'll be able to work together and achieve the kind of force we need.

With regard to the NATO question, I don't think that's a question for me to answer; that is a question that we will have to work through with NATO. I can only tell you this -- that our American pilots and our American military personnel have been immensely impressed with the work they did through NATO in Bosnia, with the flying that we both did together and in coordination. And I can only say that I am very grateful for that.

Q Two questions, Mr. President. Have you give the order for 700 American troops in the NATO force to go into Bosnia? And also, the Bosnian Serb military leader, Mladic, says

that -- is demanding changes in the peace agreement, and there are also some other questions being made by the French military --

PRESIDENT CLINTON: I can you to repeat the question.

Q -- military commander in Sarajevo as well as the Bosnian government. Is this treaty in trouble? Is it going to have to be changed?

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Let me answer the first question first. I have authorized the Secretary of Defense to order the deployment of the preliminary troops, the people who have to do the preparatory work, to Bosnia, as I said I would as soon as I was convinced that the military plan was appropriate. And so I have done that, and he will be -- those people will be going into the area over the next couple of days. That is -- as I've emphasized to the American people and the Congress, that's a few hundred of our forces necessary to set up communications networks and things of that kind.

The answer to your second question is, no, I don't think the treaty is in trouble and, no, I don't think it should be renegotiated. President Milosevic made strong commitments which he will have to fulfill to secure the support of the Bosnian Serb leaders for this agreement. And I would remind you that, of course, the Bosnian Serbs aren't happy with everything in the agreement; neither are the Croats, neither are the Muslims and the others in the Bosnian government. That's what -- when you make a peace agreement, not everybody is happy with it. So only those who were at the table have fully reconciled themselves, perhaps, to that, although a lot of the Bosnian Serb political leadership have endorsed this treaty.

So we expect, we fully expect that President Milosevic will take the appropriate steps to ensure that this treaty will be honored as it is written and that we will not have undue interference with implementing it. And we feel very strongly on that point.

Q Briefly, for President Clinton, with regard to the Dayton peace agreement, has this also changed the relationship between the United States and the European allies? It seems that there were several differences of opinion, politically and militarily, but also from a trade point of view. And I would like to know if in this document, which talks about a possibility of avoiding a trade war -- and we have here Mr. Kantor and Mr. Brittan, who spent nights and nights trying to avoid this type of war -- so I would like to know if in this new transatlantic agenda you have something against this.

And then a question for the Spanish Prime Minister. Does the fact that Spain will have the general secretariat here, does it mean that we will be in the central military command structure?

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Let me say, first of all, this document commits both the European Union and the United States to take further steps to open our markets to each other. Mr. Brittan and Mr. Kantor worked very hard to hammer out the differences between Europe and the United States so that we could get the world GATT Agreement, which is the biggest trade agreement in history and a very good step forward.

But we believe, given the development of our economies, that we can and should do more in our relationships with each other. They have committed themselves to do that, and there are already some action items on the agenda. So I feel that you will see less tension and more cooperation.

And in terms of the Dayton peace treaty, I think that that reflects -- the positive European response there reflects a very high level of cooperation between the United States and Europe in foreign policy and security matters.

PRESIDENT SANTER: I would only add that there is no -- that in the transatlantic treaty or declaration we signed, there are some items to deal with -- also with what we are calling now the new transatlantic marketplace. We can reduce our tariff barriers inside between the United States and the European Union.

We can also -- we have also to stress our multilateral agreements between the world trade organizations. I think there are many things to do. We make a very good job in the Uruguay Round. We can say that now more than \$500 billion are flowing through goods and so on through the results of the Uruguay Round. So we are not struggling together, but we are cooperating together and there's a big change.

We are coming now from a consultation procedure to a joint action procedure and that -- new spirit is underlying this new transatlantic declaration.

PRIME MINISTER GONZALEZ: Very briefly, I would like to start by saying that I would like to publicly acknowledge the confidence deposited in Javier Solana, the Spanish Foreign Minister, in electing him as the Secretary General of NATO, in view of the tremendous challenges we have with regard to Bosnia in the short-term and the broadening and the enlargement of the European Union to the Eastern and Central European countries in the long-term.

Now, this is not a change for the Spaniards, it's merely progress of the Alliance. We are going to be a loyal ally in everything we do and in everything that happens in the Alliance. So we have to take things on board as they are, and I have full confidence in Javier Solana that he will undertake to carry out his responsibilities in the best possible manner. And I thank everyone again for voting him.

Q Mr. President, you've spent now almost a week on this side of the Atlantic and you're about to get back to Washington. How, if at all, has this experience in Europe affected your thinking in regards to selling -- Bosnia once to get back to a skeptical Congress and -- American public, especially -- and also the spill-over, if any, on how you will deal with the December 15th looming deadline with the budget? Is there any relationship between Bosnia and the budget?

THE PRESIDENT: Let me answer the first question, and then I'll attempt to answer the second one. (Laughter.) I know I can answer the first one.

I have seen again, from the address I made to the Parliament in London, to the people in the streets in Belfast and Derry, to the teeming throng in the streets of Dublin, to the

Irish Parliament, and then on to a meeting with Chancellor Kohl as we met with the American troops, and then coming here and having my meeting with Prime Minister Gonzalez and President Santer today, the importance of American leadership and American partnership in Europe.

You know, we fought two world wars here. Most of our people came from here. We stayed here for 50 years after World War II, first to deal with the Cold War, and then after the Cold War was over we left our troops and many of our air bases here in Europe. And what we are seeing in Bosnia is an affront to the conscience of human beings everywhere, right in the heart of Europe. All the things that we need to do, all the things we talked about today -- the need to build stronger economic ties, the need to confront the other security problems we have -- none of that is going to happen as it should unless we deal with this problem in Bosnia, to try to stop the murders and the rapes and the butchery that has occurred. And I feel more strongly about that.

If you look -- also, I think the American people should know that we have a unique responsibility at this moment in history. After the Cold War, the United States was left with a certain superpower status and a certain economic standing that imposes on us great responsibilities, along with the opportunities we have.

You know, when those people turned out in the streets in Ireland -- all those young people, Protestant and Catholic alike -- demanding the right to be heard on behalf of peace and their future, responding to an American President, it was because of everything America has stood for over 200 years. Not just the initiatives of our administration and the things I have personally done to promote peace there, but everything we represent. And I would hope that because we have the chance to do good things, and because we have the chance to do it in a way that minimizes our risks and relies on our strengths, that the American people and the Congress would respond.

Now, on the budget. I do not expect Congress to link Bosnia and the budget, if that is the implication of your question. I do not believe they would do that. I think they understand that these are -- both issues are too important.

The lesson I draw as an American from this trip in terms of the budget negotiations is that if we're going to be strong abroad, we have to be strong at home. And the policy we are following is working. The economy is better than it was three years ago. We're making progress on our social problems. We should not take a radical detour from the disciplined direction we have gone to grow the economy, to expand the middle class, to shrink the under class. And we should do nothing that would send the signal to the world that we are less successful economically, that we are promoting inequality, that we are being less humane and less caring and less sensitive as a country to our own people within our borders. That is what I know.

We have to continue -- the power of the United States goes far beyond military might. What you saw in Ireland, for example, had not a wit to do with military might; it was all about values. And we should do nothing at home within our own borders that undermines our ability to project those values to the rest of the world.

PRIME MINISTER GONZALEZ: Thank you. I have
promised firmly to keep on schedule and we've reached the end.
Thank you.

END

12:26 A.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

December 5, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT BRIEFING ON BOSNIA PEACE ACCORD

The Old Executive Office Building

11:42 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Thank you for being here. And most important of all, thank you for your commitment to the people of Bosnia, for your care and your courage.

Many of you in this room have worked throughout the war to stop the human rights abuses that horrified the world and to ease the suffering of the people of Bosnia. Now the Balkan leaders have ended the war and have made a commitment to peace, so that now I can say to you, we need your help more than ever to make sure the peace takes hold and endures.

I have just had a remarkable meeting in the Oval Office with a group of Bosnians who just came in and took their seats. They were forced to flee their country, and they have resettled in ours -- the Capin family, the Ibisevic family, and Dr. Olijaca. They are all here with me. They bear witness to loved ones lost, homes destroyed, careers shattered, families separated. They can tell us what it's like to leave the land they love, where they were born and went to school, where they married and raised families, where they should have been able to enjoy the basic human right to build a good future in peace.

These people and so many more like them are the human faces of the war in Bosnia. They are the story behind the unbelievable numbers of a quarter of a million dead, two million people displaced, more than half the population of pre-war Bosnia.

Many of you have actually witnessed and documented the war's atrocities firsthand -- the executions, the ethnic cleansing, the rape of young women and girls as a tool of war, the endless lines of despairing refugees. We cannot bring back the war's victims. So many of them were little children. We cannot erase its horrors. But because the parties have said they will turn from war to peace, we can now prevent further suffering; we can now shine the light of justice in Bosnia; we can now help its people build a future of hope.

All of us have a role to play. This weekend, as you all know, I visited our troops in Germany, those who will soon set off to Bosnia not to make war, but to wage peace. Each side in Bosnia has asked NATO to help secure their peace agreement, to make sure the armies withdraw behind the separation lines and stay there, to maintain the cease-fire so that the war does not start again, to give all the parties the mutual confidence they need so that all will keep their word.

Creating a climate of security is the necessary first step toward rebuilding and reconciliation. That is NATO's mission and it must be America's mission.

I have to say that the families who just visited with me said repeatedly that they felt that the presence of Americans in Bosnia, the American troops, was absolutely critical to giving the people of Bosnia the confidence they need to believe that they can once again live in peace together as they did before the war.

I am absolutely convinced that our goals are clear, they are limited and they are achievable in about a year's time. I'm also satisfied that we have taken every possible precaution to minimize the risks to our troops. They will take their orders from the American general who commands NATO; there will be no confusing chain of command. Our troops are very well-trained, and they will be heavily armed. They will have very clear rules of engagement that will allow them to respond immediately and decisively to any threat to their security.

The climate of security NATO creates in Bosnia will allow a separate, broad international relief effort for relief and reconstruction to begin. That's where many of you come in. I cannot overstate the importance of that effort. For peace to endure, the people of Bosnia must receive the tangible benefits of peace. They must have the food, the medicine, the shelter, the clothing so many have been denied for so long. Roads must be repaired, the schools and hospitals rebuilt, the factories and shops refurbished and reopened. Families must be reunited and refugees returned home. Elections must be held so that those devoted to reconciliation can lead their people to a future together. And those guilty of war crimes must be punished, because no peace will long endure without justice.

Over the next year the civilian relief and reconstruction effort will help to realize the promise of peace and give it a life of its own. It can so change the face of Bosnia, that by the time the NATO mission is ready to leave the people of Bosnia will have a much, much greater stake in peace than in war. That must be all of our goals.

Once the people of Bosnia lived in peace. Many people have forgotten that, but it wasn't so very long ago. It can happen again. It must happen again. And every one of us must do what we can to make sure that the stakes of peace and the faces of children are uppermost in the minds of the people of Bosnia when the NATO mission is completed.

Sunday is International Human Rights Day, the anniversary of the adoption by the United Nations of the universal declaration of human rights in 1948. For nearly four years the war in Bosnia did terrible violence to the principles of that declaration. It destroyed hundreds of thousands of lives. It ruined countless futures.

But on this Human Rights Day, we have something to celebrate. The war in Bosnia is over. The peace, however, is just beginning. Together, if we work hard to help it take hold, to help it endure, on the next Human Rights Day, the faces of Bosnia will not be the victims of war, but the beneficiaries of peace.

I am now very pleased to sign this proclamation designating December 10th, 1995 as Human Rights Day, and December

10th through 16th as Human Rights Week. Let us make sure that for the next year, it will be a human rights year in Bosnia.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

(The proclamation is signed.)

You look at these children, and they make you smile. They should not have to come here to look as good as they look and to be as happy as they are. I'm glad they're here. I'm honored to have such fine people strengthening the fabric of America. They are very welcome here. But the people like them who want to live at home and raise their children to look just like this ought to have the same rights. That's what this piece of paper is all about. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much.

END

11:52 A.M. EST

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

December 2, 1995

Rheinlander Club Rose Room
Rheinlander Building
U.S. Army Base/Smith Barracks
Baumholder, Germany

4:06 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: Good morning. Today I am speaking to you from Germany, and I am with the men and women of the United States Army's 1st Armored Division. For the last four days, I have been on a journey of peace that has taken me from Britain to Ireland, to Germany. I have shaken the hands, heard the voices and seen the faces of those all over Europe who long for peace -- peace in Northern Ireland and peace in Bosnia.

I will never forget the two young children in Belfast, one Catholic who lost her father, and one Protestant. These children joined their hands and told the world of their dreams for a future of peace and their gratitude that America is working for peace.

I'll never forget the tens of thousands of people in Derry and in Dublin whose surging cheers and sea of America Flags symbolized the friendship between our people and their appreciation that America is a force for a fair peace in Northern Ireland.

People in England and Germany, and even people in Ireland, also said they wanted peace and an end to the tragedy in Bosnia. Wherever I went and whomever I talked to, from ordinary citizens to Prime Ministers and parliamentarians, the message to me was the same: American leadership for peace matters. American leadership for peace matters. American leadership is welcome in Europe. American leadership is necessary in Europe, whether to achieve peace in Northern Ireland, or join in implementing the peace in Bosnia.

Europe's freedom and strength and stability are essential to our own freedom, strength and stability. That's why twice in this century American troops have fought in wars on European soil. That's why we stayed there during the Cold War until victory was won. And that's why our soldiers are still stationed in Europe today.

Today I am visiting many of the brave young Americans who are preparing to leave for Bosnia. I spoke today to the 1st Armored Division, our country's Iron Soldiers. They are the front-line fighters of our country; they have been from World War II right through the Persian Gulf War. But this time, they're not being sent to war, they're being sent to guarantee peace. They have the noblest mission of all -- to stop incredible human suffering and lift people's lives.

Over the last four years, a quarter of a million Bosnians have been killed, more than half of Bosnia's people have been driven from their homes, a million of them are still refugees.

We have seen parents divided from their children, children deprived of their dreams, people caged like animals in concentration camps, women and young girls subject to systematic rape. We have seen unbelievable horrors. But now we have a chance to end this misery for good -- and we have a responsibility to act.

This will be a difficult mission in a hard corner of the world. But let's remember -- it is a peace that the people of Bosnia want. It is a peace that they have demanded. The leaders of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia understand that. That's why they reached a peace agreement in Dayton last month. And that's why they asked for America's help. They have made a serious commitment to peace, but they can't do it alone. There have been so many things happen in that poor, war-torn country that trust is a rare commodity, and they need our help to help reestablish the conditions under which people can live in decency and peace.

The three leaders of all three countries have emphasized in letters to me, and I quote, "that the NATO-led implementation force is essential to the success of the peace settlement." And they have pledged -- and again I quote -- "to take all possible measures to ensure the safety and security of all American and other forces and civilian personnel participating in the implementation force."

As of now, we expect that America will make up roughly a third of that implementation force, known as IFOR. More than 25 other nations, including our NATO allies, have also pledged to take part in this mission of peace. Because our nation is willing to lead, our strength will be multiplied and our burdens will be shared.

Earlier today I met with General Joulwan, the American Commander of NATO, under whom our troops will serve. He and General Nash, who will command our Task Force Eagle in Bosnia, gave me a thorough briefing on NATO's plan. The force will be strong with strong rules of engagement. Our young men and women will have the tools they need to do the job.

We do not expect significant opposition to IFOR, but in Bosnia, as in other places of the world, there will always be people who cannot move beyond their hatreds, who would still rather destroy than rebuild. If IFOR's safety is threatened by them in any way, I am confident that the strength, the speed and the decisiveness of its response will cause other potential attackers to think again.

I'm satisfied that our military commanders have done all they can to minimize the risks to our troops while maximizing their ability to carry out a clearly defined mission with a clear end point. And here in Germany I have seen firsthand that our troops are the best-trained, best-equipped, best-prepared fighting force in the world. They are skilled, they are strong, they are determined to succeed. They are also an extraordinary group of Americans. They are intelligent, they are good people, they are intensely patriotic, and they are proud of the mission they have been asked to carry out.

As soon as I return, I will be consulting closely with Congress on the details of the NATO plan. I welcome the statement of those leaders who said they will work with me in the national interest. And I hope and expect that after careful debate, others will join in supporting the plan and our troops.

The mission is clear and so are the stakes -- for the Bosnian people, for the security of Europe, and for America's leadership around the world.

This morning in Dublin, I met with Zlata Filipovic, the young Bosnian girl who became famous the world over when she published her diary of life in war-torn Sarajevo. This morning, she asked me to thank our American soldiers for giving her and other children the chance to live in peace in their homeland. In a letter she gave me, she spoke in the name of children. She said, "Thank you for helping civilization not to die over there, because ordinary people and children truly don't deserve it. Thank you for opening the door of future to our children."

My fellow Americans, we should be proud we have opened that door for the children of Bosnia, for the people of Bosnia. They have chosen the road of peace. Their road is our road, and we must stand with them. We must be leaders for peace.

Thanks for listening.

END 4:11 P.M. (L)

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Dublin, Ireland)

For Immediate Release

December 1, 1995

PRESS BRIEFING
BY
MIKE MCCURRY

Dublin Castle
Dublin, Ireland

7:00 P.M. (L)

MR. MCCURRY: -- I'm here if there are any questions that you needed answers to that haven't been answered already before many of us, and we hope you included, have a night out on the town.

Anything?

All right, we are going to -- what kind of lid situation are we in? We'll be ready to put on some type of operational lid for here very shortly with the exception of readouts that will go to the pool after dinner.

MR. FETIG: I'll also hang around after Mike's briefing for anybody that has a question that's specific.

MR. MCCURRY: All right, let me ask again, does anyone have any questions that need answered on the record before we shut down for the night?

Q -- on the budget?

MR. MCCURRY: On the budget.

Q Bob Livingston said that Congress has not actually agreed to pay for troops, you know, the way that it has been portrayed, and that a separate request will be necessary --

MR. MCCURRY: The question was that there's not been the details of the agreement by which there would be funding for the Bosnia deployment, and how would that be drawn out of the \$243 billion defense appropriations bill that the President has now approved. The answer is there will still be subsequent discussions necessary between the White House and Congress on precisely how to accomplish that funding. The issue involves the O&N funding in the defense bill, how you might transfer some procurement money perhaps -- perhaps -- stress on perhaps -- through rescissions into the O&N account. And that's a technical budget issue that will have to be discussed further with the appropriations chairs. So they're protecting their prerogatives as chairs of the committee. And that doesn't change our view that there is consensus in the discussions that Panetta had that they will fund the Bosnia operation out of this defense appropriations bill.

Q In his comments in the press conference with the

Irish Prime Minister today, the President said it was possible that the U.S. contribution to the Bosnian force could be a lot less than one-third of the total. I think that's the first we've heard that. Did he mean that of the 60,000 that might less than a third --

MR. MCCURRY: No, the overall -- Carl's question was that the -- the contribution to the force projected for the IFOR, would it be a third, roughly a third. The President was making the point there in response to UPI's question that associated with the deployment on the ground in Bosnia are logistics and support activities that will occur in the Adriatic. There's a MARG unit that will be there in Croatia. There is staging operations up in Hungary, and some additional deployments elsewhere, logistic deployments. And the President was thinking at that point of overall total operational cost, not just the marginal cost added because of the ground deployment. Again, we anticipate that force to be roughly 60,000. The costs are going to be roughly \$2 billion, I believe. That's -- when you add in a lot of the activity associated directly with that deployment. But that now includes the way the Pentagon is calculating its sum of the costs associated with air ops and with logistic ops that support that force that will go in.

Can I make a suggestion that we -- I am not, nor is anyone here, the best person to run through all of the way they are going to handle these briefings. We are trying to work with both NATO public affairs and DOD public affairs folks to have a briefing for everyone tomorrow so you can all get up to speed on those types of issues.

Q -- the morning, is it fair to describe the \$2 million as that costs will be incurred over and above anything that would have already been there, like salaries --

MR. MCCURRY: I can't answer that affirmatively. It is roughly \$2 billion for the costs associated with the deployment. But there is a lot in theater already associated with no-fly, associated with sanctions enforcement, associated with other activities that would have continued anyhow.

Remember, we have a standing commitment right now to provide close air support to UNPROFOR, which is still on the ground in Bosnia. That is an ongoing mission. There are costs associated with that. Those costs now will be rolled over to the IFOR deployment. And sorting out how they are making those transitions and how they are calculating the costs is best done by the Pentagon since they'll have better access to facts.

Q -- figure still holds for the troops --

MR. MCCURRY: My understanding is that when -- the American people are thinking, what are troops on the ground in Bosnia going to be doing as part of the enforcement of this peace. And that is the force that we are talking about. Now, they understand, I think every American understands, that there are transport ships that get them there; there are pilots who protect them over the air; there are backup supplies that are sort of actions in the rear that you have to take into account as well. But they're thinking, as the President is thinking, of those who will be, in a sense, right in the zone of separation helping to enforce the peace.

Q Mike, how is the President going to explain congressional skepticism over the mission? How is he going to

explain that to these guys as they head off --

MR. MCCURRY: Well, I think he's going to -- he said today he's going to tell them that they're going to accomplish a difficult mission that many people have questions about because it is a conflict that is complicated in a part of the world that is not easy for many Americans to understand.

But, again, he is confident that as they learn more, as Americans will because they will be concerned about our forces who are deployed there, they will understand more of the nature of the mission, the fact that they are there to protect the peace and to help keep people alive. And Americans, as they come to understand that, we believe, will be supportive.

Q Mike, before we leave Ireland, I want to ask you one more question on this trip . Politically Americans don't usually vote foreign policy. Do you see any -- even if that wasn't the intent of the trip, do you see any political benefit to the President --

MR. MCCURRY: The question is, do we see any, quote, unquote, "political benefit" from the trip. Look, everyone in this room can write that piece as well as I could comment on it. I strongly suspect that in the long run, people feel better about their president, and they know the president is conducting foreign policy as effectively as Bill Clinton is conducting it now.

Q But what about the -- specifically, Irish American vote? Do you think that this enables you to make some inroads there? The Democrats have been losing a lot of support --

MR. MCCURRY: I have absolutely no way of predicting. I think it would a good -- good now in the aftermath of this trip for many of your news organizations to go talk to the Irish American community and assess that.

Q Well, Mike, didn't the President himself supply the analysis today when he said for every Irish person in Ireland there are 12 Americans with Irish roots --

MR. MCCURRY: No, that was demography, not politics. What else? (Laughter.)

Q -- trip for nothing?

Q -- man here, you or -- (laughter).

MR. MCCURRY: No. You guys can write that. I'm not going to help you. If you want to write that story, write that story.

Q How would you sum up the President's feelings about his achievements on this island --

MR. MCCURRY: The President, in private to many of us, has been as noticeably enthusiastic as he has been when you have seen him publicly. He is struck, first and foremost, by the people that he has encountered. And for him, no matter how important the investment of time and effort connected to the peace process, there is nothing that makes it quite so tangible or meaningful as to look into the faces of those children and

those people that he's seen in these crowds, and to be told thank you, and to be asked, as he was asked often yesterday, don't forget us, stay with us.

That made the biggest impression on the President, and it, I think, doubled his determination to do exactly that -- to recognize that this is, as Prime Minister Bruton said today, a process; it is not peace. And to get to the point of peace will require a lot more hard work in the process that now is aimed at peace.

Q -- defense appropriations bill contained a provision that directs the Pentagon not to pay \$31 million in bonuses to Lockheed-Martin. Is that the end of it -- you're not going to pay them that bonus now?

MR. MCCURRY: That's a specific provision that I know we are interested in and I know you are interested in, and I don't have an answer to that. I'll have to try to get an answer.

Q -- get an answer --

MR. MCCURRY: I imagine that it has now been addressed or may have been addressed within the last hour at the Pentagon.

Q Mike, the President was asked this morning about what he was going to say -- whether he had any casualty estimates. He didn't answer that -- (inaudible) -- question. Can you give us an answer.

MR. MCCURRY: The President -- the President -- in a multi-part question -- got a question on casualties today. The President, to my knowledge -- nor has anyone in the administration publicly discussed casualty estimates that have been reviewed by military planners. And I would save that question, or I will save that question for tomorrow and see whether that's something -- the briefing that he receives from General Joulwan addresses.

Q Mike, can you also get a breakdown of the types of casualties from the past deployments -- Haiti, Somalia, Panama, Grenada?

MR. MCCURRY: I would ask that you direct that over to the Pentagon. They would have more accurate information on that. I just don't have it -- don't have it here, and we would get it from Pentagon. And they will be working later in the evening tonight so it would be easier to get it from them.

Anything else? Okay, one last --

Q They announced that Mary Robinson was coming to Washington in June. Are there any plans to possibly invite Bruton also to come, or an effort to have Major and Bruton come together, perhaps?

MR. MCCURRY: She will be invited to come for a formal state visit. And I believe the tentative date for planning purposes is June 13th. The President extended that invitation to day and also reviewed her visit with the Taoiseach, and I don't know whether or not there would be any effort to bring the head of government with the head of state; but it is -- as a state visit, I suspect not. Of course, the President will

have opportunities between now and June to see Prime Minister Bruton again. That was about President Mary Robinson.

Q He comes for Saint Patrick's Day, doesn't he, anyway, right?

MR. MCCURRY: He traditionally does, yes.

All right, everyone, goodnight.

Q Did the President call Dole --

MR. MCCURRY: The President indicated to me last night that he did want to -- he was thinking of calling President Dole and thanking both him and Senator McCain --

Q President Dole?

MR. MCCURRY: President Dole, it's a Freudian slip.

He didn't -- I don't know whether he had the opportunity to do that or not, because he did have a chance shortly thereafter to thank Senator Dole -- Senator Dole -- publicly.

Q Are you as tired as you sound?

MR. MCCURRY: Am I as tired as I sound? Obviously.

END

7:13 P.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Dublin, Ireland)

For Immediate Release

December 1, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN ADDRESS TO THE IRISH PARLIAMENT

Dail Chamber at Leinster House
Dublin, Ireland

5:30 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Speaker Comhaile, you appear to be someone who can be trusted with the budget. (Laughter and applause.) Such are the vagaries of faith which confront us all. (Laughter and applause.)

To the Taoiseach, the Tanaiste, members of the Dail and the Seanad, head of the Senate: I'm honored to be joined here, as all of you know, by my wife, members of our Cabinet and members of the United States Congress of both parties -- the congressional congregation chaired by Congressman Walsh -- they are up there. They got an enormous laugh out of the comments of the Comhaile. (Laughter.) For different reasons they were laughing. (Laughter.)

I thank you for the honor of inviting me here, and I am especially pleased to be here at this moment in your history -- before the elected representatives of a strong, confident, democratic Ireland; a nation today playing a greater role in world affairs than ever before.

We live in a time of immense hope and immense possibility; a time captured, I believe, in the wonderful lines of your poet, Seamus Heaney, when he talked of the "longed-for tidal wave of justice can rise up and hope and history rhyme." That is the time in which we live.

It's the world's good fortune that Ireland has become a force for fulfilling that hope and redeeming the possibilities of mankind -- a force for good far beyond your numbers. And we are all the better for it.

Today I have traveled from the North where I have seen the difference Ireland's leadership has made for peace there. At the lighting of Belfast's Christmas tree for tens of thousands of people there, in the faces of two communities divided by bitter history, we saw the radiance of optimism born, especially among the young of both communities. In the voices of the Shankill and the Falls, there was a harmony of new hope which we saw. I saw that the people want peace -- and they will have it.

George Bernard Shaw, with his wonderful Irish love of irony, said, "Peace is not only better than war, but

infinitely more arduous." Well, today, I thank Prime Minister Bruton and former Prime Minister Reynolds and Deputy Prime Minister Spring and Britain's Prime Minister Major, and others, but especially these, for their unfailing dedication to the arduous task of peace.

From the Downing Street Declaration to the historic cease-fire that began 15 months ago, to Tuesday's announcement of the twin-track initiative which will open a dialogue in which all voices can be heard and all viewpoints can be represented, they have taken great risks without hesitation. They've chosen a harder road than the comfortable path of pleasant, present pieties. But what they have done is right. And the children and grandchildren of this generation of Irish will reap the rewards.

Today, I renew America's pledge. Your road is our road. We want to walk it together. We will continue our support -- political, financial and moral -- to those who take risks for peace. I am proud that our administration was the first to support in the executive budget sent to the Congress the International Fund for Ireland -- because we believe that those on both sides of the border who have been denied so much for so long should see that their risks are rewarded with the tangible benefits of peace.

In another context a long time ago, Mr. Yeats reminded us that too long a sacrifice can make a stone of the heart. We must not let the hearts of the young people who yearn for peace turn to stone.

I want to thank you here, not only for the support you've given your leaders in working for peace in Northern Ireland, but for the extraordinary work you have done to wage peace over war all around the world. Almost 1,500 years ago, Ireland stood as a lone beacon of civilization to a continent shrouded in darkness.

It has been said, probably without overstatement, that the Irish, in that dark period, saved civilization. Certainly you saved the records of our civilization -- our shared ideas, are shared ideals, our priceless recordings of them.

Now, in our time, when so many nations seek to overcome conflict and barbarism, the light still shines out of Ireland. Since 1958, almost 40 years now, there has never been a single, solitary day that Irish troops did not stand watch for peace on a distant shore. In Lebanon, in Cyprus, in Somalia, in so many other places, more than 41,000 Irish military and police personnel have served over the years as peacekeepers -- an immense contribution for a nation whose Armed Forces today number fewer than 13,000.

I know that during your presidency of the European Union next year, Ireland will help to lead the effort to build security for a stable, strong and free Europe. For all -- all you have done, and for your steadfast devotion to peace, I salute the people of Ireland.

Our nation also has a vital stake in a Europe that is stable, strong and free -- something which is now in reach for the first time since nation-states appeared on the continent of Europe so many centuries ago. But we know such a Europe can never be built as long as conflict tears at the heart of the continent in Bosnia. The fire there threatens the emerging

democracies of the region and our allies nearby. And it also breaks our heart and violates our conscience.

That is why, now that the parties have committed themselves to peace, we in the United States are determined to help them find the way back from savagery to civility, to end the atrocities and heal the wounds of that terrible war. That is why we are preparing our forces to participate there, not in fighting a war, but in securing a peace rooted in the agreement they have freely made.

Standing here, thinking about the devastation in Bosnia, the long columns of hopeless refugees streaming from their homes, it is impossible not to recall the ravages that were visited on your wonderful country 150 years ago -- not by war, of course, but by natural disaster when the crops rotted black in the ground.

Today, still, the Great Famine is seared in the memory of the Irish nation and all caring peoples. The memory of a million dead, nearly two million more forced into exile -- these memories will remain forever vivid to all of us whose heritage is rooted here.

But as an American, I must say as I did just a few moments ago in Dublin downtown, that in that tragedy came the supreme gift of the Irish to the United States. The men, women and children who braved the coffin ships when Galway and Mayo emptied; when Kerry and Cork took flight, brought a life and a spirit that has enormously enriched the life of our country.

The regimental banner brought by President Kennedy that hangs in this house reminds us of the nearly 200,000 Irishmen who took up arms in our Civil War. Many of them barely were off the ships when they joined the Union forces. They fought and died at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville and Gettysburg. Theirs was only the first of countless contributions to our nation from those who fled the famine. But that contribution enabled us to remain a nation and to be here with you today in partnership for peace for you nation and for the peoples who live on this island.

The Irish have been building America ever since -- our cities, our industry, our culture, our public life. I am proud that the delegation that has accompanied me here today includes the latest generation of Irish American leaders in the United States, men and women who remain devoted to increasing our strength and safeguarding our liberty.

In the last century, it was often said that the Irish who fled the great hunger were searching for casleain na n-or -- castles of gold. I cannot say that they found those castles of gold in the United States, but I can tell you this -- they built a lot of castles of gold for the United States in the prosperity and freedom of our nation. We are grateful for what they did and for the deep ties to Ireland that they gave us in their sons and daughters.

Now we seek to repay that in some small way -- by being a partner with you for peace. We seek somehow to communicate to every single person who lives here that we want for all of your children the right to grow up in an Ireland where this entire island gives every man and woman the right to live up to the fullest of their God-given abilities and gives people the

right to live in equality and freedom and dignity.

That is the tide of history. We must make sure that the tide runs strong here, for no people deserve the brightest future more than the Irish.

God bless you and thank you. (Applause.)

END

4:45 P.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Dublin, Ireland)

For Immediate Release

December 1, 1995

PRESS CONFERENCE BY THE PRESIDENT
AND PRIME MINISTER BRUTON OF IRELAND

Steps of Government Buildings
Dublin, Ireland

1:20 P.M. (L)

PRIME MINISTER BRUTON: Ladies and gentlemen, Mr. President: I'd like to welcome you warmly to Ireland to thank you for all that you have done to help bring peace to our country, to thank you for all that you are continuing to do to bring the people that live on this island closer together and improve the relations that exist between this island and its neighbors.

I'm delighted that it was possible for the British Prime Minister, John Major to whom I pay tribute here, and myself to agree on a framework for moving forward towards a settlement of the differences that have existed on this island for 300 years now, and the fact that we were able to do that on the eve of your visit is no accident. Because we both realized, both John Major and I, that the sort of support that you have been able to give, yesterday and today, to the people of this island, searching for peace, searching for reconciliation, searching to heal the wounds that have been there for so long, and looking positively to the future, we both appreciate it that your support gives them encouragement, gives us encouragement and is something for which we, from the bottom of our hearts sincerely, thank you. Mr. President

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. I'd like to begin by thanking the Prime Minister for his warm welcome and more importantly, I want to say a special word of thanks to all of the people of Ireland and the people of Northern Ireland who have shown such extraordinary warmth and generosity to Hillary and me and now our American delegation.

This has been an extraordinary experience for us, and I will never forget it. I thank the Prime Minister for what he said, but the truth is that the credit for this latest progress belongs to the Taoiseach and to Prime Minister Major. They announced this twin-track initiative to advance the peace process of Northern Ireland shortly before I arrived here. It gives the parties a chance to engage in an honest dialogue where all their views are represented and everybody's voice can be heard. And I certainly hope that it will be successful.

Let me also say, as you know, it establishes a means to address the issue of decommissioning, and I am gratified that my good friend, Senator George Mitchell is going to leave the

international body to deal with that issue. He is seizing this opportunity already. He has begun to organize the effort with other members, and I expect him to be at work shortly.

Let me again say, I know that I speak for all Americans who want peace and ultimate reconciliation on this island when I say that the Taoiseach has shown great courage in the pursuit of peace and we intend to do whatever we can to help him, Prime Minister Major, Mr. Spring and all others who are working for peace to succeed.

The United States is honored to stand with those who take risks for peace, and we are doing it all across the world -- in the Middle East, in Bosnia and here. It is a difficult road to travel. It is always easier to stay in the known way and to play on the known fears. But the right thing to do is to do what is being done here, and I applaud it and I want to do everything I can to support it.

Let me also say that we had the opportunity to discuss the situation in Bosnia, and I described as best I could the terms of the peace agreement and what we intend to do in the United States with our allies to implement it in a military way, and what nonmilitary tasks have to be undertaken.

I am very hopeful that after the peace agreement is signed in Paris in just a couple of weeks, we will see a dramatic change in that war-torn land. Let me say that the kind of thing that the international community is going to have to do in Bosnia is consistent with what Ireland has done every day for nearly 40 years now.

Irish peacekeepers have helped people to live in peace from Cyprus to Somalia, to feed the hungry, to do so much that most people in the world don't even know the people of Ireland have done. And again, I want to say on behalf of the American people, I am very, very grateful for that.

So we had a good meeting, we've got a wonderful relationship, the sun is shining, and I hope it's a good omen for peace in Northern Ireland. Thank you. (Applause.)

Q The impasse has been broken at the moment, but the roadblock is still there. Senator Mitchell's committee is going to start its work. If at the end of the day the deadlock is still there, is your government, your administration prepared to act as persuaders to get to all party talks without preconditions?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, first of all, let me say I think we ought to give these folks a chance to succeed. We shouldn't be talking about if, at the end of the day, the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the Taoiseach have announced, I think, a brilliant formulation which permits people to go forward in dealing with all of these issues without giving up any of the things they say they believe in and have to have.

I think we ought to give this process a chance to succeed. If it fails, then we'll reconnoiter and see what to do next. But I think the lesson of the last 15 months is that the people like peace, they like the absence of violence, and they want to go forward, not backward. They want to deal with the issues that are still before them. So, I'm inclined to believe it will succeed. If it doesn't, then you can ask me that

question.

Q What has your visit done, in concrete terms, to change the way the United States will engage with the process? How has it affected where you go from here?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know that the visit has done anything to change, in concrete terms, the way we are engaged except, I believe, that since we have a quite a large number of members of Congress here, and quite a large number of business people here, and quite a large contingent of people in the news media here, all seeing what is going on in Northern Ireland, I think it will deepen the support of the American people for our constructive involvement, and it might well intensify the number of -- the pace at which people in the private sector are willing to make investments and try to bring the economic benefits of peace to the people there. But we are committed, we have been committed and we're going to stay committed. And we'll be there until the work is finished.

Q Mr. President, back home Republicans in Congress are expressing concern about snipers and bombs and ethnic hatreds that American forces are going to face in Bosnia. When you go to Germany tomorrow, what will you tell the American troops about the dangers they face and have you heard any estimates about the casualties that they might suffer?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, first of all, the American troops that have trained to go to Bosnia know every bit as much about the dangers they might face as I do. What I will tell them is that it is not a risk-free mission. Indeed, being in the military is not risk-free. We lose a significant number of our finest young people every year just in the training exercises because of the inherent danger of moving around and doing the things that they do in the air, on the land and at sea.

I will tell them that we have done everything we can to minimize the risks; we have guaranteed for them very robust rules of engagement so that if anyone attempts to interfere with their mission, or to take action against them, they can respond with decisive, indeed with overwhelming force and that their peace and their security, their safety, is uppermost in my mind and in the mind of their general officers who have done all the planning for this mission, but that this is a mission very much in America's interest where we can make a huge difference and stop the worst slaughter in Europe since World War II and that I'm very proud of them for doing it.

Q Mr. President, are you escalating the U.S. involvement in Bosnia even before we go there? Suddenly, 20,000 troops have become 25,000 and the cost has gone from \$1.5 billion to \$3 billion.

THE PRESIDENT: No, well, first of all, I don't think it's going to be at \$3 billion but we -- the numbers keep getting bandied around here. Some people who count the money in Europe would be double counting it. Some of this money is going to be spent anyway. I don't think we should count as a cost of the operation in Bosnia, for example, the salary of someone who's going to get paid their salary whether they're there or not.

The 25,000, let me say -- well, I have always said we would have 20,000 people in the theatre. We have been asked how many people are necessary to support them. And we will have

-- we'll have another roughly 5,000 people outside of Bosnia in support of those who are in Bosnia. But they will not be in the Bosnian theatre. There may be some extra costs associated with them that are sizeable enough, and they ought to be included in the bill that we tell Congress we expect to pay here.

But if you look at it, again I will say, this is an appropriate level of contribution. This is no more than a third -- may wind up being considerably less than a third of the total contribution depending on how many other nations participate. You heard the British Prime Minister say two days ago that he expected that Great Britain, a country with a population of roughly -- well, less than a fourth of ours, is going to send 13,000 troops to the theater. So the Europeans are going to take the major load, and we should support them.

Q It seems that this historic trip by President Clinton to Ireland has facilitated an agreement between yourself and John Major. Is that not ominous for the future of the peace process if it takes President Clinton's arrival to produce that level of movement forward? When we get to the really serious negotiations, won't it be more difficult?

PRIME MINISTER BRUTON: I think the ingredients for the agreement have been there for quite some time. But I think it is the case that we both recognize that the President's visit to Britain and Ireland was an opportunity for both of us to launch in the best possible circumstances an initiative which we were probably going to have to agree anyway very shortly. But we were able to do it on the eve of President Clinton's visit in such a fashion as to ensure that his presence here has given it the fairest possible wind.

Q Mr. Prime Minister, why is it necessary for the United States for the third time in this century to send troops to Europe? Why aren't the Europeans capable, in your opinion, of resolving these kinds of problems in Bosnia by themselves?

PRIME MINISTER BRUTON: I think it's important to recognize that if you have genocide of the kind that was occurring in Bosnia, that's not just a European problem, that's a problem for the world at large. It's a problem for the common civilization which we all share. It's a common problem for all of us who have democratic values -- democratic values which stem in Europe chiefly from the inspiration of the American War of Independence and the United States Declaration of Independence. Those values are universal and, therefore, there is a universal responsibility, in my view, for all of us to do whatever we can in proportion to our means to facilitate the making of peace.

It is very important also to stress that the role that the United States, the European Union, and others have played in Bosnia is one of facilitating peacemaking. The peace is not being made by the United States, no more than it is being made by the European Union. The peace in Bosnia is being made by the people of Bosnia themselves. And that is the same situation in this country. We provide a framework; they must do the deal.

THE PRESIDENT: And I just want to mention one other thing, too. I want you to think about these points: Number one, at the end of World War II, we established NATO, recognizing that we would try to stay together dealing with common security concerns. Admittedly, at the time, we thought those concerns might play themselves out in Central Europe in the contest

between what was then the Soviet Union and the Western bloc, the NATO bloc. But we understood that we had shared concerns that would manifest themselves first on the continent of Europe, but could become much more immediate for us.

Now, the NATO powers have voted among themselves to work with others through the United Nations and on our own in brokering this peace agreement and trying to implement it. This is consistent with what we have done since World War II.

The second thing I'd like to ask every American is how you would have felt -- I would like to ask every American how would you have felt when President Bush sent out the call for help in Desert Storm, which was a war, not a peacekeeping measure, if they said: You handle that; you have more money, more soldiers, more interest there; you're concerned about the oil; you waste more oil than the rest of us do; you guys handle that?

Or think about all the countries that helped us in Haiti who didn't say: I'm sorry, that's not our problem; that's your problem; you have the refugees in the United States; we don't have them; they're on your shore; they're your problem; we can't be bothered with that.

But instead, we have had dozens of countries rally to the United States to work with us in common cause when their values were violated by things that were of more immediate concern to us. That's what they did in Desert Storm. That's what they did in Haiti.

And I will say, every day -- every day -- for almost 40 years, there has been a citizen of Ireland in some distant country working for peacekeeping in places where the United States did not go. And they did not ask, what is the immediate interest of the people of Ireland in doing that.

So I think the United States has been very well-served by countries that have been willing to stand up with us, to stand up for good things and right things that also affect our interest. And I believe we should do this now.

PRIME MINISTER BRUTON: Thank you. We must respect the timetable. I'm sorry. Thank you very much, indeed. Thank you. (Applause.)

END

1:41 P.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Dublin, Ireland)

For Immediate Release

December 1, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
WITH PRIME MINISTER BRUTON
IN PHOTO OPPORTUNITY

Government Buildings
Dublin, Ireland

12:29 P.M. (L)

Q Welcome to Ireland.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. I'm delighted to be here.

Q Did you enjoy your trips to Belfast and Derry yesterday?

THE PRESIDENT: Very, very much.

Q How significant do you think it's going to be for the peace process, your visit to Belfast yesterday? Both of you, would you answer briefly?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I hope it will be very significant, but I think, frankly, it will have more meaning because of what the Taoiseach and Prime Minister Major did in launching the twin-track proposal. They gave me something to talk about, to try to advance the peace process, as well as to hold out the hope that the United States would obviously support both communities in Northern Ireland if they would work toward peace.

It was a magnificent day, and it proved to me once again that people sometimes are far ahead of those of us in political life in their yearnings for the right things.

Q Taoiseach, what do you think of yesterday?

MR. BRUTON: I think that the fact that the President came to Belfast and to Derry gave to the people of Northern Ireland who made the peace themselves that sense of international encouragement and support that is so important. They now see what they have won by making peace. So the recognition that came to those people from the most powerful, most significant politician in the world -- if he came in their midst, that showed in the most tangible way possible an appreciation of the dividend of peace. And it was a great tribute for the President to pay.

And I would have to say I think also that the President has played a key role in bringing peace about, and he is now paying an equally important role in entrenching the peace and bringing reconciliation closer.

Q Mr. President, do you believe that your visit and

indeed all-party talks can begin by the February deadline? Would you be very anxious that those talks would begin?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, of course, I hope that the process will succeed. I support it strongly. The Taoiseach and the Prime Minister took some risks, both of them did, to try to keep the peace process going. It is plainly in the interest of the citizens of Northern Ireland and of all those who wish them well here in Ireland and, frankly, throughout Great Britain and throughout the world. It's a very important thing. So, of course, I hope it will work, and I'm going to do everything I can to be supportive.

* * * * *

Q Will you be talking about Bosnia today, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: I expect we will, yes.

Q What are some of the issues that you want to discuss about Bosnia?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I just want to basically give the Prime Minister and update on where we are now. And of course, I'm going, when I leave here, to see our troops in Germany who are preparing, and then on Sunday to the European Union. And soon I expect Ireland will be in the leadership of the European Union at a time when we will be, obviously, just in the throes of implementing what we're supposed to do in Bosnia. So we have a lot to talk about.

Q Are you optimistic about what you saw on Capitol Hill yesterday and what you know of how it went with your advisors testifying?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, I -- first of all, I thank Senator Dole and Senator McCain for their willingness to support that resolution, which we certainly agree with. And I'm very -- I'm gratified by their response. And I also am pleased that we're having all these hearings on Capitol Hill and that the witnesses are going up; they're giving the best answers they can about what we've done. And I'm looking forward to getting my briefing tomorrow from General Joulwan to see what the NATO planners finally do with the military plan that I authorized General Shalikashvili to support.

So I think right now we're moving toward implementation of the peace agreement. I feel good about it.

Q -- to generate support in the House as well as the Senate?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I take it one step at a time. I think we're making progress. I think we're in better shape as days go by, and I think that the decision by Senator Dole and Senator McCain will help immeasurably, I think, to build the kind of bipartisan support that we need to make this an American effort.

I can tell you this -- as I have been in London and Ireland, I can see that, in addition to the overwhelming preoccupation we've all had with our efforts in Northern Ireland, the ability of the United States to play a leading role in

partnership with Europe in dealing with the world's problems in the years ahead is certainly heavily dependent upon our doing our part here in Bosnia, especially after we hosted and did so much to broker the peace.

Q When you talked to the leaders last night in Belfast, were you encouraged? Was there anything that you told them to hold back their old grudges or -- do you have hopes for the future?

THE PRESIDENT: Let me just say -- yes, I was encouraged because I think that Mr. Bruton and Mr. Major came up with a brilliant formulation which enables them to continue to have dialogue with one another without giving up their position. It seems to me that is the genius of that -- and then asking Senator Mitchell, along with two other very distinguished people, to be on this arms decommissioning work, so that it can succeed in parallel. I think it was great foreign relations.

Obviously, none of the people with whom I spoke yesterday changed their positions in their brief meetings with me. The point I tried to make to them was that the two Prime Ministers had given them an honorable way to continue to engage in peace talks without giving up any of their previous positions; and if they looked in the streets of Belfast and Derry, they could see that the young people of their country, without regard to whether they were Protestant or Catholic, desperately wanted this to be resolved. They want to live together; they want to live on equal and honorable terms, and they want to live in peace.

Those were the only points that I could make, and I made them as forcefully as I could.

Q If you would permit me, Mr. President, the decommissioning issue is going to be a very hard nut to crack, isn't it?

THE PRESIDENT: Sure. But that's why they --

Q How do you do it?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, that's why they set it up the way they did. I think it's not just a rational issue, it's an emotional issue. And that's why, I will say again, what the United States -- the role of the United States is not to tell anybody how to solve a specific problem, including the decommissioning problem. We've tried to support those who are taking risks for peace.

The two Prime Ministers have set up a process at considerable risk to themselves which permit all the parties to be heard and permit this very difficult decommissioning issue to be dealt with, and everyone can now proceed forward without giving up any of their own positions at the moment. That is what I thought was so important. We were stalled for too long.

And as I said in Derry, if you look at that statue -- those two statues of reconciliation there, they're reaching out and they're not quite touching. But people are not statues. When you get close like this, you don't stay in that position. You either shake hands, or you drift apart. They've given this process a chance to move to a handshake, and that's all we can hope for. Now we just have to redouble our efforts and keep our

attitudes proper and remember the message of the people in the streets, which is that they want this done. They're not interested in all the last details. They want it worked out so they can live on equal and honorable terms and live in peace. And I think that's what the rest of us have to try to give them.

PRIME MINISTER BRUTON: I just want to say the key word is that this is a process, a process in which people can move closer together; a process in which people can give as well as take.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

12:38 P.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary
(Dublin, Ireland)

For Immediate Release

December 1, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN PHOTO OPPORTUNITY WITH PRESIDENT ROBINSON

Aras An Uachtarain
Dublin, Ireland

11:07 A.M. (L)

Q Mr. President, how did you like the reception when you came in?

THE PRESIDENT: I liked it very well. I was delighted to see the people in the streets and delighted to be with President Robinson again.

Q What's on the agenda for the discussions this morning?

THE PRESIDENT: More of the same. (Laughter.)

Q How do you like Senator Dole's support of Bosnia?

THE PRESIDENT: I'm very gratified by it. I appreciate it very much.

END

11:08 A.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

November 30, 1995

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

I have decided this evening to approve the Department of Defense appropriations bill. This legislation is vital to fund our national defense, so that the United States remains the strongest force for peace in the world.

This bill provides for a strong national defense, supports our commitments to the quality of life of our forces and their families, maintains high military readiness, and funds investment programs necessary to modernize the equipment used by our combat forces. Continuing American global leadership is ensured by the support the bill provides for our forces.

I made this decision because my Administration has reached agreement with Congressional leaders to provide funding, out of the funds contained in this bill, for the troop deployment and other efforts to secure peace in Bosnia. The pressing demands of peace and of our military service men and women compel my approval of this measure.

I have expressed my strong concerns that this legislation contains excessive spending for projects that are not currently needed for our defense. I will forward to Congress rescission legislation that would eliminate funding for those projects, and I urge Congress to act on it. We should spend no more than we need to at a time when we are determined to balance the budget.

I am also concerned that section 8117 of the Act contains certain reporting requirements that could materially interfere with or impede this country's ability to provide necessary support to another nation or international organization in connection with peacekeeping or humanitarian assistance activities otherwise authorized by law. I will interpret this provision consistent with my constitutional authority to conduct the foreign relations of the United States and my responsibilities as Commander in Chief.

In addition, I remain very concerned about provisions of the Act that restrict service women and female dependents of military personnel from obtaining privately funded abortions in military facilities overseas, except in cases in which the mother's life is endangered or the pregnancy is the result of rape or incest. In many countries, these U.S. facilities provide the only accessible, safe source for these medical services.

My Administration is continuing discussions with the Congress on the remaining spending bills, in order to protect necessary priorities in education, the environment and law enforcement. Over the past several days we have made progress in good faith discussions with the leadership of the House and Senate Appropriations Committees to close the gap between us on these issues. The decision I am making tonight is consistent with our understanding that these discussions will continue with the goal of reaching a satisfactory conclusion as rapidly as possible. We should promptly complete this task, so there is no unnecessary shutdown of the government.

-30-30-30-

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Belfast, Northern Ireland)

For Immediate Release

November 30, 1995

PRESS BRIEFING
BY
MIKE MCCURRY

Europa Hotel
Belfast, Northern Ireland

11:08 P.M. (L)

MR. MCCURRY: I'm going to be very brief because everybody is working. Let me -- I'll start right at the top by saying the President intends to have -- the President has just finished his last meeting of the day with one of the representatives of Northern Ireland's political parties, and he will now go back to the room. I expect him to have a conversation in a short while with Chief of Staff -- I expect to have a -- he's going to have a conversation with Chief of Staff Panetta in a short while, and I will know more after that conversation about the DOD appropriations bill. The President wants to hear from Chief of Staff Panetta about how his conversations went today on Capitol Hill. So I have nothing for you on that right now.

Q Will you come back?

MR. MCCURRY: I will come back when I've got something to say on that.

Q What about Senator Dole's decision to support the deployment?

MR. MCCURRY: Well, we understand that he indicated today that he would be introducing a formal resolution that would provide the expression of support that the President has sought. Obviously, the President would welcome that expression of support, and he's gratified for the way that both the Senate Majority Leader and the Speaker have encouraged members of Congress to keep an open mind and have worked with the administration to address our serious responsibilities to participate in the implementation of a new and fragile peace in the Balkans.

Q Don't you have a little more feeling about this in view of the fact that you have the support of the major spokesman --

MR. MCCURRY: We believe it's important. I think that it's clear that Senator Dole indicated that he had some reservations. But we've had very good and forthright conversations with the Majority Leader on those issues. We believe we can address those issues and reservations that the Senate might wish to state in a resolution of approval. And we're gratified that the -- at least

the initial conversations about the text of this resolution have been very productive.

Q May I have a follow-up? Do we have mission creep here now? You've gone up to 25,000 troops and you've raised the ante to \$3 billion instead of \$1 billion -- whatever -- \$1.5 billion.

MR. MCCURRY: No.

Q Well, why are you going to keep increasing everything?

MR. MCCURRY: The size of the force -- look, this is a very large and complicated deployment. And most of the discussions we've had have addressed the issue of what force would be present on the ground in Bosnia, and there have been operating in theater already for some time efforts like the no-fly zone enforcement and other efforts associated with some of the U.N. humanitarian relief.

Now, I'll have to check with Pentagon folks on what they're saying on the numbers, but they may be calculating the numbers that are related to overall theater operations and providing information on that. I don't have anything further on that. There have been in the last -- over a week ago, the discussions about some of the other support activities in addition to troops on the ground. The troops on the ground are roughly the same.

Q You haven't announced a new number, you're essentially still saying 20,000?

MR. MCCURRY: I'm just saying that the force on the ground implementing the peace, doing the activities that are essentially described in the Dayton documents related to the IFOR are roughly and approximately those that have been discussed in the past -- hopefully, 60,000, of which a third is U.S.

Q Can you walk us through the meetings tonight with the leaders?

MR. MCCURRY: Yes, I can. One way or another, today throughout the day, the President has had good opportunities to encounter the leadership or representatives of the leadership of virtually all of the major political parties in Northern Ireland. He just this evening had privately, in addition to the encounters he had tonight at the reception, one-on-one meetings with Gerry Adams of Sinn Fein, with David Trimble of the Ulster Unionist Party and with the Reverend Ian Paisley of the Democratic Unionist Party.

Each of those meetings, or the President's time with each of those three leaders was roughly about 20 minutes together, and the conversations were an opportunity first to review the peace process as it stands now and for the President to say in private and very candidly to each of these leaders much of what he has already said publicly, encouraging them to make use of the process that has been designed as a result of the Major-Bruton initiative to encourage them to use that process to address the differences that do exist, and to, in that process, raise the issues that have proved to be intractable in the past as these parties seek a dialogue that could lead to peace.

So a lot of the specific issues that you've heard each of the parties talk about publicly, the President's view is this is a process that can accommodate those different points of view, and all of those points of view can be heard and all sides can be listened to because, as the President pointed out in one of his meetings tonight, if you're not talking together and building on the momentum of this process, the only alternative is a far worse alternative, which is a return to violence. And if there is one thing that the President is confident he has heard over and over again from the people of Northern Ireland is they do not want to return to violence and to Troubles.

The President's firm belief is that a peace process in which there is a dialogue is the way to keep the momentum moving forward towards peace, because in that type of dialogue, parties that now are suspicious and distrustful with each other can certainly gain better understanding, common ground and can gain confidence in each other.

And that is the point in private that he made in one way or another to all three of the leaders that he saw tonight, and, indeed, to everyone he saw today. He saw John Hume from the Social Democratic and Labour Party earlier today. In East Belfast he spoke, so I think you're aware what he said. John Alderdice was at the East Belfast Enterprise Park, the leader of the Alliance Party, and the President also had a good opportunity to chat with him tonight at the reception. David Irvine of the Progressive Unionist Party was at the reception, as was Gary McMichael of the Ulster Democratic Party.

And in one way or another today, I think the President has reached out and touched base with each of these parties vital to the political life of Northern Ireland, and in each case has sought their views on the peace process and the future of the peace process and sought their perspective on how the process could be used to address the issues that are of very real and specific concern to each of the parties.

Q If you back up to Paisley, did Paisley change his view that he doesn't want to attend any meeting with Sinn Fein until the arms issue is settled? And did he give Clinton a letter in some way protesting the way the peace talk negotiations have been handled so far?

MR. MCCURRY: I do not believe he gave the President a letter. He did present him with a brochure that he described as being a summary of points of view of people in his community. But it was a rather large, printed blue brochure. It didn't seem to be a letter.

As to the first party of your question, I believe it's fair to say that Reverend Paisley stated to the President many of the views that he has shared publicly.

Q Mike, did Paisley go into the reception after his meeting with the President? Do you know whether he was in the room with Gerry Adams at the same time?

MR. MCCURRY: He was not. He was -- the room in which the President met privately with each leader was just adjacent to the room where the reception was. The President met with Reverend Paisley and his son, Ian Paisley, Jr. And Ian Paisley, Jr. did attend the reception and was there with the leaders of the other organizations.

Q -- ahead of time?

MR. MCCURRY: No.

Q Mike, so they were both in the room at the same time -- Ian Paisley and Gerry Adams?

MR. MCCURRY: No, there's -- the room in which the President met with Reverend Paisley was just off of and adjacent to the meeting.

Q When he went into the reception were they in the same reception?

MR. MCCURRY: Not to my knowledge. I believe that Reverend Paisley exited and his son went to the reception.

Q Mike, did Adams indicate any willingness to accept the agreement or show any goodwill that --

MR. MCCURRY: I'm sorry, say --

Q Did Adams indicate any willingness to accept the agreement?

MR. MCCURRY: The President has a good discussion of the process and was very encouraged by Mr. Adams's response. I'll let Mr. Adams speak for himself, as I believe he is publicly tonight. But the President was encouraged by his response and felt that there was -- while not getting into a specific endorsement of the Bruton-Major proposal, which the President did not seek at this meeting, it was clear that Mr. Adams has a very continuing and positive attitude towards the peace process itself.

Q Mike, you didn't say that he was encouraged by the response from Reverend Paisley. Would you say he was discouraged by the response?

MR. MCCURRY: No, I think he listened very carefully and very respectfully to Reverend Paisley's views and then, in turn, encouraged Reverend Paisley to think about the utility of the only process available at this point to advance the interests of those who prefer peace to violence. And he made the point that if he understood anything about what Reverend Paisley has said publicly is that he eschews violence.

Q What about Mr. Trimble? Did Mr. Trimble indicate his willingness to accept the process?

MR. MCCURRY: I believe, again, the President was very encouraged by the session that he had just now, just completed minutes ago with Mr. Trimble. There was -- it was clear that there was a willingness to continue discussions, but I would not want to speak for that party and indicate any formal endorsement of the twin-track process.

I believe all of these parties in one way or another are still wrestling with the dynamic that now exists after the announcement by Prime Minister Bruton of Prime Minister Major. And what the President thought it important for him to do tonight was to encourage all of them to think about the ways in which that process could be used to address their specific concerns and

those issues that have proved intractable in the past. And that is exactly what he did. And I would not suggest that the President used his opportunity privately with any of these leaders to make substantive points or to pressure them or to try to ask them to do things beyond thinking about the utility of the process itself.

Q Can you preview tomorrow, and explain if anything that the President heard or saw today will influence --

MR. MCCURRY: I'm sorry, I can't. I'll ask Mary Ellen to come up and do that because I'm still trying to figure out what's going on today.

Q Mike, I'm sorry, was it 20 minutes for all three or --

MR. MCCURRY: No, each -- he had, roughly, 20 minutes separately with each of those three, plus the time in the reception in which he was able to have private discussions with a good deal more of the leadership of the parties.

Q Just so I understand you correctly, you're saying it would be two positive responses and one negative; or one noncommittal?

MR. MCCURRY: No, I think I was so careful and adroit and bouncy as I dodged all those types of questions that you could not characterize me that way.

Q Is the President going to stay up until midnight to handle this defense thing, or will --

MR. MCCURRY: One would hope not.

Q Just for the record, the Republicans sent you their balanced budget bill that they passed today. Is there any question at all of what the President will do?

MR. MCCURRY: There's no question at all what he will do, but I'll have to confirm back at the White House that they have actually received it.

Q Mike, did the President meet with any of the Unionist leaders who have ties with the paramilitary?

MR. MCCURRY: Well, that would be an interpretation of what you consider ties. I told you exactly who --

Q Some are more closely associated.

MR. MCCURRY: I went through -- I mentioned -- I gave you the list of all of those parties that I met with, and I think you know who they are.

Q The President will veto the defense bill?

MR. MCCURRY: No, the question was about reconciliation.

Anything else? I am going to try and get an answer to your other urgent question quickly.

Q Was that the first meeting with Paisley?

MR. MCCURRY: It was. The President did indicate it was the first time met him. He said that he has known of Mr. Paisley since -- Reverend Paisley since he was first in the United Kingdom as a student back in 1969, and remarked on the fact that this was the first opportunity he had ever had to met him face to face.

Q -- met Trimble before?

MR. MCCURRY: He had seen Trimble at the White House on prior occasions and had met Adams at the St. Patrick's Day reception in the receiving line.

Q Did he find Paisley more reasonable or less reasonable than he expected?

MR. MCCURRY: I don't think he found the views as expressed by Reverend Paisley surprising because, as I said, they were very similar to some things that he has said publicly.

Q Mike, Adams's party, Sinn Fein, has indicated that sometime around Christmas they'll probably have a response to the twin-track proposal. At this point, he's treating it somewhat coolly. If Sinn Fein rejects this proposal and will not move on this, will the White House rethink its policy of letting Adams into the country? Or if the -- also if the IRA cease-fire ends, will the White House rethink the policy of letting Adams in?

MR. MCCURRY: I think I indicated to you that the President made the case he made tonight to the leadership of Sinn Fein -- and by the way, in each case the leaders that he met with were accompanied by one or more of other leadership of the parties. But the President was encouraged by the meeting, and as I say he did use the meeting as an opportunity to encourage the parties to consider the utility of the peace process that's been designed and to use it as an opportunity to raise issues that they are concerned about. The President did not press Sinn Fein for any decision about their posture on the twin-track process, but they discussed the process itself. And as I said, the President found that discussion encouraging.

Q Mike, what did Sir Patrick Mayhew do at the reception? Could you cover that?

MR. MCCURRY: He was formally the host of the reception, and the President expressed his gratitude to the Secretary for his willingness to host an occasion that was truly remarkable, if you think of the broad cross-section of political interests here in Northern Ireland that gathered together in one room.

Q But did Mayhew himself sit down with anyone, or was it simply the President?

MR. MCCURRY: I don't know if he did. But I did see, as the President went through the ropeline, Sir Patrick Mayhew did as well, and had good opportunity to have private discussions with the leaders that I mentioned, including some that the President also saw.

Okay, Mark, one last one.

Q Yes, the last one; this will probably end the briefing. Did the President actually inquire of the Air Force in gathering the information for the answer he provided the 13-year-old Ryan from Belfast -- (laughter) -- was holding extraterrestrials?

MR. MCCURRY: You're right, Mark, that ended the briefing. (Laughter.) Okay, I'll be back.

* * * * *

MR. MCCURRY: The President moments ago just completed a review of the budget discussions that have occurred back in Washington today and the status of the defense appropriations bill with Chief of Staff Panetta. They had a good conversation about some ongoing dialogue that Chief of Staff Panetta is having with Hill leadership.

The President gave Leon some pretty precise instructions on how to proceed depending on the outcome of Mr. Panetta's discussions. And given that, we will have the White House Press Office back in Washington at some point later on in the evening issue some formal statement indicating the disposition of the bill. I don't have anything further to say on it. We won't have anything further to say on it here tonight, so if you need to follow that from here, you need to remain in close contact with the Press Office back in Washington.

Q We were given to believe that earlier that Panetta had left Capitol Hill and the discussions had broken off. Is that incorrect?

MR. MCCURRY: I don't think that was incorrect at that time.

Q Were the discussions with Democrats or with Republicans?

MR. MCCURRY: He's pursuing some discussions that he's been having on and off during the day with a variety of people on the Hill. But, obviously, at this point to be of any use they'd have to be with Republicans.

Q The President has told Leon to go back and talk to Republicans, either at the Hill or by phone?

MR. MCCURRY: No, he's reviewed the situation with Mr. Panetta. They have been reviewing this before. I think he understands what the status of the discussion is right now. I think he's pretty certain himself what the eventual outcome will be depending on some last-minute discussions that are underway.

Q Is Panetta going to call the President when --before midnight to get a final approval?

MR. MCCURRY: No, he's got full authority from the President after reviewing it in detail with him to go ahead with a course of action.

Q Was the President -- and veto or -- I mean, how do you work this?

MR. MCCURRY: The President -- we know how we will proceed, and the White House Press Office in Washington will let

people know.

Q -- veto it you have to physically get it back in Washington?

MR. MCCURRY: We've taken the logistical procedures necessary to preserve the President's options.

Q -- restarting of the negotiations on DOD affect the budget negotiations that supposedly broke off --

MR. MCCURRY: You're incorrect to say "restart negotiations." I don't know what that meant. There are some ongoing discussions that are underway, and I have no idea whether or not that will affect the outcome of the President's deliberations on the bill.

Q -- encourage he sign, Mike?

MR. MCCURRY: I did not say that.

Q Who is going to be in charge of the White House Press Office tonight at midnight?

MR. MCCURRY: At that time, it will be 7:00 p.m. in Washington, D.C., right? You mean midnight now or midnight tonight?

Q Midnight -- several hours from now.

MR. MCCURRY: Ginny Terzano has been handling the calls back there, and Mr. Panetta has been talking to the Press Corps during the course of the day today, as you know from the reports that you're seeing there and others in the White House who have been following his budget bills are available.

Q Who will handle the final disposition and call our offices?

MR. MCCURRY: We'll put out a -- however we do it, if it's the duty officer or whoever is on duty at that time.

Q It will be in Washington?

MR. MCCURRY: It will be in Washington and we'll make sure the wires especially are taken care of.

Q You say the President has done paperwork on either way, and that's why the White House can execute it?

MR. MCCURRY: No, I wouldn't suggest that. As this has developed during the course of the day, it's become more clear what the range of options are, and I think he's got a pretty good idea of what the outcome will be and he's working with Panetta.

Q Will you take our question then?

MR. MCCURRY: I'm not characterizing it any further, pretty clearly.

Okay, anything else? That's it? Good night. We're done from here.

END

12:03 A.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Belfast, Northern Ireland)

For Immediate Release

November 30, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT INAUGURATION OF THOMAS O'NEILL CHAIR
FOR THE STUDY OF PEACE AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION
AT ULSTER UNIVERSITY

Major Hall of Guild Hall
Londonderry, Northern Ireland

4:48 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: Mayor and Mrs. Kerr, Sir Patrick and Mrs. Mayhew, Mr. and Mrs. Hume; to the community and religious leaders who are here and to my fellow Americans who are here, Congressman Walsh and the congressional delegation; Senator Dodd, Senator Mack and others. Let me thank you all for the wonderful reception you have given to Hillary and to me today and, through us, to the people of the United States. And let me thank Tom O'Neill for his incredibly generous remarks. I am honored to be here with him and with his family and with Loretta Brennan Glucksman and the other members of the American Ireland Fund to help inaugurate this Tip O'Neill Chair in Peace Studies.

And thank you, Vice Chancellor Smith, for the degree. You know, I wonder how far it is from a degree to a professorship. (Laughter.) See, I have this job without a lot of tenure, and I'm looking for one with more tenure. (Applause.)

Tip O'Neill was a model for many people he never knew. The model of public service. He proved that a person could be a national leader without losing the common touch, without ever forgetting that all these high-flown speeches we give and all these complex issues we talk about in the end have a real, tangible impact on the lives of ordinary people. And that in any free land, in the end all that really counts are the lives of ordinary people.

He said he was a man of the House, but he was far more. He was fundamentally a man of the people. A bricklayer's son who became the most powerful person in Congress and our nation's most prominent, most loyal champion of ordinary working families.

He loved politics because he loved people, but also because he knew it could make a difference in people's lives. And you have proved here that political decisions by brave people can make a difference in people's lives. Along with Senators Kennedy and Moynihan and former Governor Hugh Carey of New York, he was among the first Irish American politicians to oppose violence in Northern Ireland. And though we miss him sorely, he will long be remembered in the United States and now in Ireland with this O'Neill

Chair. It is a fitting tribute to his life and legacy, for he knew that peace had to be nurtured by a deeper understanding among people and greater opportunity for all.

Tip O'Neill was old enough to remember a time when Irish Catholics were actually discriminated against in the United States, and he had the last laugh when they wound up running the place. (Laughter.) In my lifetime -- (applause) -- I was just thinking that in my conscious political lifetime we've had three Irish Speakers of the House of Representatives: John McCormick and Tip O'Neill of Boston and Tom Foley of Washington State; and, goodness knows how many more we're destined to have.

I am very proud to be here to inaugurate this chair in peace studies. I have been privileged to come here at an important time in your history. I have been privileged to be President at an important time in your history and to do what I could on behalf of the United States to help the peace process go forward.

But the work of peace is really the work of a lifetime. First, you have to put the violence behind you; you have done that. Then, you have to make an agreement that recognizes the differences and the commonalities among you. And this twin-tracks process, I believe is a way at least to begin that process where everyone can be heard.

Then, you have to change the spirit of the people until it is normal as getting up in the morning and having breakfast, to feel a real affinity for the people who share this land with you without regard to their religion or their politics.

This chair of peace studies can help you to do that. It can be symbol of the lifetime work of building a peaceful spirit and heart in every citizen of this land.

Our administration has been a strong supporter of the International Fund for Ireland. We will continue to do so because of projects like this one and because of the work still to be done. We were eager to sponsor the conference we had last May, aided by the diligent efforts of our friend, former Senator and Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell who now embarks for you on another historic mission of peace.

I hope very much that Senator Mitchell will succeed. I think the voices I have heard on this trip indicate to me that you want him to succeed, and that you want to succeed.

A lot of incredibly moving things have happened to us today, but I think to me, the most moving were the two children who stood and introduced me this morning in the Mackie Plant in Belfast. They represented all those other children, including children here from Derry who have written me about what peace means to them over the last few weeks.

One young boy said -- the young boy who introduced me said that he studied with and played with people who were both Protestant and Catholic and he'd almost gotten to the point where he couldn't tell the difference. (Laughter.) The beautiful young girl who introduced me, that beautiful played with people who were both Protestant and Catholic, and he'd almost gotten to the point where he couldn't tell the difference. (Laughter.) A beautiful young girl who introduced me, that beautiful child, started off by saying what her Daddy did for a living, and then

she said she lost her first Daddy in The Troubles. And she thought about it every day, it was the worst day of her life. And she couldn't stand another loss.

The up side and the down side. And those children joined hands to introduce me. I felt almost as if my speech were superfluous. But I know one thing: Tip O'Neill was smiling down on the whole thing today. (Applause.)

The other night I had a chance to go with Hillary to the Ford Theater in Washington, D.C., a wonderful, historic place; it's been there since before our Civil War, and where President Lincoln was assassinated. And I told the people there who come once a year to raise money for it so we can keep it going that we always thought of it as a sad and tragic place, but it was really a place where he came to laugh and escape the cares of our great Civil War. And there, I was thinking that America has always been about three great things, our country: love of liberty, belief in progress, and the struggle for unity.

And the last is in so many ways by far the most difficult. It is a continuing challenge for us to deal with the differences among us, to honestly respect our differences, to stand up where we feel differently about certain things, and still to find that core of common humanity across all the sea of differences which permit us to preserve liberty; to make progress possible and to live up to the deepest truths of our shared human nature.

In the end, that is what this chair is all about. And believe me, we need it everywhere. We need it in the streets of our toughest cities in the United States, where we are attempting to teach our children when they have conflicts, they shouldn't go home and pick up a gun or a knife and hurt each other, they should figure out a way to work through to mutual respect.

We need it in the Middle East, where the Prime Minister of Israel just gave his life to a religious fanatic of his own faith because he dared to make peace and give the children of his country a better future.

We need it in Bosnia, where the leaders have agreed to make peace, but where the people must now purge their heart of the hatred borne of four years of merciless slaughter. We need this everywhere.

So, my friends, I pray not only for your success in making peace, but I pray that through this Chair and through your example, you will become a model for the rest of the world because the world will always need models for peace.

Thank you, and God bless you all. (Applause.)

END

4:59 P.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Belfast, Northern Ireland)

For Immediate Release

November 30, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN DISCUSSION WITH ENTREPRENEURS
AND MANAGERS OF BUSINESS PARKS
FROM ACROSS BELFAST

East Belfast Enterprise Park
Belfast, Northern Ireland

12:54 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: Well, first of all, I want to thank all of you, all the panelists and Mr. Thompson and your MP for the fine things that have been said. And I thank you for quoting the King James version of the Bible. I read all the more modern ones, and sometimes they're easier to understand, but they're not nearly as eloquent. So King James is still my favorite, too.

I would like to make just three points very briefly. First, in the presence of the members of Congress who are here, I want to thank them for funding the International Fund for Ireland. In the United States, it was really a congressional initiative. For many years, the President -- until I became President, no President ever even made a recommendation to spend the money because it was thought to be unusual. But I can tell you, now, even though this connection was never made before, we fund programs through the Agency for International Development around the world in countries much poorer than Northern Ireland which are essentially trying to do the same things.

We know now that if you really want to grow jobs in places where there's not a lot of capital, you have to set up a mechanism for getting capital into entrepreneurial people who may be in one or two or three or four or five-person businesses. And if you do it right, you can create an enormous, enormous number of successful businesses, and in so doing, create the demand for the products and services that will be produced.

So I think what you are doing here is really an extraordinary thing. And I want to thank the members of Congress who have consistently supported the International Fund for Ireland who are here, and to say that I hope, frankly, that you will become, as we move forward down the road to peace -- and Senator Mitchell and the others who worked so hard on the investment conference over on our side of the ocean -- and you enjoy more success, I hope you will become a model for a lot of other countries as well who are struggling to build a system of free enterprise and give their energetic people the kinds of opportunities that you have found.

We see it even in our own country -- some places that others had given up on, thought -- where there would never be any economic opportunity there again -- the most successful thing that

has been done even in our own country is starting things like the International Fund for Ireland. But it works better here, what you are doing through these community groups, than almost any other place that I'm aware of in the world.

And you said it yourself, sir. I think you said you have in this consortium 200 companies with 900 employees; that's an average number of employees somewhere between four and five. But if you look at the cost -- what did you say -- 13.5 million pounds -- I think I can still do exchange rates, even though I've been -- Presidents are disabled from all practical things. (Laughter.) They don't get to buy food or drive cars or exchange money, but that's pretty low cost per job creation. And so I think that's very, very important. And I applaud all of you for what you're doing.

The second point I want to make is that the cease-fire, I'm convinced, made possible a lot of this growth. And some of you have said that. And you talked about how -- it's also changing the whole image of Northern Ireland. One of the things that I hope will come out of my trip here today is that people who have never been here will see the country in a different life. We owe that to the media, but people all over the world will be seeing this trip tonight. And they will see your whole country in a different light. They will see people like you; they will see on television. They will say, those are the kind of people I wouldn't mind being involved with. And I think that will help. But it's a real argument for continuing the peace.

And the third thing I would say is that -- you might want to ask Senator Mitchell to comment on this -- is the conference we had -- the Washington Conference -- last May. I think it's important to do more things like that, not just in the United States, but elsewhere, so that people are aware, in a tangible way, of the grass-roots -- not only the grass-roots commitment to peace, but the extraordinary array of competence, the abilities, the ideas, that are coming out of here. Because I think -- and I think as you do that, you'll become more integrated into the global economy in a positive way and it will be more difficult for anyone to turn the clock back on you.

George --

SENATOR MITCHELL: We're planning some follow-up activities, Mr. President, in the spring of next year. And we've had, under the Commerce Department, the leadership of Ron Brown, have had a number of trade missions here and there are some American businessmen here as your guests on this trip. And I think what you have seen in just the short time you've been in Northern Ireland is what I've seen in my many previous visits this year.

The greatest resource of any community, or nation, it its people. And the people here are energetic, they're innovative, they're entrepreneurs and they're very productive. And I believe that the more and more Americans, which is, of course, our primary -- the source of our primary activities, but others, as you point out, who can be exposed to that, will recognize that there's a mutual benefit in doing business here.

I've said to all the American businessmen with whom I've met, we are not asking anyone to engage in an act of charity. There are charitable outlets and anybody who wants to make such contribution can do so there, but what we're asking people is to make a hard-headed decision in their own economic

interest to engage in business activity here, and we think it's going to develop over time.

It does require a continuation of the peace process because, clearly, the absence of that -- the absence of peace will have a chilling effect. And I think that your visit here will go a long way with the -- you're the only person who can bring all of these television people here with you -- (laughter) -- and convey this message, not only around the States, but around the world, of the type of people that are here, the type of energy that's here.

And I think it also does highlight, as you and others have pointed out, the importance of agencies like the IFI, and others. New and small businesses here, as in our own country, Mr. President, just don't have access to capital, and that's what they need to get going. And these agencies make it possible.

So I've been very much impressed by my visits here, we're encouraged by the progress made as a result of our investment conference, which you organized and at which you spoke. It's slow and steady, but I think it's going to pay off in the end.

* * * * *

THE PRESIDENT: Let me just say, I want to leave on a little bit lighter note. When I read my notes about what all of you do, and I was preparing for this and I knew I was bringing all the -- the Ambassador for the United States to Great Britain and the British Ambassador to America, and all these other people, and especially the politicians back there, and I saw that Lynn McGregor is the owner of a company called Altered Images, and I thought to myself, she could become an overnight millionaire in Washington, D.C. -- (laughter) -- just by putting up an office. (Laughter.) We all need to alter our image a little there.

Thank you very much. Congratulations to all of you.
Thank you. (Applause.)

END

1:02 P.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Belfast, Northern Ireland)

For Immediate Release

November 30, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE CITIZENS OF LONDONDERRY

Guild Hall Square
Londonderry, Northern Ireland

3:20 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. (Applause.) Thank you very much. Mr. Mayor, Mrs. Kerr, Mr. and Mrs. Hume, Sir Patrick and Lady Mayhew, and to this remarkable crowd. Let me say -- (applause) -- there have been many Presidents of the United States who had their roots in this soil. I can see today how lucky I am to be the first President of the United States to come back to this city to say thank you very much. (Applause.)

Hillary and I are proud to be here in the home of Ireland's most tireless champion for civil rights and its most eloquent voice of non-violence, John Hume. (Applause.) I know that at least twice already I have had the honor of hosting John and Pat in Washington. And the last time I saw him I said, you can't come back to Washington one more time until you let me come to Derry. And here I am. (Applause.)

I am delighted to be joined here today by a large number of Americans, including a distinguished delegation of members of our United States Congress who have supported peace and reconciliation here and who have supported economic development through the International Fund for Ireland.

I'm also joined today by members of the O'Neill family. (Applause.) Among the last great chieftains of Ireland were the O'Neills of Ulster. But in America, we still have chieftains who are the O'Neills of Boston. They came all the way over here to inaugurate the Tip O'Neill Chair and Peace Studies here at the University of Ulster. (Applause.) This chair will honor the great Irish American and late Speaker of the House of Representatives by furthering his dream of peace in Northern Ireland. And I am honored to be here with his family members today.

All of you know that this city is a very different place from what a visitor like me would have seen just a year and a half ago, before the cease-fire. Crossing the border now is as easy as crossing a speed bump. The soldiers are off the streets. The city walls are open to civilians. There are no more shakedowns as you walk into a store. Daily life has become more ordinary. But this will never be an ordinary city. (Applause.)

I came here because you are making a home for peace to flourish and endure -- a local climate responsible this week for the announcement of new business operations that offer significant

new opportunities to you, as well as new hope. Let me applaud also the success of the Inner City Trust and Patty Dogherty who have put people to work rebuilding bombed-out buildings, building new ones, and building up confidence and civic pride. (Applause.)

America's connections to this place go back a long, long time. One of our greatest cities, Philadelphia, was mapped out three centuries ago by a man who was inspired by the layout of the streets behind these walls. His name was William Penn. He was raised a Protestant in Ireland in a military family. He became a warrior and he fought in Ulster. But he turned away from warfare, traded in his armor, converted to the Quaker faith and became a champion of peace.

Imprisoned for his religious views, William Penn wrote one of the greatest defenses of religious tolerance in history. Released from prison, he went to America in the 1680s, a divisive decade here, and founded Pennsylvania, a colony unique in the new world because it was based on the principle of religious tolerance.

Philadelphia quickly became the main port of entry for immigrants from the north of Ireland who made the Protestant and Catholic traditions valuable parts of our treasured traditions in America. Today when he travels to the States, John Hume is fond of reminding us about the phrase that Americans established in Philadelphia as the motto of our nation, "E pluribus unum" -- Out of many, one -- the belief that back then Quakers and Catholics, Anglicans and Presbyterians could practice their religion, celebrate their culture, honor their traditions and live as neighbors in peace.

In the United States today in just one county, Los Angeles, there are representatives of over 150 different racial, ethnic and religious groups. We are struggling to live out William Penn's vision, and we pray that you will be able to live out that vision as well. (Applause.)

Over the last three years since I have had the privilege to be the President of the United States I have had occasion to meet with Nationalists and to meet with Unionists, and to listen to their sides of the story. I have come to the conclusion that here, as in so many other places in the world -- from the Middle East to Bosnia -- the divisions that are most important here are not the divisions between opposing views or opposing interests. Those divisions can be reconciled. The deep divisions, the most important ones, are those between the peacemakers and the enemies of peace -- those who, deep, deep down inside want peace more than anything, and those who, deep down inside can't bring themselves to reach out for peace. Those who are in the ship of peace and those who would sink it. Those who bravely meet on the bridge of reconciliation, and those who would blow it up.

My friends, everyone in life at some point has to decide what kind of person he or she is going to be. Are you going to be someone who defines yourself in terms of what you are against, or what you are for? Will you be someone who defines yourself in terms of who you aren't, or who you are? The time has come for the peacemakers to triumph in Northern Ireland, and the United States will support them as they do. (Applause.)

The world-renowned playwright from this city, Brian Friel, wrote a play called "Philadelphia, Here I Come." And in a

character who is about to immigrate from Ireland thinks back on his past life and says to himself, it's all over. But his alter ego reminds him of his future and replies, and it's about to begin. It's all over and it's about to begin. If only change were that easy.

To leave one way of life behind in search of another takes a strong amount of faith and courage. But the world has seen here over the last 15 months that people from Londonderry County to County Down, from Antrim to Armagh, have made the transition from a time of ever-present fear to a time of fragile peace. The United States applauds the efforts of Prime Minister Major and Prime Minister Bruton who have launched the new twin-track initiative and have opened a process that gives the parties to begin a dialogue in which all views are representative, and all can be heard.

Not far from this spot stands a statue of reconciliation -- two figures, ten feet tall, each reaching out a hand toward the other, but neither quite making it across the divide. It is a beautiful and powerful symbol of where many people stand today in this great land. Let it now point people to the handshake of reconciliation. Life cannot be lived with the stillness of statues. Life must go on. The hands must come closer together or drift further apart.

Your great Nobel Prize winning poet, Seamus Heaney, wrote the following words -- (applause) -- wrote the following words that some of you must know already, but that for me capture this moment. He said: "History says don't hope on this side of the grave, but then, once in a lifetime the longed-for tidal wave of justice can rise up. And hope and history rhyme. So hope for a great sea change on the far side of revenge. Believe that a further shore is reachable from here. Believe in miracles and cures and healing wells."

Well, my friends, I believe. I believe we live in a time of hope and history rhyming. Standing here in front of the Guild Hall, looking out over these historic walls, I see a peaceful city, a safe city, a hopeful city, full of young people that should have a peaceful and prosperous future here where their roots and families are. That is what I see today with you. (Applause.)

And so I ask you to build on the opportunity you have before you; to believe that the future can be better than the past; to work together because you have so much more to gain by working together than by drifting apart. Have the patience to work for a just and lasting peace. Reach for it. The United States will reach with you. The further shore of that peace is within your reach.

Thank you, and God bless you all. (Applause.)

END

3:30 P.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Belfast, Northern Ireland)

For Immediate Release

November 30, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AND THE FIRST LADY
AT THE LIGHTING OF THE CITY CHRISTMAS TREE

Belfast City Hall
Belfast, Northern Ireland

7:36 P.M. (L)

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you very much, Lord Mayor. And thank all of you. (Applause.) Tonight is a night filled with hope and peace. And for those of us gathered here throughout Northern Ireland and around the world, often it is our children who offer us the clearest and purest reasons why peace and why this peace process is so important.

In a national competition, asking students to share their hopes for a peaceful Northern Ireland in letters to my husband, two students whom you see here tonight, Cathy Harte and Mark Lennox won the top prize. We will be privilege to have them in America at summer camp this coming summer. Tonight it is my privilege to read excerpts from their letters.

This is what Cathy said: "My name is Cathy Harte and I am a 12-year-old Catholic girl. I live in Belfast in Northern Ireland, and I love it here. It's green, it's beautiful, and, well, it's Ireland." (Applause.) "All my life, I have only known guns and bombs with people fighting. Now, it is different. There are no guns and bombs."

Cathy continues: "My dream's for the future, well, I have a lot of them. Hopefully, the peace will be permanent; that one day Catholics and Protestants will be able to walk hand-in-hand and will be able to live in the same areas." (Applause.) "Catholics, Protestants, black or white, it is the person inside that counts." (Applause.) "What I hope," said Cathy, "is that when I have my own children that there will still be peace and that Belfast will be a peaceful place from now on."

Thank you, Cathy. (Applause.)

Mark Lennox is the same age as our daughter, 15. And he explains in his letter the simple hows of achieving peace. And this is what he says: "I am a 15-year-old schoolboy from Glengormley High School. I am very pleased about the chance of permanent peace in Northern Ireland and the chances of living in a secure atmosphere.

"If Northern Ireland is to have a future, then we must all learn to live with each other in a more tolerant way. Also, we must all work hard for peace and make a real effort. We

will have to change our ideas and work for change. Change must mean changing our own understanding of each other. We must learn together and know more about our different traditions.

Some people want to destroy peace and the peace process in Northern Ireland." And Mark says, "We must not allow this to happen." (Applause.)

As the Lord Mayor said, in a moment the Christmas tree will be lit as Christmas trees will be lit all over the world in the days to come. This Christmas let us remember the reason behind why we light Christmas trees. Let us remember the reason for this great holiday celebration. And let us remember that we seek peace most of all for our children. May this be one of many, many happy and peaceful Christmases in Northern Ireland this year and for many years to come. (Applause.) And may God keep you and bless you and hold all of you in the palm of His hand. Thank you and God bless you.

(Applause.)

LORD MAYOR: Now, ladies and gentlemen, we have a duty to do tonight. And that is we're going to ask the President to turn the lights on. But you and I have something to do. We have to count down, 10 down to zero. So we want the count, 10, 9 -- slowly please, so that when the President gets ready I'll give you the okay and then we will have the countdown.

(The Christmas tree is lit.)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. (Applause.) To the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress, let me begin by saying to all of you, Hillary and I thank you from the bottom of our hearts for making us feel so very, very welcome in Belfast and Northern Ireland. (Applause.) We thank you, Lord Mayor, for your cooperation and your help in making this trip so successful, and we trust that, for all of you, we haven't inconvenienced you too much. But this has been a wonderful way for us to begin the Christmas holidays. (Applause.)

Let me also say I understood just what an honor it was to be able to turn on this Christmas tree when I realized the competition. (Laughter.) Now, to become President of the United States you have to undertake some considerable competition. But I have never confronted challengers with the name recognition, the understanding of the media and the ability in the martial arts of the Mighty Morphin Power Rangers. (Applause.)

To all of you whose support enabled me to join you tonight and turn the Christmas tree on, I give you my heartfelt thanks. (Applause.) I know here in Belfast you've been lighting the Christmas tree for more than 20 years. But this year must be especially joyous to you, for you are entering your second Christmas of peace. (Applause.)

As I look down these beautiful streets, I think how wonderful it will be for people to do their holiday shopping without worry of searches or bombs; to visit loved ones on the other side of the border without the burden of checkpoints or roadblocks; to enjoy these magnificent Christmas lights without any fear of violence. Peace has brought real change to your lives.

Across the ocean, the American people are rejoicing

with you. We are joined to you by strong ties of community and commerce and culture. Over the years men and women of both traditions have flourished in our country and helped America to flourish.

And today, of course, we are forging new and special bonds. Belfast's sister city in the United States, Nashville, Tennessee, was proud to send this Christmas tree to friends across the Atlantic. I want to thank the most prominent present resident of Nashville, Tennessee, Vice President Al Gore, the Mayor, Phil Bredesen, and the United States Air Force for getting this big tree all the way across the Atlantic to be here with you tonight. (Applause.)

In this 50th anniversary year of the end of World War II, many Americans still remember the warmth the people of Northern Ireland showed them when the army was stationed here under General Eisenhower. The people of Belfast named General Eisenhower an honorary burgess of the city. He viewed that honor, and I quote, "as a token of our common purpose to work together for a better world." That mission endures today. We remain Americans and as people of Northern Ireland, partners for security, partners for prosperity and, most important, partners for peace. (Applause.)

Two years ago, at this very spot, tens of thousands of you took part in a day for peace, as a response to some of the worst violence Northern Ireland had known in recent years. The two morning papers, representing both traditions, sponsored a telephone poll for peace that generated almost 160,000 calls. In the United States, for my fellow Americans who are here, that would be the equivalent of 25 million calls.

The response left no doubt that all across Northern Ireland the desire for peace was becoming a demand. I am honored to announce today that those same two newspapers, the Newsletter and the Irish News, have established the President's Prize, an annual award to those at the grass-roots level who have contributed most to peace and reconciliation. The honorees will travel to the United States to exchange experiences on the issues we share, including community relations and conflict resolution. We have a lot to learn from one another. The President's Prize will underscore that Northern Ireland's two traditions have a common interest in peace.

As you know -- and as the First Lady said -- I have received thousands of letters from school children all over your remarkable land telling me what peace means to them. They poured in from villages and cities, from Catholic and Protestant communities, from mixed schools, primary schools, from schools for children with special needs. All the letters in their own way were truly wonderful for their honesty, their simple wisdom and their passion. Many of the children showed tremendous pride in their homeland, in its beauty and its true nature. I congratulate the winners. They were wonderful and I loved hearing their letters.

But let me tell you about another couple I received. Eleven-year-old Keith from Carrickfergus wrote: "Please tell everyone in America that we're not always fighting here, and that it's only a small number of people who make the trouble." Like many of the children, Keith did not identify himself as Protestant or Catholic, and did not distinguish between the sources of the violence.

So many children told me of loved ones they have lost, of lives disrupted and opportunities forsaken and families forced to move. Yet, they showed remarkable courage and strength and a commitment to overcome the past. As 14-year-old Sharon of County Armagh wrote: "Both sides have been hurt. Both sides must forgive."

Despite the extraordinary hardships so many of these children have faced, their letters were full of hope and love and humor. To all of you who took the time to write me, you've brightened my holiday season with your words of faith and courage, and I thank you. To all of you who asked me to do what I could to help peace take root, I pledge you America's support. We will stand with you as you take risks for peace. (Applause.)

And to all of you who have not lost your sense of humor, I say thank you. I got a letter from 13-year-old Ryan from Belfast. Now, Ryan, if you're out in the crowd tonight, here's the answer to your question. No, as far as I know, an alien spacecraft did not crash in Roswell, New Mexico, in 1947. (Laughter.) And, Ryan, if the United States Air Force did recover alien bodies, they didn't tell me about it, either, and I want to know. (Applause.)

Ladies and gentlemen, this day that Hillary and I have had here in Belfast and in Derry and Londonderry County will long be with us -- (applause) -- as one of the most remarkable days of our lives. I leave you with these thoughts. May the Christmas spirit of peace and goodwill flourish and grow in you. May you remember the words of the Lord Mayor: "This is Christmas. We celebrate the world in a new way because of the birth of Emmanuel; God with us." And when God was with us, he said no words more important than these: "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall inherit the Earth." (Applause.)

Merry Christmas, and God bless you all. (Applause.)

END

7:53 P.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Belfast, Northern Ireland)

For Immediate Release

November 30, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO EMPLOYEES AND COMMUNITY OF
THE MACKIE METAL PLANT

Belfast, Northern Ireland

11:00 A.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: This is one of those occasions where I really feel that all that needs to be said has already been said. I thank Catherine and David for introducing me, for all the school children of Northern Ireland who are here today, and for all whom they represent. A big part of peace is children growing up safely, learning together and growing together.

I thank Patrick Dougan and Ronnie Lewis for their remarks, for their work here, for all the members of the Mackie team who are with us today in welcoming us to this factory. I was hoping we could have an event like this in Northern Ireland at a place where people work and reach out to the rest of the world in a positive way, because a big part of peace is working together for family and community and for the welfare of the common enterprise.

It is good to be among the people of Northern Ireland who have given so much to America and the world, and good to be here with such a large delegation of my fellow Americans, including, of course, my wife, and I see the Secretary of Commerce here and the Ambassador to Great Britain, and a number of others. But we have quite a large delegation from both parties in the United States Congress, so we've sort of got a truce of our own going on here today. (Laughter.)

And I'd like to ask the members of Congress who have come all the way from Washington, D.C. to stand up and be recognized. Would you all stand? (Applause.)

Many of you perhaps know that one in four of America's Presidents trace their roots to Ireland's shores, beginning with Andrew Jackson, the son of immigrants from Carrickfergus, to John Fitzgerald Kennedy whose forebears came from County Wexford. I know I am only the latest in this time-honored tradition, but I'm proud to be the first sitting American President to make it back to Belfast. (Applause.)

At this holiday season all around the world, the promise of peace is in the air. The barriers of the Cold War are giving way to a global village where communication and cooperation are the order of the day. From South Africa to the Middle East, and now to troubled Bosnia, conflicts long thought impossible to solve are moving along the road to resolution. Once-bitter foes are clasping hands and changing history. And long-suffering people are

moving closer to normal lives.

Here in Northern Ireland, you are making a miracle -- a miracle symbolized by those two children who held hands and told us what this whole thing is all about. In the land of the harp and the fiddle, the fife and the lambeg drum, two proud traditions are coming together in the harmonies of peace. The cease-fire and negotiations have sparked a powerful transformation.

Mackie's Plant is a symbol of Northern Ireland's rebirth. It has long been a symbol of world-class engineering. The textile machines you make permit people to weave disparate threads into remarkable fabrics. That is now what you must do here with the people of Northern Ireland.

Here we lie along the peace line, the wall of steel and stone separating Protestant from Catholic. But today, under the leadership of Pat Dougan, you are bridging the divide, overcoming a legacy of discrimination where fair employment and integration are the watchwords of the future.

On this shop floor men and women of both traditions are working together to achieve common goals. Peace, once a distant dream, is now making a difference in everyday life in this land. Soldiers have left the streets of Belfast; many have gone home. People can go to the pub or the store without the burden of the search or the threat of a bomb. As barriers disappear along the border, families and communities divided for decades are becoming whole once more.

This year in Armagh on St. Patrick's Day, Protestant and Catholic children led the parade together for the first time since The Troubles began. A bystander's words marked the wonder of the occasion when he said, "Even the normal is beginning to seem normal."

The economic rewards of peace are evident as well. Unemployment has fallen here to its lowest level in 14 years, while retail sales and investment are surging. Far from the gleaming city center, to the new shop fronts of Belfast, to the Enterprise Center in East Belfast, business is thriving and opportunities are expanding. With every extra day that the guns are still, business confidence grows stronger and the promise of prosperity grows as well.

As the shroud of terror melts away, Northern Ireland's beauty has been revealed again to all the world -- the castles and coasts, the Giants Causeway, the lush green hills, the high white cliffs -- a magical backdrop to your greatest asset which I saw all along the way from the airport here today, the warmth and good feeling of your people. Visitors are now coming in record numbers. Indeed, today, the air route between Belfast and London is the second busiest in all of Europe.

I want to honor those whose courage and vision have brought us to this point: Prime Minister Major, Prime Minister Bruton, and before him, Prime Minister Reynolds, laid the background and the basis for this era of reconciliation. From the Downing Street Declaration to the joint framework document, they altered the course of history. Now, just in the last few days, by launching the twin-track initiative, they have opened a promising new gateway to a just and lasting peace. Foreign Minister Spring, Sir Patrick Mayhew, David Trimble and John Hume all have labored to realize the promise of peace. And Gerry Adams, along with Loyalist leaders such as David Irvine and Gary McMichael, helped to silence the guns on the streets

and to bring about the first peace in a generation.

But most of all, America salutes all the people of Northern Ireland who have shown the world in concrete ways that here the will for peace is now stronger than the weapons of war. With mixed sporting events encouraging competition on the playing field, not the battlefield; with women's support groups, literacy programs, job training centers that served both communities -- these and countless other initiatives bolster the foundations of peace as well.

Last year's cease-fire of the Irish Republican Army, joined by the combined Loyalist Military Command, marked a turning point in the history of Northern Ireland. Now is the time to sustain that momentum and lock in the gains of peace. Neither community wants to go back to the violence of the past. The children told of that today. Both parties must do their part to move this process forward now.

Let me begin by saying that the search for common ground demands the courage of an open mind. This twin-track initiative gives the parties a chance to begin preliminary talks in ways in which all views will be represented and all voices will be heard. It also establishes an international body to address the issue of arms decommissioning. I hope the parties will seize this opportunity. Engaging in honest dialogue is not an act of surrender, it is an act of strength and common sense. (Applause.)

Moving from cease-fire to peace requires dialogue. For 25 years now the history of Northern Ireland has been written in the blood of its children and their parents. The cease-fire turned the page on that history; it must not be allowed to turn back. (Applause.)

There must also be progress away from the negotiating table. Violence has lessened, but it has not disappeared. The leaders of the four main churches recently condemned the so-called punishment beatings and called for an end to such attacks. I add my voice to theirs. (Applause.)

As the church leaders said, this is a time when the utmost efforts on all sides are needed to build a peaceful and confident community in the future. But true peace requires more than a treaty, even more than the absence of violence. Those who have suffered most in the fighting must share fairly in the fruits of renewal. The frustration that gave rise to violence must give way to faith in the future.

The United States will help to secure the tangible benefits of peace. Ours is the first American administration ever to support in the Congress the International Fund for Ireland, which has become an engine for economic development and for reconciliation. We will continue to encourage trade and investment and to help end the cycle of unemployment.

We are proud to support Northern Ireland. You have given America a very great deal. Irish Protestant and Irish Catholic together have added to America's strength. From our battle for independence down to the present day, the Irish have not only fought in our wars, they have built our nation, and we owe you a very great debt. (Applause.)

Let me say that of all the gifts we can offer in return, perhaps the most enduring and the most precious is the example of what is possible when people find unity and strength in their

diversity. We know from our own experience even today how hard that is to do. After all, we fought a great Civil War over the issue of race and slavery in which hundreds of thousands of our people were killed.

Today, in one of our counties alone, in Los Angeles, there are over 150 different ethnic and racial groups represented. We know we can become stronger if we bridge our differences. But we learned in our own Civil War that that has to begin with a change of the heart.

I grew up in the American South, in one of the states that tried to break from the American Union. My forebears on my father's side were soldiers in the Confederate Army. I was reading the other day a book about our first governor after the Civil War who fought for the Union Army, and who lost members of his own family. They lived the experience so many of you have lived. When this governor took office and looked out over a sea of his fellow citizens who fought on the other side, he said these words: "We have all done wrong. No one can say his heart is altogether clean and his hands altogether pure. Thus, as we wish to be forgiven, let us forgive those who have sinned against us and ours." That was the beginning of America's reconciliation, and it must be the beginning of Northern Ireland's reconciliation. (Applause.)

It is so much easier to believe that our differences matter more than what we have in common. It is easier, but it is wrong. We all cherish family and faith, work and community. We all strive to live lives that are free and honest and responsible. We all want our children to grow up in a world where their talents are matched by their opportunities. And I believe those values are just as strong in County Londonderry as they are in Londonderry, New Hampshire; in Belfast, Northern Ireland as in Belfast, Maine.

I am proud to be of Ulster Scots stock. I am proud to be, also, of Irish stock. I share these roots with millions and millions of Americans, now over 40 million Americans. And we rejoice at things being various, as Louis MacNeice once wrote. It is one of the things that makes America special.

Because our greatness flows from the wealth of our diversity as well as the strength of the ideals we share in common, we feel bound to support others around the world who seek to bridge their own divides. This is an important part of our country's mission on the eve of the 21st century, because we know that the chain of peace that protects us grows stronger with every new link that is forged.

For the first time in half a century now, we can put our children to bed at night knowing that the nuclear weapons of the former Soviet Union are no longer pointed at those children. In South Africa, the long night of apartheid has given way to a new freedom for all peoples. In the Middle East, Arabs and Israelis are stepping beyond war to peace in an area where many believed peace would never come. In Haiti, a brutal dictatorship has given way to a fragile new democracy. In Europe, the dream of a stable, undivided free continent seems finally within reach as the people of Bosnia have the first real hope for peace since the terrible fighting began there nearly four years ago.

The United States looks forward to working with our allies here in Europe and others to help the people in Bosnia -- the Muslims, the Croats, the Serbs -- to move beyond their divisions and their destructions to make the peace agreement they have made a

reality in the lives of their people.

Those who work for peace have got to support one another. We know that when leaders stand up for peace, they place their forces on the line, and sometimes their very lives on the line, as we learned so recently in the tragic murder of the brave Prime Minister of Israel. For, just as peace has its pioneers, peace will always have its rivals. Even when children stand up and say what these children said today, there will always be people who, deep down inside, will never be able to give up the past.

Over the last three years I have had the privilege of meeting with and closely listening to both Nationalists and Unionists from Northern Ireland, and I believe that the greatest struggle you face now is not between opposing ideas or opposing interests. The greatest struggle you face is between those who, deep down inside, are inclined to be peacemakers, and those who, deep down inside, cannot yet embrace the cause of peace. Between those who are in the ship of peace and those who are trying to sink it, old habits die hard. There will always be those who define the worth of their lives not by who they are, but by who they aren't; not by what they're for, but by what they are against. They will never escape the dead-end street of violence. But you, the vast majority, Protestant and Catholic alike, must not allow the ship of peace to sink on the rocks of old habits and hard grudges. (Applause.)

You must stand firm against terror. You must say to those who still would use violence for political objectives -- you are the past; your day is over. Violence has no place at the table of democracy, and no role in the future of this land. By the same token, you must also be willing to say to those who renounce violence and who do take their own risks for peace that they are entitled to be full participants in the democratic process. Those who show the courage -- (applause) -- those who do show the courage to break with the past are entitled to their stake in the future.

As leaders for peace become invested in the process, as leaders make compromises and risk the backlash, people begin more and more -- I have seen this all over the world -- they begin more and more to develop a common interest in each other's success; in standing together rather than standing apart. They realize that the sooner they get to true peace, with all the rewards it brings, the sooner it will be easy to discredit and destroy the forces of destruction.

We will stand with those who take risks for peace, in Northern Ireland and around the world. I pledge that we will do all we can, through the International Fund for Ireland and in many other ways, to ease your load. If you walk down this path continually, you will not walk alone. We are entering an era of possibility unparalleled in all of human history. If you enter that era determined to build a new age of peace, the United States of America will proudly stand with you. (Applause.)

But at the end of the day, as with all free people, your future is for you to decide. Your destiny is for you to determine. Only you can decide between division and unity, between hard lives and high hopes. Only you can create a lasting peace. It takes courage to let go of familiar divisions. It takes faith to walk down a new road. But when we see the bright gaze of these children, we know the risk is worth the reward.

I have been so touched by the thousands of letters I have received from schoolchildren here, telling me what peace means

to them. One young girl from Ballymena wrote -- and I quote -- "It is not easy to forgive and forget, especially for those who have lost a family member or a close friend. However, if people could look to the future with hope instead of the past with fear, we can only be moving in the right direction." I couldn't have said it nearly as well.

I believe you can summon the strength to keep moving forward. After all, you have come so far already. You have braved so many dangers, you have endured so many sacrifices. Surely, there can be no turning back. But peace must be waged with a warrior's resolve -- bravely, proudly, and relentlessly -- secure in the knowledge of the single, greatest difference between war and peace: In peace, everybody can win. (Applause.)

I was overcome today when I landed in my plane and I drove with Hillary up the highway to come here by the phenomenal beauty of the place and the spirit and the goodwill of the people. Northern Ireland has a chance not only to begin anew, but to be a real inspiration to the rest of the world, a model of progress through tolerance.

Let us join our efforts together as never before to make that dream a reality. Let us join our prayers in this season of peace for a future of peace in this good land.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

11:25 A.M. (L)