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POTUS Trip to England, Northern Ireland, Ireland, Germany and Spain (November 29-December 3, 1995) [2]

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary
(London, England)

For Immediate Release

November 29, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AND PRIME MINISTER MAJOR
IN EXCHANGE OF TOASTS

10 Downing Street
London, England

8:00 P.M. (L)

PRIME MINISTER MAJOR: Mr. President, Hillary, may I first, on behalf of all my government and all the people of the United Kingdom, bid you the very warmest welcome here to Downing Street this evening, and to the United Kingdom over the next few days. You are very welcome guests, indeed.

This morning, though, I was one of many people privileged to hear a very memorable and a very witty speech to members of both Houses of Parliament. I think that would have made a profound impression upon the people who heard that speech. Running through it was a very detailed knowledge of our history, A great deal of it, of course, shared with the United States, and running through it also was a feel for Britain and her people that could only have been acquired in your many stays in the United Kingdom since a young man. It's a speech that, frankly, could only have been made by a longstanding friend of this country, and it's in that guise that we welcome you here again this evening.

In that speech you quoted Winston Churchill. Now, Churchill made many of his finest speeches impromptu, or at least that's what is said. But his secret over time was, of course, rumbled. As one of his more sardonic rivals once put it, "Winston has devoted the best years of his life to preparing his impromptu speeches." (Laughter.)

Today you mentioned Winston Churchill and you crowned your speech today with what I hope I may call a Churchillian gesture that will have a very lasting and beneficial effect in this country. I don't believe you could have paid a finer tribute either to Sir Winston Churchill or to this country than in naming the new U.S. Navy cruiser the Winston Churchill. It was a gesture that was very deeply appreciated. And on behalf of everyone, I'd like to offer you my thanks for it. (Laughter.)

Even for someone who knows this country well, tomorrow you break fresh ground. Tomorrow you become the first serving President of the United States to visit Northern Ireland. You'll find when you're there that you're visiting people to whom warmth and hospitality are second nature. I'm delighted you're going there. I'm delighted with the help and support that you have given our effort in the Northern Ireland peace process over recent years, and especially

pleased to welcome with you this evening George Mitchell, who's done such a very great deal for Northern Ireland over the years and who has now taken on a very special responsibility. And I'm very grateful to him for doing so.

Over the past three years or so, I believe that, working together, the British and the Irish governments have achieved a great deal, often against the odds. A great deal by working together with the invaluable help of the United States. What John Bruton and I are seeking to do is quite clear. It's to give fresh impetus to the search for a lasting political settlement in Northern Ireland. A cease-fire is very welcome. A lasting settlement would be much more welcome and would provide a change of life in Northern Ireland of a scale that even yet most people have not begun to imagine.

We have had to take some risks in the cause of peace. I think that they are worthwhile risks to take. If I may borrow the words of one of your Democratic predecessors, "Let us never negotiate out of fear, but let us never fear to negotiate."

Mr. President, tomorrow you and Hillary and the rest of your team will see a Northern Ireland that is being transformed. And I believe as you see that, the very fact of your visit to Northern Ireland will be a huge encouragement to the people of Northern Ireland, who daily are transforming it. I am very grateful to you for taking the opportunity of going. (Applause.)

Let me briefly mention one other common endeavor. The peace agreement on Bosnia hammered out in Dayton was a remarkable achievement. It was made possible by your leadership, by your detailed understanding of one of the more complex problems we've seen in Europe over many years, and by the tenacity and stamina of Warren Christopher, Richard Holbrooke and their partners in seeing those talks to a successful conclusion.

It has taken three years in order to reach this point -- three years in which AID workers, United Nations peacekeepers and diplomatic negotiators have risked their lives, and some have given their lives, including your own envoys earlier this year. After such sacrifice, we mustn't allow Bosnia to slip back into war. So it is the responsibility falling upon your shoulders, and I think upon the shoulders of many other people as well, to ensure that the Dayton agreements can be turned into a lasting peace in Bosnia.

Mr. President, you joked this morning about the relationship between the United States and my country. My father was brought up in America as a boy. And he taught me as I grew up that when the chips are down, no two peoples have a better capacity to work together than the peoples of this island and of the United States. Today, in that remarkable speech you made in the House of Lords, you refreshed that relationship. I am delighted that you were able to do so, delighted that people can see the many fields of common endeavor in which the interests, the history and the natural instincts of the British and the American people march in the same direction.

Bill, in warmly welcoming you here this evening with Hillary, perhaps I may ask all my guests to join me and rise as I propose a toast to the President of the United States and Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton. The President and Mrs. Clinton.

(A toast is offered.) (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: Prime Minister and Mrs. Major, ladies and gentlemen, let me begin by saying how very grateful Hillary and I are to be here personally and representing the people of the United States. This has been a fine opportunity for me to meet with the Prime Minister and representatives of Her Majesty's government to talk about our common interests, our shared values, our future agenda. It's also been a great opportunity for me personally to come back to this wonderful city which I love so much and where I have such warm memories.

Prime Minister, I want to thank you especially for welcoming here at your table my stepfather for a personal reason. My late mother would love to be here tonight, and I miss her tonight especially because I tried in vain for 25 years to convince her that not every meal in London was steak and kidney pie or fish and chips. (Laughter.)

I want to say to all of you that I meant every word of the speech I gave in Parliament today. We have a relationship that is enduring and very special. If I might paraphrase one of my very favorite British citizens, 007, our relationship can never be stirred nor shaken. (Laughter.) It will always be there; it will always be strong.

And now we have a special responsibility. We have all the unique opportunities that are apparent to us to make peace and to make progress. But it will not happen unless we work at it and it will not happen if we try to work at it alone. It will only happen if we work at it together.

In Northern Ireland, I thank the Prime Minister for what he said. But the real thanks go to Prime Minister Major and to Prime Minister Bruton and his predecessor who were willing to take risks for peace. The United States supports those who take risks for peace. The risks may be political. We know they are severe. There's always a high risk of failure, as I said in Parliament today, and even if you fail, the people who wish you hadn't tried will hold it against you. Sometimes the risks are far, far greater as the Prime Minister and I saw not so long ago when we buried our friend, Prime Minister Rabin.

But the work of peace is always important. Today it is imperative because we can achieve it in so many places where just a short while ago it was impossible.

The philosophy of the United States is simple and consistent. It runs in a seamless way from Northern Ireland to Bosnia to the Middle East. We will support those who take risks for peace. We will not attempt to tell people what peace they should make, but only to urge on them the need to make peace at the soonest possible date in a fair and honorable and decent way.

I look forward to my trip to Northern Ireland, and I look forward to doing whatever we can, consistent with our policy and the willingness of the parties to move on the path to peace.

I'd like to also thank the Prime Minister and again the British people for the sacrifices they have made in Bosnia over the course of that long and painful war, for the risks to your soldiers, for the extraordinary humanitarian aid, for all the nameless people who are alive today because of what Great Britain has done in that terrible and difficult conflict.

And I want to thank you anew for the very strong statement you made today in terms of the depth of commitment that you are prepared to make to implement this peace agreement. Together with our French and other allies, through NATO and with other nations who work in partnership with us, I believe we have a better than even chance to help bring peace to Bosnia because the parties made their peace at Dayton and the parties, if they will keep their minds straight and their hearts pure, can make the peace live in the lives of the people of Sarajevo and throughout the nation. These are the kinds of things we have to do.

I believe that the best days for democracy and freedom are before us -- but only if we face our challenges and only if we face them together.

I brought only one note tonight I wanted to read because I don't want to mix the words up. In one of history's stranger coincidental meetings, Mark Twain appeared in New York city on a cold night in the year 1900 to introduce a lecture by a young adventurer and writer by the name of Winston Churchill. So much for your -- I'm trying to remember -- Rudyard Kipling said, "Never the twain shall meet." (Laughter.) He was wrong. (Laughter.)

In the introduction, this is what Mark Twain said about the British and the Americans: "We have always been kin -- kin in blood, kin in religion, kin in representative government, kin in ideals, kin in just and lofty purposes." Mark Twain was not being humorous on that night. He was right then. He is right tonight.

I ask you to join me in a toast to Prime Minister and Mrs. Major and to the people of the wonderful nation of Great Britain.

(A toast if offered.) (Applause.)

END

8:17 P.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary
(London, England)

For Immediate Release

November 29, 1995

PRESS BRIEFING
BY
MIKE MCCURRY

American Embassy
Filing Center
London, England

1:50 P.M. (L)

MR. MCCURRY: Hi, kids. I'm glad you're all awake. I'm serving no other purpose than to provide a very brief readout on the bilateral meeting that the President had with Prime Minister Major.

They met for about 40 minutes, tete-a-tete, in the Cabinet Room at Number 10 Downing; had a good discussion that my understanding is covered Northern Ireland, Bosnia at some level, and then other subjects as well, although we don't have a complete readout on that session.

They were then joined -- the President and Prime Minister were then joined by the U.S. and British delegations, and they met for an additional hour and 15 minutes, again in the Cabinet Room. And I will brief on the substance of that dialogue.

They picked up a conversation that clearly was perhaps in mid-sentence between the President and Prime Minister on the subject of Bosnia. And the President, for the benefit of the British delegation, summarized his view of the Dayton accord, the current status of operational planning for the NATO implementation force, some of the nuances of both the operational plan and the diplomatic effort that will now go forward including the very important conference here in London on civilian implementation. And they then had a very general discussion with the Prime Minister responding, calling at one point on Foreign Secretary Rifkind. The President calling at another point on Tony Lake to add to the dialogue. It was very conversational and very much a part of the spirited, warm, friendly dialogue that characterized all of the discussions the President had with the Prime Minister today.

The Prime Minister then raised the subject of Nigeria. They had a brief exchange of views on that and the continued cooperation we have with the United Kingdom in attempting to bring additional pressure to bear on the Abacha regime. There was an agreement that the effort to build pressure on Nigeria needs to be precise and it needs to be universal; that as we explore various forms of sanctions or pressure, we need to be sure that the rest of the international community will join in those efforts for them to be successful.

And since that was just spoken in hieroglyphics, if

you want me to translate that in precise detail, I can.

They then turned to the subject of Northern Ireland, this time with the Prime Minister taking the lead and making the presentation of views as he reviewed the dialogue he's had with Prime Minister Bruton over the last several months and especially the last several days. A very candid, very open discussion of what is now a very hopeful moment in this peace process.

At one point, although it's undiplomatic for me to quote the President's interlocutor, I will in this instance to say at one point the Prime Minister said to Senator George Mitchell that "I'm very grateful to you for undertaking this role. It certainly won't be easy. It's an extremely difficult situation, but I'm confident it's in very good hands."

And I think as you all know, Senator Mitchell has been invited by the two governments to chair the international body that will deal with the decommissioning issue. Senator Mitchell last night accepted that offer, and the Prime Minister said he was grateful for the Senator's acceptance.

Rather than -- a lot of the -- about all I can say on the substance of these discussions I think the President and the Prime Minister covered themselves as they took questions from you following the meeting. I'll only just say that the other subjects that they covered in some detail include international terrorism and the efforts the U.K. and the United States will make together to combat it; Libya and the status of the Pan Am 103 suspects; NATO and the prospects for the discussion underway now in NATO on the plan for addressing the question of enlargement that will be undertaken by NATO during the course of the coming year.

They both shared views on the current status of Russian-U.S. and Russian-U.K. relations and efforts to integrate Russia with the West. And with that abbreviated, brief, we turn now to Brit Hume of ABC.

Q On Northern Ireland, is there any concrete result that the President hopes will come out of this visit that was not already achieved by the two Prime Ministers last night?

MR. MCCURRY: Well, I'd say the President had felt from the beginning of the planning that went into this trip, that it was important for him as the first American President to go to Northern Ireland to congratulate the parties and the peoples who are doing so much themselves to bring peace, in a sense, by using his presence to complement the sacrifices that they will make, the risks they will take and the courage that it requires to make peace.

So from the beginning of our planning for this trip, that personal statement was very much a part of what he wanted to do. Clearly, he prefers doing it in an environment in which the twin-track process is now engaged and making the process itself seem much more hopeful.

Q What was the answer to that?

MR. MCCURRY: That we've got a peace process that's now underway, and the President can both nurture and lend support to that process by his presence. In fact, that point was made to him directly by the Prime Minister today -- and that it will be

helpful to the people of Northern Ireland who are struggling with the issue, "does this peace make a difference in our lives," "does this process make a difference in our lives," to see the American President will be an instant affirmation that it, indeed, does.

Q A question on Bosnia. The President's -- the public approval of U.S. involvement in Bosnia in the polls nudged a little bit, but not much. And I'm wondering how the President feels about that following the speech.

MR. MCCURRY: The President was confident that he began an important conversation with the American people with his speech Monday night, and that with the additional attention he will bring to the subject and certainly speaking to it directly to the British Parliament today is a part of that effort, that he will continue to persuade a skeptical public that this is the right course for the United States and very important as we meet the challenges we face in the world.

Q To follow up, what's the reaction from Congress? I mean, what do you expect there?

MR. MCCURRY: The reaction -- I mean, the reaction from Congress, I believe you should judge for yourself. The President had an opportunity to see the membership and other members yesterday, and many of them have commented publicly. We certainly are gratified both by the public and the private remarks of the Republican leadership of Congress. They are clearly keeping an open mind and encouraging members to keep an open mind. And in that environment the President is confident that he will make a persuasive and winning case in favor of the responsibilities that we must assume in order to achieve peace.

Q What impact does the White House think that Clinton's trip had on Bruton and Major making their agreement?

MR. MCCURRY: I think he would agree with the Prime Minister's assessment that it helped concentrate the mind.

Q What is the status of defense appropriations? You've got, what, 48 hours left on that.

MR. MCCURRY: The status hasn't changed.

Q Is the President having one-to-one meetings with Gerry Adams and David Trimble --

MR. MCCURRY: He will, during the course of his visit, encounter many, including, we believe, some of the leadership of the parties. And I can probably in an environment of background session provide a little more detail on that.

Q To follow up on Todd's question on DOD appropriation, have you offered a deal to the Republicans that you would sign the bill in exchange for being allowed to reprogram some of that money into Bosnia?

MR. MCCURRY: There have been discussions of those issues, but I wouldn't characterize it as a deal being offered. If anything, there have been some suggestions coming from the other side on how we might deal with some of the funding and appropriations issues. And the White House has had good faith

discussions with the Republican leadership, both budget committees on the House and Senate side. Those discussions will probably ripen during the course of the day today in Washington, and I'd direct you back there for questions because Mr. Panetta will be having additional discussions today.

Q But the President is waiting to hear what comes out of those discussions before he makes a decision.

MR. MCCURRY: Indeed, he is.

A couple more.

Q So reports from Democrats that the President had told them that he's signing this bill and has gotten an agreement on reprogramming are in error?

MR. MCCURRY: I believe that they are premature. I don't know that they have necessarily gotten a final agreement yet. They had not as of six o'clock, when I departed the White House last night. Now, if something has developed overnight -- as you know, Mr. Panetta was on the Hill and there may have been developments back there in the time since I departed.

Q Mike, did the Anglo-Irish agreement yesterday comes as a surprise, or has the administration been in continuous contact with --

MR. MCCURRY: No, it was by no means a surprise. At the President's direction the National Security Advisor Tony Lake, had had extensive discussions with both the British and Irish governments. And during the course of recent weeks, as you know, the President, the Vice President and others in our government have had a dialogue with the parties.

Q Any change of status on Pan Am 103 suspects?

MR. MCCURRY: No change of status based on the discussion.

Q Gerry Adams said that it did come as a surprise to him, that nobody briefed him on this before it was released. Do you think that Clinton can now go over and smooth the waters?

MR. MCCURRY: I don't think it would be proper for us to comment on how the two governments issued and promulgated the communique that they issued yesterday.

Q Can you say who else is going to be on this international commission, and will Senator Mitchell report first of all to the United States, or to the two governments?

MR. MCCURRY: No, in fact, and I know a lot of you, many of you know Senator Mitchell; he is here in the building and I expect him to be here shortly and you might want to direct that question specifically to him.

He has a role in his capacity now as a private citizen and former member of the United States Senate, he has a role serving our government as special advisor to the President and the Secretary of State for economic initiatives in Ireland. That is his only -- the only capacity in which he functions in an advisory capacity to the President. He will be making his own independent judgments. I think he will be expected to make those

independent judgments by the two governments and the parties, and his report goes as the communique makes clear, to them. How he will undertake that is a matter that he, himself, will design.

The President, certainly, is very encouraged by his selection, believes it's a very important and wise choice. And we will, naturally, be in a position too see how he is doing as he works between now and mid-January to complete his survey, as required in the communique. But he will not be acting on instructions from the U.S. government.

Q This lengthy list of guests of the President tomorrow -- do they all pay their way, do you know?

MR. MCCURRY: I don't know. I'll have to look into that for you.

I've got one housekeeping announcement: Pool 6A and 6B, if you're going to Buckingham Palace you need to leave right now. Thank you.

Q Some of the members of the President's party today, I'm wondering why they might be here. Do you know, for example, is Susan Thomases here in any official capacity or is she just here --

MR. MCCURRY: I didn't even know she was here, so I'd have to check on that. I haven't seen her. In fact, I can't even confirm she's here.

Q She is here.

MR. MCCURRY: She is here? Okay.

Q Could you just put out a list?

Q Yes, could you?

MR. MCCURRY: Of all the Americans in London at this moment? I don't think I can do that. (Laughter.) I can try maybe to do -- there is an event this evening for the American community here in London at the Ambassador's Residence. Maybe we can see if we can put together that reception list for you.

Q Could you put out the guest list for that, Mike?

MR. MCCURRY: I could certainly try. Yes, sir.

Q Mike, what was the nature of the conversation between Tony Lake and Gerry Adams last night when they spoke?

MR. MCCURRY: It was a review of the communique and the announcement.

Q Was any commitment sought from Adams or was his response sought? And if so, did he --

MR. MCCURRY: I think any discussion was fully consistent with what the President answered to that question earlier.

Q Do you have a date yet for the trip to Japan?

MR. MCCURRY: No, I don't, unless that's changed. Anybody know? I haven't seen anything new.

Q Would it be inaccurate to use the shorthand and call Mitchell an envoy?

MR. MCCURRY: Say again.

Q Would it be inaccurate to use the shorthand and call Mitchell a U.S. envoy?

MR. MCCURRY: Yes. That would be quite inaccurate because he is not an envoy from the United States to the parties. He is a participant in their dialogue at the invitation of the parties themselves. That's a very important role. He is chair of an international body which is now being assembled on the issue of decommissioning.

How am I doing? You want to do any more? Okay.

Q Did anyone as senior as Lake speak with any Unionist representatives last night?

MR. MCCURRY: Yes. (Laughter.)

Q Who?

MR. MCCURRY: What?

Q Who were they?

MR. MCCURRY: I'm not going to detail all the contacts we've had with all the parties, but they have been, will be and will continue to be extensive as we seek to understand the views of the parties as they prepare for what we hope will be successful, inclusive talks.

Q Would you characterize the first day of budget negotiations from your perspective?

MR. MCCURRY: I cannot. I don't have a report on that.

Q Are you going to go on background now, did you say, and talk about --

MR. MCCURRY: I've got someone who might be a little more helpful than I am who can maybe undertake that for some.

Q -- if they popped the cork on the bubbly?

MR. MCCURRY: Did we ever pop the cork on the bottle for Tony or is it still sitting there to drink on the way home? It's still on ice.

Okay, thanks. And what we'll do is, a couple of us will float around here. I will bring -- Senator Mitchell's doing a couple of interviews for consumption here, and then I'll, for those of you who are interested in that, in talking to him --

Q Who? George Mitchell?

MR. MCCURRY: Boy, you guys are brain dead. It's really awful.

Q On ice.

MR. MCCURRY: Yeah, you guys are on ice. He'll be around here and some of you who know him may want to chat with him. But he's actually doing some other interviews at the moment.

Okay. Thanks. What about for later on in the afternoon? My plan was -- let's see a show of hands. How many people need a readout on the Tony Blair meeting or could we convey a couple of points directly to the pool who will be over at the Ambassador's Residence.

And then ditto tonight on the dinner. We don't expect any major breaking news tonight during the dinner. I suspect some here might have their own dinner plans. So we will have someone attending the dinner collect some color notes and convey those directly to the pool. So they'll be in your report. And with that --

Q Can I just -- the context of Tony --

MR. MCCURRY: Yes. By the way, on the question of who has Tony Lake talked to, there's a backgrounder coming off the plane last night, transcript. If you check the transcript of that backgrounder, you'll see answers to those questions in there on background from a senior administration official.

Q And you will handle similarly the pool -- whatever there is to say about what happened at Buckingham Palace?

MR. MCCURRY: Yes.

Q Do you know if Prince Charles is supposed to be there. I gather Prince Philip will be.

MR. MCCURRY: I do not know, nor do I know whether Princess Diana attended the meeting that the First Lady had with leaders in the women's community. But I'll find out.

Okay. We're done for the day and then what we'll do is look for a pool report, readouts on the palace, the Blair meeting and the dinner tonight.

Thank you.

END

2:06 P.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary
(London, England)

For Immediate Release

November 29, 1995

PRESS CONFERENCE BY THE PRESIDENT
AND PRIME MINISTER MAJOR

10 Downing Street
London, England

11:20 A.M. (L)

PRIME MINISTER MAJOR: Can I, firstly, welcome the President here to London. I'm delighted he's been able to come in what is, I know for him, an extremely busy time. And he and Mrs. Clinton are extremely welcome guests here.

The President's come to London fresh from explaining to Congress and the American people his plans for a very large United States contribution to the peace implementation force in Bosnia. Bosnia is, and has been for some years, a shared responsibility. British troops have been there now for something over three years, in numbers ranging up to 8,000 at a time. And both of our countries have made huge contributions to the international aid effort.

What I think we now need to do is to carry the remarkable Dayton agreements through to a successful conclusion. Dayton was a very hard-won and hugely important breakthrough by the United States and her Contact Group partners. And for the first time in the many discussions over the years that the President and I have had on Bosnia, we can look this morning at a realistic prospect of a real and lasting peace in Bosnia.

But it is still a fragile prospect, and we need to make sure that it doesn't in some fashion just slip away from us. And that is why we both agree that it's vital to deploy a genuinely effective implementation force to Bosnia as soon as the peace agreements come into effect. I very much welcome the President's intention to contribute a large force to that particular cause.

I can certainly confirm that we shall do the same. We intend to make a large contribution; around 13,000 troops will be the size of the British contribution to that force. They will find themselves working in the future, as so many times in the past, with their American colleagues in a common endeavor. And I believe it's an endeavor of immense importance to the future of Bosnia and for many places beyond it. And I look forward to the peace implementation conference in London in a couple of weeks time, which will work on the very important civil aspects of that peace agreement.

The President as I this morning have also had the opportunity of talking about Northern Ireland and about the twin track initiative that I launched yesterday with the Irish Prime Minister. I am delighted that the President will tomorrow become the

first serving United States President to visit Northern Ireland. I have no doubt that that will give a huge encouragement to the people in Northern Ireland who have been working for peace. And I'm sure that it will boost the very valuable help that George Mitchell will be giving us in his work, for he has generously agreed to undertake the work as chairman of the new body to look at the question of decommissioning.

George Mitchell, of course, is no stranger to the situation in Northern Ireland, and over the years has given us very great help in promoting investment in Northern Ireland's economy. So I think the chairmanship of the international body is in very good hands. And I'm very grateful to Senator Mitchell for undertaking it, and for the President for permitting that.

I had the opportunity with the President this morning of discussing the present situation in Northern Ireland. What I hope people will see with his visit there in a day or so is the changed life in Northern Ireland. For far too long, the world has been very familiar with the negative side of Northern Ireland. I think the President's visit will enable him and his colleagues to see how very dramatically life has changed there over the past 15 months. And we look forward to carrying that further.

We had the opportunity of discussing a number of other matters, but I think in the limited time available, I won't touch upon those at the moment, but I will invite the President to say a few words.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much, Prime Minister. This is my sixth trip to Europe as President, and the latest of the many, many sessions I have had with Prime Minister Major. Europe and the United States have unbreakable ties, but the United Kingdom and the United States enjoy a unique and enduring relationship.

Because of our values and the work we have done together over the last 50 years, the things we stand for are, more and more, becoming widely accepted all around the world. Today, we discussed our ongoing efforts to reinforce our partnership, to reduce the threat of weapons of mass destruction, to combat terrorism, international crime and drug-trafficking, and to advance the global march of peace. And, of course, we mostly discussed Northern Ireland and Bosnia.

Let me begin by just congratulating the Prime Minister on the important initiative that he and Prime Minister Bruton announced yesterday to advance the process of peace in Northern Ireland.

The twin-track initiative will establish an international body to address arms decommissioning and at the same time, will initiate preliminary political talks in which all parties will be invited to participate. This is an opportunity for them to begin a dialogue in which all views are represented and all voices are heard.

I cannot say enough to the British people how much I appreciate and admire the Prime Minister in taking this kind of risk for peace. This was not an easy action for him to take, not an easy action for Prime Minister Bruton to take. Very often, people who take risks for peace are not appreciated for doing so. But we in the United States appreciate this work and hope very much that it will prove fruitful.

Tomorrow, I will visit a Northern Ireland that is closer to true peace than at any time in a generation. And the risks that have been taken to date by the Prime Minister and by the Irish Prime Minister and his predecessor are a big reason why.

The United Kingdom has also taken extraordinary risks for peace in Bosnia. The United States deeply appreciates all this country has done to end the suffering in Bosnia -- your brave soldiers who risked their lives as part of UNPROFOR, your countless humanitarian relief efforts to aid the people of that war-torn land, your diplomatic and military strength as members of the Contact Group and NATO.

Now the people of Bosnia have made a commitment to peace, and we have to do our part to help it succeed. That means participating in NATO's implementation force, not to fight a war in Bosnia but to help secure a peace. It means implementing the arms controls provisions of that agreement while ensuring that the Bosnian Federation has the means to defend itself once NATO withdraws. And it means supporting the reconstruction in Bosnia so that all the people there can share in the benefits of peace.

If we can secure the peace in Bosnia -- and I am convinced that we can and will -- that will bring us a step closer to the goal of a free, peaceful and undivided Europe.

The Prime Minister and I discussed developments in Russia, including the upcoming parliamentary elections and agreed that fuller integration of Russia and Europe remains a key goal that both of us share. We also reaffirmed our joint determination to open NATO to new membership in a gradual and open way.

I also welcome the priority the United Kingdom has given to strengthening the Atlantic community. This weekend at the summit meeting between the United States and the European Union in Madrid, I hope we can agree on a vigorous Atlantic agenda that we can both work to implement.

Let me just close by saying that we live in a time of remarkable opportunity for peace and prosperity, for open markets and open societies, for human dignity and human decency. Together the United States and the United Kingdom have helped to shape this hopeful moment in our history. We have some more work to do. We just talked about two of our biggest challenges. But I am confident that our people are up to those challenges and that that work will be done.

PRIME MINISTER MAJOR: Now, the President has a speech to deliver in Parliament not very long ahead, but we can take just a few questions.

Yes, the lady in the red scarf.

Q President Clinton, could you let us know if one of the things you discussed was arming and training the Bosnian military, and how that will work as part of this peace process?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, we discussed that, but in our roles as a part of the NATO mission, neither the NATO forces of the United States or the United Kingdom will be involved in that. There is an agreement among the parties that they will work for six months to achieve an arms control agreement; that they will

do everything they can to agree on a fair way to reduce the number of arms in Bosnia; that if they fail to reach agreement there will be a 25-percent reduction by all the parties in the region, preserving roughly the ratio of arms that exist now between Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia, but at a smaller level; and that within Bosnia proper, the Bosnian Federation will have a roughly two to one ratio of arms; and that that will have to be supplied in terms of equipment and training by third parties, which we are confident will occur.

Q Mr. President, do you accept the British government's position that there must be some giving up of arms by the paramilitaries, and especially by Sinn Fein IRA, before all party talks can begin?

THE PRESIDENT: I accept the British government's position announced yesterday in the twin tracks. That is, I believe the agreement represented -- or reflected in what Prime Minister Bruton and Prime Minister Major announced yesterday has set forth a framework within which these differences of opinion can be resolved. And I hope the framework will be accepted by all the parties.

My answer to you, sir, is that the United States, whether it's in the Middle East or Bosnia or in Northern Ireland, has tried to support a reasonable peace process, not to dictate the terms or make the decisions. The twin-track process is a reasonable peace process. And it is not for us to get into the details of the judgment that the countries and the parties will have to make.

PRIME MINISTER MAJOR: Yes, Helen.

Q What broke the camel's back on this? You were arguing for so long on this one issue. Was there one thing that turned the tide, one catalyst?

PRIME MINISTER MAJOR: Well, there were a whole range of points we've been discussing over the last few days. It wasn't just the decommissioning issue. There were a range of other issues as well. And I think time wore away the difference -- time and patience on both sides.

I think the number of meetings that there have been over the last few weeks, the numbers of discussions I've had with John Bruton -- I've absolutely no doubt both our telephone bills will be astronomical, but we think it's worthwhile. It was simply that we saw that a deal needed to be reached if we were to regain the momentum and carry this process forward.

We can't deliver peace, John Bruton and I. We can't do that. What we can do is facilitate peace. And what we are putting in place is a process that will help to carry that capacity for peace forward. Now, that can be achieved if the politicians in the North are able to reach themselves an agreement that this conflict is over. And what we were seeking was a mechanism of carrying this forward so that that work would continue.

But I emphasize the point, peace isn't in my gift or in John Bruton's gift. It is in the gift of all the people who at present have caused the conflict. We must bring them together. Constant examining of the detailed problems found a way through.

Q Did the President's trip have anything to do with it?

PRIME MINISTER MAJOR: I think the fact that the President's trip -- the President was coming concentrated the mind.

Q Now that you have agreement, are you prepared to accompany the President to Belfast on any part of his trip? And like the President, are you prepared to meet all the party leaders in Northern Ireland now?

PRIME MINISTER MAJOR: Well, I've met most of the party leaders in Northern Ireland. In due course I will meet them all. I won't be meeting them all quite yet. And I think the President is being accompanied by the Secretary of State to Northern Ireland. I will be answering questions in Parliament.

Q Mr. President, is your message to the IRA that they should start surrendering their weapons and explosives now, immediately?

THE PRESIDENT: My message is that the twin-tracks process has provided a mechanism for all of the parties honorably now to bring their concerns to the table and to be heard, and that, in the end, peace means peace, and we're all going to have to support that.

But the message I should give in public is the same message I would give in private: I think the framework set out by Prime Minister Major and Prime Minister Bruton is the best opportunity I have seen to resolve all of these issues, and I think it should be embraced, and I hope it will be.

PRIME MINISTER MAJOR: Have we time for one more? Yes, gentleman there.

Q Mr. Prime Minister, do you think Mr. President -- the President has been too accommodating to Mr. Adams, or do you think it's now -- his efforts have been worthwhile?

PRIME MINISTER MAJOR: I don't think it's a question of being accommodating at all. American support in this process has always been immensely helpful and the President has always taken a very great interest in that process. There is a communal interest in achieving a satisfactory settlement in Northern Ireland. It's very much in the interest of everybody in Northern Ireland, very close to my heart and something very close to the President's heart as well. And I welcome the tremendous support he's been, both publicly and privately. I think that has been very helpful, and I'm very pleased to have the opportunity of thanking him for it in public.

Thank you very much, indeed.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you.

END

11:37 A.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(London, England)

For Immediate Release

November 29, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT

Royal Gallery of the Palace of Westminster
London, England

12:38 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: My Lord Chancellor, Madam Speaker, Lord Privy Seal, the Lord President of the Council, Mr. Prime Minister, my lords and members of the House of Commons: To the Lord Chancellor, the longer I hear you talk the more I wish we had an institution like this in American government. I look out and see so many of your distinguished leaders in the House of Lords, and I think it might not be a bad place to be after a long and troublesome political career. (Laughter.) My wife and I are honored to be here today, and I thank you for inviting me to address you.

I have been here to Westminster many times before. As a student, I visited often, and over the last 20 years I have often returned. Always I have felt the power of this place, where the voices of free people who love liberty, believe in reason, and struggle for truth have for centuries kept your great nation a beacon of hope for all the world, and a very special model for your former colonies which became the United States of America.

Here, where the voices of Pitt and Burke, Disraeli and Gladstone rang out; here where the rights of English men and women were secured and enlarged; here where the British people's determination to stand against the tyrannies of this century were shouted to the entire world, here is a monument to liberty to which every free person owes honor and gratitude.

As one whose ancestors came from these isles, I cherish this opportunity. Since I entered public life I have often thought of the words of Prime Minister Churchill when he spoke to our Congress in 1941. He said that if his father had been American and his mother British, instead of the other way around, he might have gotten there on his own. (Laughter.) Well, for a long time I thought that if my forebears had not left this country perhaps I might have gotten here on my own -- at least to the House of Commons.

But I have to tell you, now our American television carries your Question Time. And I have seen Prime Minister Major and Mr. Blair and the other members slicing each other up, face-to-face -- (laughter) -- with such great wit and skill, against the din of cheers and jeers. I am now convinced my forebears did me a great favor by coming to America. (Laughter.)

Today the United States and the United Kingdom glory

in an extraordinary relationship that unites us in a way never before seen in the ties between two such great nations. It is perhaps all the more remarkable because of our history.

First, the war we waged for our independence; and then barely three decades later, another war we waged in which your able forces laid siege to our Capitol. Indeed, the White House still bears the burn marks of that earlier stage in our relationship. And now, whenever we have even the most minor disagreement I walk out on the Truman Balcony and I look at those burn marks, just to remind myself that I dare not let this relationship get out of hand again.
(Laughter.)

In this century we overcame the legacy of our differences. We discovered our common heritage again, and even more important, we rediscovered our shared values. This November, we are reminded of how exactly the bonds that now join us grew -- of the three great trials our nations have faced together in this century.

A few weeks ago we marked the anniversary of that day in 1918 when the guns fell silent in World War I, a war we fought side by side to defend democracy against militarism and reaction. On this Veterans Day for us and Remembrance Day for you, we both paid special tribute to the British and American generation that, 50 years ago now, in the skies over the Channel, on the craggy hills of Italy, in the jungles of Burma, in the flights over the Hump did not fail or falter. In the greatest struggle for freedom in all of history, they saved the world.

Our nations emerged from that war with the resolve to prevent another like it. We bound ourselves together with other democracies in the West and with Japan, and we stood firm throughout the long twilight struggle of the Cold War -- from the Berlin Airlift of 1948, to the fall of the Berlin Wall on another November day just six years ago.

In the years since, we have also stood together -- fighting together for victory in the Persian Gulf, standing together against terrorism, working together to remove the nuclear cloud from our children's bright future; and together, preparing the way for peace in Bosnia, where your peacekeepers have performed heroically and saved the lives of so many innocent people. I thank the British nation for its strength and its sacrifice through all these struggles. And I am proud to stand here on behalf of the American people to salute you.

Ladies and gentlemen, in this century, democracy has not merely endured, it has prevailed. Now it falls to us to advance the cause that so many fought and sacrificed and died for. In this new era, we must rise not in a call to arms, but in a call to peace.

The great American philosopher, John Dewey, once said, "The only way to abolish war is to make peace heroic." Well, we know we will never abolish war or all the forces that cause it because we cannot abolish human nature or the certainty of human error. But we can make peace heroic. And in so doing, we can create a future even more true to our ideals than all our glorious past. To do so, we must maintain the resolve and peace we shared in war when everything was at stake.

In this new world our lives are not so very much at risk, but much of what makes life worth living is still very much at stake. We have fought our wars. Now let us wage our peace.

This time is full of possibility. The chasm of ideology has disappeared. Around the world, the ideals we defended and advanced are now shared by more people than ever before. In Europe and many other nations long-suffering peoples at last control their own destinies. And as the Cold War gives way to the global village, economic freedom is spreading alongside political freedom, bringing with it renewed hope for a better life, rooted in the honorable and healthy competition of effort and ideas.

America is determined to maintain our alliance for freedom and peace with you, and determined to seek the partnership of all like-minded nations to confront the threats still before us. We know the way. Together we have seen how we succeed when we work together.

When President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill first met on the Deck of the HMS Prince of Wales in 1941 at one of the loneliest moments in your nation's history, they joined in prayer, and the Prime Minister was filled with hope. Afterwards, he said, "The same language, the same hymns, more or less the same ideals. Something big may be happening, something very big."

Well, once again, he was right. Something really big happened. On the basis of those ideals, Churchill and Roosevelt and all of their successors built an enduring alliance and a genuine friendship between our nations. Other times in other places are littered with the vows of friendship sworn during battle and then abandoned in peacetime. This one stands alone, unbroken, above all the rest; a model for the ties that should bind all democracies.

To honor that alliance and the Prime Minister who worked so mightily to create it, I am pleased to announce here, in the home of British freedom, that the United States will name one of the newest and most powerful of its surface ships, a guided missile destroyer, the United States Ship Winston Churchill. (Applause.)

When that ship slips down the ways in the final year of this century, its name will ride the seas as a reminder for the coming century of an indomitable man who shaped our age, who stood always for freedom, who showed anew the glorious strength of the human spirit.

I thank the members of the Churchill family who are here today with us -- Lady Soames, Nicholas Soames, Winston Churchill -- and I thank the British people for their friendship and their strength over these many years.

After so much success together we know that our relationship with the United Kingdom must be at the heart of our striving in this new era. Because of the history we have lived, because of the power and prosperity we enjoy, because of the accepted truth that you and we have no dark motives in our dealings with other nations, we still bear a burden of special responsibility.

In these few years since the Cold War we have met that burden by making gains for peace and security that ordinary people feel every day. We have stepped back from the nuclear precipice with the indefinite extension of the nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, and we hope next year a comprehensive test ban treaty.

For the first time in a generation parents in Los Angeles and Manchester and, yes, in Moscow, can now turn out the lights at night knowing there are no nuclear weapons pointed at their children. Our nations are working together to lay the foundation for

lasting prosperity. We are bringing down economic barriers between nations with the historic GATT Agreement and other actions that are creating millions of good jobs for our own people and for people throughout the world. The United States and the United Kingdom are supporting men and women who embrace freedom and democracy the world over with good results, from South Africa to Central Europe, from Haiti to the Middle East.

In the United States, we feel a special gratitude for your efforts in Northern Ireland. With every passing month, more people walk the streets and live their lives safely -- people who otherwise would have been added to the toll of The Troubles.

Tomorrow I will have the privilege of being the first American President to visit Northern Ireland -- a Northern Ireland where the guns are quiet and the children play without fear. I applaud the efforts of Prime Minister Major and Irish Prime Minister Bruton who announced yesterday their new twin-track initiative to advance the peace process, an initiative that provides an opportunity to begin a dialogue in which all views are represented and all views can be heard.

This is a bold step forward for peace. I applaud the Prime Minister for taking this risk for peace. It is always a hard choice, the choice for peace, for success is far from guaranteed, and even if you fail, there will be those who resent you for trying. But it is the right thing to do. And in the end, the right will win. (Applause.)

Despite all of the progress we have made in all these areas, and despite the problems clearly still out there, there are those who say at this moment of hope we can afford to relax now behind our secure borders. Now is the time, they say, to let others worry about the world's troubles. These are the siren songs of myth. They once lured the United States into isolationism after World War I. They counseled appeasement to Britain on the very brink of World War II. We have gone down that road before. We must never go down that road again. We will never go down that road again. (Applause.)

Though the Cold War is over, the forces of destruction challenge us still. Today, they are armed with a full array of threats, not just the single weapon of frontal war. We see them at work in the spread of weapons of mass destruction, from nuclear smuggling in Europe to a vial of sarin gas being broken open in the Tokyo subway, to the bombing of the World Trade Center in New York.

We see it in the growth of ethnic hatred, extreme nationalism and religious fanaticism, which most recently took the life of one of the greatest champions of peace in the entire world, the Prime Minister of Israel.

We see it in the terrorism that just in recent months has murdered innocent people from Islamabad to Paris, from Riyadh to Oklahoma City. And we see it in the international organized crime and drug trade that poisons our children and our communities.

In their variety these forces of disintegration are waging guerrilla wars against humanity. Like communism and fascism, they spread darkness over light, barbarism over civilization. And like communism and fascism, they will be defeated only because free nations join against them in common cause.

We will prevail again if, and only if, our people support the mission. We are, after all, democracies. And they are

the ultimate bosses of our fate. I believe the people will support this. I believe free people, given the information, will make the decisions that will make it possible for their leaders to stand against the new threat to security and freedom, to peace and prosperity.

I believe they will see that this hopeful moment cannot be lost without grave consequences to the future. We must go out to meet the challenges before they come to threaten us. Today, for the United States and for Great Britain, that means we must make the difference between peace and war in Bosnia.

For nearly four years a terrible war has torn Bosnia apart, bringing horrors we prayed had vanished from the face of Europe forever -- the mass killings, the endless columns of refugees, the campaigns of deliberate rape, the skeletal persons imprisoned in concentration camps.

These crimes did violence to the conscience of Britons and Americans. Now we have a chance to make sure they don't return. And we must seize it.

We must help peace to take hold in Bosnia because so long as that fire rages at the heart of the European Continent, so long as the emerging democracies and our allies are threatened by fighting in Bosnia there will be no stable, undivided, free Europe. There will be no realization of our greatest hopes for Europe. But most important of all, innocent people will continue to suffer and die.

America fought two world wars and stood with you in the Cold War because of our vital stake in a Europe that is stable, strong and free. With the end of the Cold War all of Europe has a chance to be stable, strong and free for the very first time since nation states appeared on the European Continent.

Now the warring parties in Bosnia have committed themselves to peace, and they have asked us to help them make it hold -- not by fighting a war, but by implementing their own peace agreement. Our nations have a responsibility to answer the request of those people to secure their peace. Without our leadership and without the presence of NATO there will be no peace in Bosnia.

I thank the United Kingdom that has already sacrificed so much for its swift agreement to play a central role in the peace implementation. With this act, Britain holds true to its history and to its values. And I pledge to you that America will live up to its history and its ideals as well.

We know that if we do not participate in Bosnia our leadership will be questioned and our partnerships will be weakened -- partnerships we must have if we are to help each other in the fight against the common threats we face. We can help the people of Bosnia as they seek a way back from savagery to civility. And we can build a peaceful, undivided Europe.

Today I reaffirm to you that the United States, as it did during the defense of democracy during the Cold War, will help lead in building this Europe by working for a broader and more lasting peace, and by supporting a Europe bound together in a woven fabric of vital democracies, market economies and security cooperation.

Our cooperation with you through NATO, the sword and

shield of democracy, can help the nations that once lay behind the Iron Curtain to become a part of the new Europe. In the Cold War the alliance kept our nation secure, and bound the Western democracies together in common cause. It brought former adversaries together and gave them the confidence to look past ancient enmities. Now, NATO will grow and expand the circle of common purpose, first through its Partnership for Peace, which is already having a remarkable impact on the member countries; and then, as we agree, with the admissions of new democratic members. It will threaten no one. But it will give its new allies the confidence they need to consolidate their freedoms, build their economies, strengthen peace and become your partners for tomorrow.

Members of the House of Commons and Noble Lords, long before there was a United States, one of your most powerful champions of liberty and one of the greatest poets of our shared language wrote: "Peace hath her victories, no less renowned then war." In our time, at last, we can prove the truth of John Milton's words.

As this month of remembrance passes and the holidays approach, I leave you with the words Winston Churchill spoke to America during America's darkest holiday season of the century. As he lit the White House Christmas Tree in 1941, he said, "Let the children have their night of fun and laughter. Let us share to the full in their unstinted pleasure before we turn again to the stern tasks in the year that lies before us. But now, by our sacrifice and bearing, these same children shall not be robbed of their inheritance or denied their right to live in a free and decent world."

My friends, we have stood together in the darkest moments of our century. Let us now resolve to stand together for the bright and shining prospect of the next century. It can be the age of possibility and the age of peace. Our forebears won the war. Let us now win the peace.

May God bless the United Kingdom, the United States and our solemn alliance. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

1:05 P.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NOVEMBER 28, 1995

PRESS BRIEFING

BY

GEORGE MITCHELL,
SPECIAL ADVISER TO THE PRESIDENT
AND SECRETARY OF STATE
ON ECONOMIC INITIATIVES IN IRELAND

Aboard Air Force One
En Route to London, England

MR. MCCURRY: We are getting for you the transcript of the President's remarks as he departed for Marine One, so you'll get some context. But he obviously warmly welcomed the communique issued this evening by Prime Minister Bruton and Prime Minister Major.

A key feature of that communique was the agreement of the two governments to establish an international body to provide an independent assessment of the decommissioning issue. And as you may know in the communique, they have invited Senator George Mitchell, former Senator Mitchell, former Majority Leader of the United States Senate, to chair that body and to participate along with two other individuals who will be named to that body.

In a rare special guest appearance here on Air Force One, Senator Mitchell is here to provide his answer to that invitation. I think as many of you know, the Senator has been serving as the Special Adviser to the President and the Secretary of State on Economic Initiatives in Ireland. And he's been playing an indispensable role as we continue to provide economic support to the reconstruction of Northern Ireland, the counties of the Northern Ireland. And the President has made it clear tonight, both publicly and privately, that he's enormously gratified with the selection of Senator Mitchell for this very important role.

Senator Mitchell has earned the respect of both governments very clearly from the communique issued tonight, but also from the parties that he's been dealing with in the course of his service as Special Adviser. And it is a privilege to have him here to speak to you tonight.

I think that you also know, Under Secretary of State Peter Tarnoff, who is here representing Secretary Christopher, who is of necessity staying in Washington to work on Bosnia and to testify before Congress. But Under Secretary Tarnoff has been a key participant a lot of the discussions within our government about the effort to both nurture the peace process and to reconstruction Northern Ireland as it heads for a brighter economic future.

Q Is this a big concession on the part of the British, isn't it, to finally have negotiations even while there isn't a disarmament?

SENATOR MITCHELL: It's the fortunate culmination of many

months of discussions involving the governments of the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland and many other parties. And I believe that Prime Minister Major and Prime Minister Bruton deserve a great deal of credit for their courage and perseverance in helping to move the process of peace and reconciliation of Northern Ireland forward. I'm pleased to accept their invitation and look forward to this visit to consult with them and as many other parties as I can in the hopes that we can help them move the process forward.

Q Explain to us what you understand your job to be. What is exactly your mission?

SENATOR MITCHELL: The communique issued by the two governments is explicit in saying that they will ask the international body to, and I am now quoting, "to identify and advise on a suitable and acceptable method for full and verifiable decommissioning and report whether there is a clear commitment on the part of those in possession of such arms to work constructively to achieve that. And so I -- we hope to act directly in accordance with the terms set forth in the communique.

Q They're not bound at all by the report that's issued by the commission, are they?

SENATOR MITCHELL: That's correct. The communique makes clear that the report of the commission will be advisory and that they will consider it carefully.

Q -- specifically then be talking to Sinn Fein to assess their willingness to come forward or any other group that might have to decommission weapons?

SENATOR MITCHELL: My hope and intention to consult as widely as possible all parties. Indeed, the communique itself recommends wide consultation, and we expect to do that.

Q Does that mean even that there might be other international groups that you'd be talking to? I mean, that they've mentioned, like the Mideast, where people have given up arms and other places, or is it specifically you'll just be talking to the Irish -- or to the Northern Ireland groups?

SENATOR MITCHELL: I expect to be talking to those members of the two governments who have been involved in the discussions, so it won't be limited to persons in Northern Ireland and any other place or person from whom we can gain information or guidance that will be helpful. I don't at this point want to rule anything in or rule anything out. Our objective will be to do the best we can to be helpful.

Q What's the timetable --

Q By when do you intend to finish your report?

SENATOR MITCHELL: The communique has asked that we complete our report in January. And I hope that we'll be able to do that. The exact words were by mid-January 1996.

Q With that date and the end of February date that's also in the communique, does that -- the fact that those dates are coming up so quickly indicate that -- is that a good sign that they would impose such early, early deadlines on themselves?

SENATOR MITCHELL: I think it's a sign of their desire to move the process forward as rapidly as possible under the circumstances, which exist.

Q What's going to be the hardest part of this job you've been given?

SENATOR MITCHELL: It's impossible to know that yet. This is obviously the very first moment in which I've had a chance to read the communique, and I've not yet had a chance to talk personally with those persons who conducted the negotiations and wrote the communique. So I think it's a little premature.

MR. MCCURRY: Let me interject one thing -- the President has asked Senator Mitchell to participate in some of the bilateral discussions he'll have with both governments and others in the coming days. And I think that will be a good opportunity for the Senator also to see individually some of the key participants in the peace process.

SENATOR MITCHELL: That will be very helpful to me.

Q Do you think you'll be able to solve the issue of decommissioning where both sides accept your recommendation?

SENATOR MITCHELL: We're going to do the very best we can to comply with the terms of the communique and to help these governments and the people involved move this peace process forward. I believe it to be an historic time and an historic opportunity. Many people have taken many courageous steps which they deserve credit. And if we can be helpful in a supportive role, then we should attempt to do so.

Q How long has this idea been in the works? And why was it announced specifically right now?

SENATOR MITCHELL: That, of course, will have to be answered by the persons who made the announcement -- the governments involved, the United Kingdom and Republic of Ireland.

Q -- does this involve decommissioning by all sides? Does it involve decommissioning by all sides?

SENATOR MITCHELL: By its terms, the communique makes clear that it will involve all of the parties and participants. I don't have the exact words here, Helen, but it's very clear that -- it says here, "the removal from the political equation of arms silenced by the virtue of the welcome decisions taken last summer and autumn by those organisations that previously supported the use of arms for political purposes."

Q Why you, Senator? Does this mean that American brokering of the peace? Why you? Why were you chosen specifically?

SENATOR MITCHELL: I think you would obviously have to ask the governments of the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland. In the past 10 months, I've had the opportunity serving as the President's -- as Special Adviser to the President and Secretary of State on Economic Initiatives in Ireland to meet and talk with and work with many of the participants. And I'm pleased that they've acquired the confidence to ask me to serve in this role.

Q -- American brokering, though, of the peace in Ireland?

SENATOR MITCHELL: I think that the peace process and the reconciliation effort underway in Northern Ireland is a direct result of the courage and perseverance of Prime Minister Major, Prime Minister Bruton and his predecessor Prime Minister Reynolds and the people involved themselves. The American role is one of being helpful and supportive. President Clinton has played a very crucial and important role. But I believe that it's the parties themselves that deserve the credit and will, I think, be ultimately responsible for what I hope will be a successful result.

Q What would you say the factor of difficulty is in arriving at a strategy for, or an agreement on decommissioning?

SENATOR MITCHELL: I expect it will be difficult. It has taken the governments themselves a lengthy period of time to reach agreement on this communique. But the opportunity for good, the opportunity to make a major step forward in the peace process in Northern Ireland is so large that I think it is a task that I and the other members of the body will undertake willingly and with enthusiasm.

MR. MCCURRY: Thank you. Let's make this the last question. One more.

Q -- clarification. The issue of decommissioning then has to be worked out before they can go on to all-party talks, even with this, because they say they can -- they can move on to all-party talks in February.

SENATOR MITCHELL: I believe that the communique by its terms contemplates a two-track process.

Q -- explain what that is exactly --

MR. MCCURRY: -- deal with some of that on background. Just one other note, as we took off the President presented National Security Adviser Tony Lake with a bottle of champagne. And I think for those who are aware and will become aware of the role that he's played in reaching tonight's announcement, people will understand that that's a very well-deserved tribute to someone who did a lot of extraordinary work on behalf of the agreement that the two governments have been able to reach tonight, both a facilitating role and also in a very constructive role as the parties began to understand what each other were saying, directly to each other.

Q Did they break it open?

Q -- on ice?

MR. MCCURRY: They got a bottle of champagne on ice, which

--

Q (inaudible)

MR. MCCURRY: A good American brand.

Let me just, on the record, before we go on background -- on the record, the United States played an important facilitating role in helping the two governments reach this agreement tonight.

Very often in a difficult negotiation like this, the assistance of a third party, especially the United States, can be instrumental in helping both sides understand each other's positions more clear. One constructive role we played was to help listen to what both the Republic of Ireland and the United Kingdom were saying; and then from time to time contribute ideas on how they might bridge the differences that existed between their two sides. We did that in a series of conversations that the President, the Vice President, the National Security Adviser and others at the NSC participated in. I don't want to overstate the role, because in any agreement like this, it's the two governments themselves that have to reach an agreement. They have to take into account the positions of all the other parties that are instrumental in the peace process.

Q -- they proposed the two-track --

MR. MCCURRY: I didn't say that. I said what I just said very carefully and very deliberately and on the record.

END

9:13 P.M. EST

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

November 28, 1995

BACKGROUND BRIEFING
BY
SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALSAboard Air Force One En Route
to London, England

9:13 P.M. EST

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Just to answer your question, this is not something that the Americans put forward. It was not an American proposal. This is a proposal that was originally put forward in September by the two governments.

Q -- what exactly are you referring to --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: -- whether or not the twin track was a U.S. proposal. And it was put forth by the British and Irish government in September. There was disagreement, this canceled summit, and then they've been working over the last two months to put it back on track.

Q Who had to move the most in making this agreement?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Let me just go through a little bit more about what our role is and what happened. I think it's difficult to, you know, analyze who moved where and what. I think there's -- since September there's been -- election of David Trimble. I think there has been a lot more consultations with John Hume and Adams and others, as well as the Unionists in the north. To get an understanding of their political considerations, obviously the election of David Trimble -- need to have some additional time to talk to him.

You'll notice in the draft communique it has a reference to an elected assembly. That's a direct result of the conversations with David Trimble. It's an idea he's putting forward, Ian Paisley's been putting forward and others. So there's some movement in that direction. There's some other language in there that moves more towards the Nationalist side.

So I think both sides reached out a little bit more than they had in September and had some further discussions. But the basic principle is the same. This is a way to address both the issue of decommissioning and the need to get to all-party talks. If you notice in the draft communique, it says very clearly that the goal is to reach, to quote it exactly, "to an early launch of all-party negotiations with the firm aim of achieving it by the end of the end of February."

Q -- catalyst -- one thing that Lake did to break the camel's back or --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: No, this is very much

negotiations by the two governments. They've been working night and day over the last week to get this done. There have been a number of phone calls between the two prime ministers. The staffs have been working really night and day to get it there.

Our role consistently for the last two years has been to provide support for those who take risks for peace, to, as Mike said, listen to ideas, give our judgment. The United States has -- (inaudible) -- and Northern Ireland both because of our relationship with Britain and because of our relationship with Ireland, I think our role is trusted by all sides.

Q It seems like there was some kind of rush on the part of Ireland and Britain to finish this before the President arrived. Is that your understanding? Were they trying to get it done before the President got there?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I think you've got to look back on -- this is -- they've been working on this really since September. Obviously a presidential visit can have certain catalyst effects, but I think this is really something they've been working on for some time to do it. I'll leave it to them to characterize why --

Q -- reports yesterday that there was no chance of a breakthrough before -- for an agreement before the President's arrival. Was that an erroneous report?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: No, this has been up and down and back and forth very much over the last two weeks. Any time you get into an end negotiations, there's gloomy reports and there are positive reports. Frankly, we were getting both kinds of reports consistently over the last week.

One thing -- I also want to just walk you through a little bit what our role has been to give you some facts. I think it starts with the President. He's been very involved. He put this on the agenda when he came into office. This is something he felt the United States could play a helpful role in moving this process forward, asked us to look at where we could be helpful. And from the Gerry Adams visa to today we've been reaching out to both governments, to all parties trying to help -- be helpful.

Most recently -- there's actually a fact sheet in the press kit that goes through kind of what we've done over the years, so I won't go through all that, but from September on --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Did you guys get the press kit?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: We put that in there to kind of --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: There's a good -- good tick-tock in there on some of --

Q (inaudible)

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: -- basically starts with the President. The President's met with David Trimble, John Hume. He's talked to the two Prime Ministers regularly about this issue. The Vice President similarly has been very engaged in meeting with Alderdice, Adams, Trimble, again engaged in conversations and meetings.

Tony's had regular conversations with all of those people. Others, myself included, have been involved in those -- basically trying to figure out where the common ground here was and to underscore where they could -- how they could bridge the gap, putting forward a set of ideas.

The President in the last few days has spoke to Prime Minister Bruton. Tony spoke to Prime Minister -- Irish Foreign Minister Dick Spring. He's spoken tonight to Adams and to Trimble.

Q (inaudible)

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Tony.

Q (inaudible)

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Yes. Spoke to this evening to Adams and Trimble.

Q (inaudible)

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: This evening Tony talked to both Adams and Trimble, as well as the British and Irish on this. Over the last few weeks, he's had numerous conversations with a number of party leaders in Northern Ireland, as well as the two governments constantly feeding back ideas of where we --

Q -- ideas that he pointed out to either one of the parties that's now showing up in the communique -- (inaudible) -- break this loggerjam -- instead of just -- (inaudible) -- lot of talk -- anything specific you can think of?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I think I'm -- we're not really going to get into the specifics of what he proposed beyond saying that generally we thought the twin track was a way forward and that the importance of the decommissioning issue had to be addressed, and the need to move to all-party talks had to be on the table. Beyond that it was a question of defining it and refining it. And we were helpful along the way --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: One point on that. Sometimes by suggesting -- in a negotiation like this, sometimes by suggesting ideas from outside as two parties are working through a complicated task, that can sometimes spur more creative thought by the parties themselves. It's ultimately the parties who have to come to an agreement on --

Q -- couple of these ideas --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: This is not an American proposal, and I think you have to look at it that way. This is not something the American government sold to both sides.

Q (inaudible)

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: -- idea that was put forward in September as -- as a way to try and bridge this. The summit fell apart in September and they've been trying to basically put it back together since then. And our role --

Q -- Senator Mitchell for the job?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: The two governments did.

That came from them --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: He emerged some time ago actually --

Q -- made the suggestion -- mentioned. Were they used in the final communique?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: There are elements of our discussions throughout this, but I'm just not going to get into this --. I think you're also looking for something that's not there. This is their proposal and their idea. And this was really worked between the two Prime Ministers very tightly over the last week. And it's not accurate to say that we were in there pulling the strings. It was really the two governments doing it. Our role consistently has been supportive, encouraging, offering ideas that could be helpful, offering to help provide feedback to the various parties on what we thought was a reasonable proposal. But it really does come from both --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: -- sound like the Middle East peace process?

Q Yes, boy, I -- flashback city.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Well, there's a parallel there, because sometimes the role that the United States can play is really one that stimulates more creativity on the parties themselves as they are in direct dialogue. It's not dissimilar. I mean, obviously, a much different set of issues, different complexity to them, but it's a similar kind of facilitating role. When we say facilitating role, it's that -- you know, it helps stimulate creative thinking on the part -- the parties themselves.

Q -- twin tracks, just exactly how that works?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Basically, it will be one track will be a -- actually fairly well defined in the communique. The political track will be talking about what's on the agenda, what the all-party talks will encompass, and really all the preparatory work for the all-party talks where there going to end up getting into the substantive negotiations of the future of Northern Ireland. And that aim is that they would hopefully do that by the end of February. I think the term is the firm aim of doing that by the end of February. The second track --

Q -- by February -- actually having the all-party talks or have the preparation ready?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Having the all-party talks start by then is the firm aim. It's a target date is the word I would use.

Q -- prepare for it while on the other hand they're doing --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Preparatory talks for the all-party talks is --

Q -- contingent upon the decommissioning issue being resolved?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: -- that's one of the issues that is going to be addressed. I mean, it's not clear -- no one knows quite the end game here. And Senator Mitchell has his work cut out for him.

Q -- second track --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: -- second track is how to deal with the issue of weapons. And it says very explicitly in here that they're going to be asked to identify and advise on a suitable and acceptable method for verifiable -- full and verifiable decommissioning and report on whether there's a clear commitment to work constructively to achieve that goal. And the international body is an independent body that's going to offer its views on how to achieve that. And the hope here is that there will be enough progress on both tracks to resolve the outstanding issues which are primarily the decommissioning issue and what is the nature of the all-party talks to be able to launch them at the end of February.

Q So then if the decommissioning --

MR. MCCURRY: This is the last question. It's 9:20 p.m.

Q -- if the decommissioning issue then is not solved by the end of the -- by January, then the all-party talks cannot go on, correct?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I think that's looking at it the wrong way. This is starting a process, which will --

Q -- half full.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Yes. We're hoping that this will engender confidence on all sides in the process so that that will -- the all-party talks will be launched. It's also important to remember that the body's recommendations are not binding. The governments are free to accept them or reject them as they see --. There are no guarantees at the end of this, but I think the fact that the two governments have agreed to launch this process, hopefully that the parties will participate is a major step forward in the peace process, and one that itself is --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Although my understanding is that both Major and Bruton have said tonight in their press conference that they've held that they would obviously consider the recommendations of this international body very seriously -- words to that effect.

Q -- won't be all-party talks --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: There is a firm commitment on both governments to do all they can to try and achieve that goal. And that is not to be minimized.

Q They recommend everybody -- Litfenoff (ph.) in 1939 said the way to disarm is to disarm. If you ask everybody to disarm, is it then a question of verifying a disarmament? Could you have a cease-fire and --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Well, there are a lot of ways to do it. You can have people holding on to their weapons, turning them over to a third party, putting in lists. I mean,

there's -- there are 20 different ways to approach this issue. And that's one of the things that Senator Mitchell is going to be looking at.

Q -- effort to prevent a breakdown?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I would say it's a major step forward in the peace process, one that creates a process that will provide new confidence and help in moving it forward.

Q -- accomplishment, does the President have any specific proposals he's bringing now to advance the process in all the bilaterals?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Well, I mean --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: -- little bit about how this will affect the tenor of the talks.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS: I think obviously we're very pleased with it, and it will enable us to have conversations about how to move this forward as opposed to how to launch it, which is moving the process forward.

Q Do you have specific proposals you're bringing with you to bring --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I think at this point we're going to try and see how we can be helpful in getting the parties to participate constructively in the twin track, which is -- makes our visit frankly much more substantive than sort of just negotiating how to get the twin track launched. Now you can talk about what is the nature of the all-party talks, what is the issue of the decommissioning issue, and will add substance and weight to the visit. It underscores the importance of the United States in Northern Ireland itself, where you're going to be meeting with a range of leaders. We're going to be seeing all of the political leaders there. And this is clearly going to be top on the agenda with all of them. And I think it helps engender confidence in the process for them to be able to talk through their concerns with the President of the United States and have us continue to support those who are involved in this process. That in itself will be a major --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: The other way of looking at this is had there not been this development tonight, this trip, which has gotten beyond just the issue of the peace process in Northern Ireland, important components that involve European security issues, Bosnia, a range of economic issues that will be under consideration, that might have been dominated by trying to keep a process on track. Tonight these two governments have become two engines that have gotten back on track and are now accelerating. And that's been done by them. We can now contribute ideas on how they can keep their momentum and how they can keep moving forward.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: It also helps reinforce the theme that the President mentioned when he left the White House this evening, which is that the United States stands with the peacemakers of the world. And we're prepared to stand by those who take risks for peace, not just in Northern Ireland, not just -- but anywhere. And I think particularly given the progress we've made in Bosnia this week, it really underscores the need, one, for American leadership in the world, and, two, for our

engagement in the efforts to support those who are taking risks
for peace.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

9:33 P.M. EST

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(London, England)

For Immediate Release

November 29, 1995

REMARKS BY GEORGE MITCHELL,
SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
AND SECRETARY OF STATE ON ECONOMIC INITIATIVES IN IRELAND
TO THE POOL

Heathrow Airport
London, England

7:27 A.M. EST

Q Senator, can you tell us exactly what your mission now will be, what are you trying to accomplish?

SENATOR MITCHELL: Well, I'm pleased to accept the invitation of the Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland to chair an international body to assist in the process of peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland.

The communique issued by the two Prime Ministers gave the international body a specific mandate and a time frame. And it will, of course, involve the issue that's come to be known as decommissioning. And I hope that we can make some contribution to the process.

I think the Prime Ministers of both countries, Prime Minister Major and Prime Minister Bruton, and all of the parties deserve a great deal of credit for the perseverance and the courage they've shown in moving this process to this point. And we hope we can help in that effort.

Q How difficult a task would you say it is?

SENATOR MITCHELL: I think it will be difficult because it's obviously an issue on which there are strongly held feelings on all sides, and has been candidly substantial disagreement. But I think there is an historic opportunity here, which all much recognize as the overriding objective, a chance to see the lasting peace in Northern Ireland, I think is so important that I hope all parties will agree that we have to move forward.

Q Is your mission to speak with all parties in this --

SENATOR MITCHELL: Yes, my intention is to consult as widely as possible, to invite comments and recommendations from as many interested parties who want to participate and go through them all as fairly as open-mindedly as is possible.

Q The time frame seems very short, though. You do have until, what, the end of --

SENATOR MITCHELL: Well, it's the middle of January we're asked to report. It is a relatively short time. But if we

get right to it, as I intend that we will, and all parties participate in a prompt and effective way, I hope we can meet that objective.

Thank you all very much.

END

7:29 A.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

November 28, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
UPON DEPARTURE

The South Lawn

7:26 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: I have just come from a meeting with the Congressional leadership, where we discussed the importance of continuing America's leadership in the search for peace in Bosnia. I emphasized to them this afternoon, as I did to the American people last evening, that our mission will be clear, limited, and achievable; and that the risks to our troops will be minimized. Bosnia is a case where our leadership can make the difference between peace and war. And America must choose peace.

Now I am departing for Europe, where British Prime Minister Major and Irish Prime Minister Bruton have just announced the launching of a promising new twin-track initiative to advance the peace process in Northern Ireland. I want to salute both these leaders for their vision, their courage, and for their leadership for peace.

The twin-track initiative will establish an international body to address the issue of arms decommissioning, while at the same time organizing preliminary political talks in which all parties -- all parties -- will be invited to participate. I am pleased that former Senator George Mitchell will chair the international body. The goal is to bring all the parties together for political talks on the future of Northern Ireland.

This is an opportunity to begin a dialogue in which all views are presented and all are heard. In just a few days, I will become the first American President ever to visit Northern Ireland. Last year's cease fire and the process of negotiations has sparked a remarkable transformation in that land. For the first time in twenty-five years, children can walk to school without fear. Bomb-shattered shop fronts have been replaced by new businesses. People can visit their relatives and friends without the burdens of checkpoints or barricades. Crossing the border between north and south is as simple as going over a speed bump.

The twin-track initiative builds on those achievements. It brings the people of Northern Ireland one step closer to the day when the only barriers their children will face are the limits of their dreams.

Today's announcement also brings hope and strength to all those who struggle for peace around the world. It demonstrates that the will for peace is more powerful than bombs or bullets. And it reminds us once again that with courage and resolve bitter legacies of conflict can be overcome.

The United States is proud to support the peace makers in Northern Ireland, in the Middle East, in Bosnia, and throughout the world. Those who stand up for peace will have the United States standing with them. Thank you very much.

(7:29 p.m. EST)

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(7:29 p.m. EST)

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

November 28, 1995

PRESS BRIEFING
BY MIKE MCCURRY

The Briefing Room

12:10 P.M. EST

MR. MCCURRY: Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen. First, the President and some of his meetings this morning on the subject of Bosnia -- he has just concluded a 45-minute briefing with General Shalikashvili on the NATO operational plan, which is now coming together in Brussels. I think, as you know, General Shalikashvili, as our Chiefs of Defense staff person, participated in meetings yesterday in Brussels in which NATO military commanders finalized the plan that will now be presented to the North Atlantic Council in the next several days.

The President was gratified for the briefing, obviously, and impressed by the considerable detail with which NATO military commanders have addressed the issues surrounding the deployment of the implementation force, which will now help keep the peace in Bosnia.

Based on the briefing the President has received today, he will be able to instruct Ambassador Robert Hunter, who will represent the United States at the meetings of the North Atlantic Council we believe Thursday and possibly Friday as to the U.S. position on the integrated NATO operational plan. And I think, as you know, that plan is likely to be adopted sometime by the end of the week.

In addition, the President has been on the telephone in the hour since his radio -- or television address last night; has had contact with various members of Congress, including the leadership; also talked to former President Bush and former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs Colin Powell, among others. And he will depart shortly for Capitol Hill where he will address the Senate Democratic Caucus on the subject of Bosnia, although he will likely also have some conversations related to the budget and the coming budget discussions.

The President will participate in meetings with the congressional leadership this afternoon, and then a larger group of members of committees that have jurisdiction for armed services issues and national security issues. And the subject there, of course, will be Bosnia. You will have an opportunity to hear from him at the beginning of that meeting.

And sometime either just prior to those meetings this afternoon, or just after, he is expected to take action on both the Alaska bill and the highway bill. And I think you all got the general drift that he is likely to indicate his approval of both.

That is sort of an update of the President's schedule. He departs this evening for a trip to the United Kingdom, Northern Ireland, a visit with our troops in Germany, and then the US-EU Summit in Madrid, a trip that will be very important both in framing a larger international discussion of the issue of Bosnia. There has been very gratifying response to the President's remarks in European capitals.

In one way or another throughout Europe, European leaders are making it clear that the U.S. participation in this NATO force to implement the peace is an indispensable element of the plans to keep the peace in Bosnia. And literally, as one defense minister said, it would not happen if the United States were not to participate -- a point that the President, of course, made to the nation in his address last night.

So his work on the subject of Bosnia will continue. In the coming days, we'll also be monitoring closely the discussions between the Republic of Ireland and the United Kingdom on the Northern Ireland peace process --

Q Where is that going? Is there any break in that at all, or is it a stalemate?

MR. MCCURRY: That would be up to the parties to report. We have monitored those discussions and attempted to facilitate their direct dialogue, when that was the appropriate role to play -- that it would be up to the parties themselves to indicate the status.

Q You mean, you're going in there, you don't know what the situation is?

MR. MCCURRY: I think we have a very good idea of what the situation is, but as I indicated, it's up to the parties to report publicly how they're making in their -- what kind of progress they're making in their dialogue.

Q Mike, is there any presidential action likely today on the defense appropriations bill?

MR. MCCURRY: There is no action anticipated by the President on that subject. The Chief of Staff is meeting with the Chair of the Senate Appropriations Committee and the House Appropriations Committee at this hour. And we'll have to -- based on that conversation, there will then be subsequent conversations here. And I can't predict that the President will take any final action on the DOD appropriations bill today.

Q What was Bush's reaction, Powell's reaction?

MR. MCCURRY: I don't think it would be appropriate for me to characterize their responses --

Q Well, he was soliciting their support. Did he get their support?

MR. MCCURRY: They are public figures and entitled to make their own public statements on this subject.

Q When were they called? Were they last night, today? Which --

MR. MCCURRY: My understanding is that they were during

the course of the evening last night.

Q Why did he call them? Was he looking for their support, or did he just want to explain what he was doing?

MR. MCCURRY: I think he felt it important to reach out to those who played important leadership roles in the most recent administration and to leaders on the Hill to both summarize his address, to stress its importance, and in some cases to thank those who had already commented publicly that they would keep an open mind and continue to hear the President as he makes his case to the nation.

Q Who else did he call besides Powell and Bush?

MR. MCCURRY: He called, among others, and this may not be an inclusive list, but I think it is -- represents most of the calls he made last night: Senators Nunn, Robb, Dole, Speaker Gingrich, Senator Daschle and Congressman Gephardt, as well as General Powell and President Bush. He also touched base --

Q What did he say -- how am I doing? They heard the speech. He didn't have to explain the speech to him.

MR. MCCURRY: Helen, as I already indicated, I think it would be appropriate for them, if they wish to comment publicly for them to comment --

Q -- the story a little to get it off the --

Q How long did he talk to Bush, and did they talk about anything else?

MR. MCCURRY: I didn't -- don't have a detailed readout on the call. I know that the subject was principally Bosnia, but I don't know whether they touched on other subjects.

Q Has he called Bush before?

MR. MCCURRY: He's had several conversations from time to time with former President Bush. They most recently reviewed U.S.-China relations and Bosnia when they met in the Oval Office after the unveiling of President Bush's portrait in the Residence.

Q What's the White House assessment now for where things stand with Congress on Bosnia?

MR. MCCURRY: I'm sorry --

Q What's your assessment of where things stand with Congress now on Bosnia --

MR. MCCURRY: Well, the President and the White House are gratified that many members of Congress last night said what we believe to be the general public reaction -- that there is support for the President as the wrestles with a difficult decision that he had to make, while at the same time there is skepticism about the deployment of U.S. troops in connection with this effort to keep the peace. That's understandable in the President's view. We believe we will have to continue to explain to the American people the nature of this conflict, the precise details of the settlement, which has now brought that conflict, we hope, to an end, and the requirements of U.S. leadership as we work with the parties to implement that peace. Not one speech will convince a skeptical Congress or a skeptical

nation that this is the right course. But the President believes in time the argument that he advanced considerably with a very good speech last night will prevail, because he believes the merits of the case he presented last night are so very strong.

Q There seems to be some sentiment in the House not to bring the nonbinding resolution to a vote. Do you have any assurance from Speaker Gingrich that the House will vote on this?

MR. MCCURRY: I believe it would be more proper for the Speaker to talk about congressional consideration of any expression of support they wish to offer to the President. We will certainly have further conversations, indeed, most likely this afternoon, with the leadership about the timetable for congressional consideration, but in our view that consideration and that expression of support are very important as we look to the eventual deployment of troops to Bosnia by mid-December.

Q What is the likelihood that the President, at some point, would consider concessions on the budget in order to win support for the Bosnia plan?

MR. MCCURRY: The President does not see those as being directly related propositions. There is a funding issue associated with the deployment of U.S. troops. That is, indeed, one aspect of the conversation that Chief of Staff Panetta is not having on the Hill. We've got a \$260 billion-plus appropriations bill for defense that does not specifically account for the deployment that is now necessary, related to Bosnia. And how that funding is handled in the context of the overall appropriations bill is something the Chief of Staff certainly wanted to address. But the larger budget issues need to be addressed along the lines of the principles the President has articulated. And certainly the timetable that the Congress has made clear through its leadership, is the priority of Congress. And that's the process that will begin, we hope, with good-faith discussions tonight.

The only thing the President hopes in connection with budget discussions is that we at least agree between the Executive Branch and the Legislative Branch, early and quickly, as the highest priority, that we avert another government shutdown on December 16th.

The President believes there is no reason for the U.S. taxpayers to foot another gigantic bill for the cost of a shutdown, nor should anyone have to negotiate these very difficult, contentious budget issues in an atmosphere of crisis.

Q Do you share the views of a lot of aides here at the White House who think it's unlikely that any sort of agreement will be reached by the 15th?

MR. MCCURRY: There is no way of telling at this point. And the people who are serious about the budget discussions coming forward I don't believe are predicting either a quick resolution or a quick failure. They believe they will be very difficult, tough negotiations, most likely going right up to mid-December. But there's a hope by the President we will avert any crisis atmosphere, and certainly a hope that they can resolve these issues amicably and get on with the nation's business.

Q Mike, in light of the Speaker's complaints about the flight to Rabin's funeral, would you expect any discussion of the budget at today's talks? (Laughter.)

MR. MCCURRY: I don't know that I see the direct connection there. It must be alluding me today. But I don't --

Q -- the President didn't take the opportunity aboard Air Force One to discuss the budget. He has another opportunity today.

MR. MCCURRY: Oh, well, they will be in the room together, and I think the President will be perfectly willing to discuss the budget if there's a desire to discuss the budget. I don't think he would be surprised if there is some discussion of the budget.

Q Mike, would you discuss some of the rationalization for the President's decision to go ahead and sign the highway bill?

MR. MCCURRY: I would prefer that you see the full statement that will explicate the President's reasoning. But it is essentially this -- there are gaps in the interstate highway system, which is really one of the testaments to America's ability to pull together as a community and complete massive and important public works projects. There's a gap, I think, of just over \$5 billion of funding necessary to complete critical segments of that interstate highway system. And without the designation that is contained in this bill, many states would therefore not receive the federal funding they need to complete that necessary work to complete the system.

Now, the President's chief concern all along, and the transportation department's chief concern, has been highway fatalities. And we know that there is a direct correlation between speeds on interstate highways and highway fatalities. Now, the transportation department has been doing some very sophisticated work about how highways of the future can minimize the risk of highway fatalities, including high-speed crashes that result in fatalities. And that work will continue. It's important. It's important R&D work that, frankly, we hope won't be threatened by further budget cuts. And that will be a way in which we address highway safety issues in an environment in which states do have options to raise speed limits on those federal highways and, indeed, their own state highways.

Q So he's going to swallow his concerns about the fatalities on -- in this country that have diminished under these --

MR. MCCURRY: I don't know that I'd say swallow it. He's going to recognize that there's overwhelming support in Congress as it passed this bill. There's not a certainty that any veto that he would exercise would be sustained by the Congress. And in any event, his concern about the funding and the completion of the highway system remains.

Q What is his view just on this one specific issue, the speed limit? Would he veto it if it was stand-alone piece of legislation?

MR. MCCURRY: Well, the President has said and the transportation department has said that if that were a stand-alone issue, which it is not, we don't think there is a persuasive case for raising the current maximum federal speed limit, based on the public safety-public health issues that arise. But it is not presented to the President in that fashion, and as everyone in this room knows, he unfortunately does not have the line-item veto.

Q A lot of the questions on Bosnia on the Hill

concern exit strategy. Can you put the year in context? Is that an estimate of how long it takes or is that a deadline, a rough deadline, that we'll leave once that time is up?

MR. MCCURRY: Well, I'd prefer to leave that discussion to after the formal adoption of the plan by the President -- first by the North Atlantic Council, then final approval by the President. The President will have an opportunity to review that in further detail when he meets with some of our senior military leaders on Saturday. But in a broad sense, the military mission as it has been very precisely defined by NATO, and the mission plan that has now been developed in Brussels by NATO estimates that in the period of one year, approximately year, you could accomplish the mission objectives. The mission objectives are to help the parties withdraw to the places that they have committed to withdraw to as a result of the agreement in Dayton and then to police in a sense the requirements to allow freedom of movement, freedom of access that are contained in the very detailed annexes that are part of the Dayton agreement. The President believes and the senior military leaders of the United States believes, and NATO military commanders believe, that that mission can be accomplished in approximately one year.

Q Is Panetta's meetings with the appropriations chairmen focused on the defense appropriations bill --

MR. MCCURRY: Yes, the meeting he is having today at noon is solely on that issue. As you, I think most of you know, that sometime this evening, I think after 6:00 p.m., there will be further discussions as they begin to talk about the budget talks. They're talking about talking beginning this evening.

Q Out of that budget meeting, do you there will become an agreement on how to proceed with budget negotiations? Is that what is expected?

MR. MCCURRY: Can I use a State Department word? They'll discuss the modalities this evening. But I don't know that they will necessarily resolve it. The President believes it's important to get on to the substance of the discussions, and we hope there will be a minimum amount of dispute over the nature of the talks or the process. But it's clear that the White House has important, strong views; the congressional Republican leadership has strong views; and congressional Democrats have strong views. And all of those views need to be accommodated in reaching an agreement that will have, broad, bipartisan support. That's what we're going to need if we're going to achieve the objectives of a balanced budget in a time certain, reflecting the principles the President has put forward to the Congress, as the President and Congress have now agreed to in the recent continuing resolution.

Q Mike, what's the reaction to Republican efforts to even dictate who's in the room, the Democratic makeup, that Laura Tyson has never wanted a balanced budget, so she's out -- that kind of stuff?

MR. MCCURRY: They are the kinds of issues in an environment in which we are dealing literally with life and death issues that don't seem to be so significant that they are irreconcilable.

Q And do you know who's going to go tonight?

MR. MCCURRY: I'm not going to predict. I know Mr. Panetta will go, and we'll see where we go from there.

Q Do you have any reading of your White House comment line since the Oval address --

MR. MCCURRY: Yes, we do. I got a brief rundown on it. There were several thousand calls in the period, I guess, through last evening and probably into this morning as well. And I describe the results as not counter-intuitive, to use a word the pollsters sometimes use, because it reflects some of the news organizations that have polled.

I'd say of the several thousand calls, they were pretty well evenly split on the subject of President's speech -- some Americans liking it, other Americans not liking it. On the subject of deployment of U.S. troops to Bosnia, there was a great deal of skepticism. And the American people clearly want to know more; they clearly are asking questions like why do we have to carry this burden; why aren't the Europeans doing more; what is this conflict about to begin with?

Obviously, I'm editing out -- the President got a lot of very complimentary comments from the American people, too, but people are skeptical about the need for U.S. troops. And that's -- the President began to make that case that night, and I think he will continue to make that case, and so will administration officials on the Hill. And we are fairly confident in time, particularly as Americans understand more about the role the Europeans have played in protecting the warring parties during the years of the UNPROFOR deployment, the commitment that they've made over time, and the requirement now that the United States participate as a matter of the ability of NATO to address a conflict of this nature. As they see that argument unfold; as they learn more about it -- and clearly they're anxious to learn more -- they will be supportive in time.

Q How many thousands -- how many calls were there, more narrowly -- 5,000, 7,000?

MR. MCCURRY: It looks to me there were probably in the neighborhood of between 2,500 and 3,000 calls, just on the information I have, and that's a rolling figure, as more people call into the line. But the President appreciates, you know, the response of the American people.

Q That's last night?

MR. MCCURRY: Last night through early this morning.

Q Is the President at least willing to consider the possibility that no matter how many speeches he gives and how many talks -- how many arms he tries to twist, that the American public just is not going to accept this; they have a gut feeling that this is not the right thing to do?

MR. MCCURRY: No, the President is not willing to accept that. And I think he feels the merits of this case, as they are understood in time by the American people, are strong. And that Americans rise to a challenge like this, even when they are initially skeptical about the need for such a deployment. They feel, and they know, that in this world that we live in now, we have some unique responsibilities. And we have those unique responsibilities because we've been fairly well blessed in this world. And there are times when our leadership role and the role that most Americans expect the United States to play in this world require stepping up to a challenge like the one we will face in Bosnia. The President is

confident the American people, as they think through the issues here, will come to see that. And he hopes that the Congress will reflect that view in time.

Q It's interesting, because the President did accept public opposition to the deployment in Haiti and felt that it was something we needed to do despite the public opposition. You feel the situations are different enough that the President feels the argument will be made for Bosnia and would not go against public opposition?

MR. MCCURRY: I think the cases are different because the nature of the deployment is different. Our troops, as they went into Haiti, were facing a prospect of armed resistance. We believe the commitments of the parties in Bosnia lessen the likelihood of that, and every effort has now been made to minimize the risk.

And I think the bottom line is, that Americans as they come to understand we're not going to war but we're going for peace will appreciate that the United States has got a role that we must play of necessity because of the leadership role we play in the most important and endurable military alliance in world history; and also because of the moral commitment we have to both the security and stability of Europe and the need to end the type of atrocity we have seen in Bosnia over the last three and a half years.

Q Did the President call President Bush and Colin Powell because they had the experience of trying to build congressional and public support before the Persian Gulf War?

MR. MCCURRY: He felt it was just a good idea to touch base with them, two people who were instrumental in winning the Persian Gulf War; touch base with them and to advise them of the decisions that he had reached as Commander in Chief and make sure that they had an opportunity, personally, to ask any questions they might have of him as they, themselves learn more about the nature of our commitment to the peace process.

Q He wasn't seeking the benefit of their experience in -- before the Persian Gulf --

MR. MCCURRY: I wouldn't suggest that, but I'm sure -- without getting into the substance of the calls, which I don't think it would be proper to brief on, I think the President appreciated any insights that they may have had.

Q Let me make sure I understood this recent exchange. My understanding of the administration's position is that it would be vastly preferable to have an expression of support from Congress, but not essential. Is that still the case?

MR. MCCURRY: It's our view that we will seek an expression of support, and the President has some confidence he will get that expression of support.

Q Two -- you might have answered the first one -- is there a date yet for Paris?

MR. MCCURRY: There is not. We are still in consultations, and we still are aiming in the neighborhood of mid-December.

Q And the second, Mike -- Claire had asked earlier about the prospect of no deal. And if the President is so sure about

-- or hopeful that not only there can be a deal on the budget, but that there can be one without another shutdown, why is there so much currency in discussion the prospect of a no-deal, including among the President's advisors, and often in public?

MR. MCCURRY: Well, because I think that most of -- they have to be realistic about what the prospects are. And there are deep differences in philosophy between the approach of the Republican congressional majority and the President on these issues.

And it's not clear at this point how those differences are going to be bridged. But the President also believes that Congress will most likely not want to endure the same type of crisis atmosphere we had most recently when the federal government had to shut down. And he is going to suggest they make a commitment not to go -- put the country through that type of situation again, as we attempt to resolve the issues.

Q Is a no-deal deal a politically palatable outcome for the White House and the President?

MR. MCCURRY: Well, a no-deal deal, quote, unquote, is impossible in a sense, because the federal government must function and it can't function without budget authority all the way through November of 1996. Now, it's a separate question to ask: Are the fundamental questions about priorities, of what commitments we expect of our federal government, of what we the people want from our federal government and how much we're willing to pay for it. Those fundamental principles are not going to be reconciled fully, in the President's view, in the coming budget discussions. And they will most likely form a part of the political discussion that this nation will have together as we approach November of 1996. And the President believes that's proper and very appropriate. And frankly, he relishes the notion that we'll have a presidential election in 1996 that's about something important, rather than something insignificant. We've had too many elections that have dwelt on the insignificant.

Q Are you saying you think Republicans have more riding on the deal, a reconciliation deal, a seven-year balanced budget?

MR. MCCURRY: No. I'm not saying that.

Q Are you saying, then, that come December 15th, if no agreement is reached then the President wants a commitment from them to have some sort of either long-term continuing resolution in effect, or stop-gap measure so that talks aren't sidetracked?

MR. MCCURRY: Yes. Something to make sure that we have the orderly functioning of the federal government, absent a resolution of the larger issues, so that we don't go through the same type of shutdown scenario that we had to go through this month.

Q Do you have any briefing schedule in Europe? And also, when they say "press statements" what does that mean -- at Downing Street and --

MR. MCCURRY: Typically, I think in -- at 10 Downing we're doing a front door, as it's called, which is a familiar press availability, as you know it here, when there is an important bilateral meeting here. And there will be other press availabilities the President will engage on during the balance of his schedule.

And we will brief regularly as necessary back here because the focus is going to be on budget discussions. I've encouraged the Chief of Staff to speak with reporters up on Capitol Hill when he is concluding meetings up there that will be of substantial interest to news organizations, because that's probably the best place for us to provide our thoughts on any deliberations that are occurring up there.

Q Is the President going to meet with the NATO commander when he's --

MR. MCCURRY: He will see General Joulwan on Saturday in Germany, yes. And I believe -- I strongly suspect that he'll see some other NATO commanders and also U.S. commanders who are dual-hatted.

Q Japanese news reports are saying the President will reschedule his trip to Japan in April. Does it look like the trip will be later rather than sooner?

MR. MCCURRY: We've had discussions with the government of Japan about dates for a possible trip. To my knowledge, there have been no formal resolution of those discussions. There are dates that are being discussed in April.

Q Signing the Alaska bill today -- is the Tongass National Forest issue bill, or what are the big questions in this --

MR. MCCURRY: I had something on that earlier that described -- oh, I lost it. We'll look for it. It's got a variety of forest protection measures, I think, in it. Let me get a --

Q This is not --

MR. MCCURRY: No, this is not -- it does not relate to the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge.

Q Today's Bosnia meetings -- does the President expect to get into nuts and bolts discussion of funding, or does that come further down the road once the broader questions about what the force role is?

MR. MCCURRY: I think he fully -- is fully prepared to answer the question, how much do we estimate that this will cost if the deployment is along the lines that has been suggested in some of the initial work on the NATO operational plan. The mechanism for funding, whether it should be a supplemental or how it would be funded, I think, is going to have to develop after we consult further following Mr. Panetta's --

Q -- total pricetag on military and the nonmilitary aspects of --

MR. MCCURRY: I cannot. I know Secretary Perry has indicated the deployment of that component of the overall NATO force for the period that we've talked about is in the neighborhood of \$1.5 billion.

Q But that doesn't include any of the subsequents --the development work that's --

MR. MCCURRY: The type of financial assistance that is being discussed, and that I think will be a major focus of the London conference early next month, which it runs in the billions of dollars

when you look at the total need to reconstruct Bosnia, which will be borne principally by the Europeans and by other nations. But our commitment that we have publicly discussed in the coming years for that reconstruction effort is in the neighborhood of \$500 to \$600 million, "m" as in million dollars.

Q Mike, when is the President going to announce his candidacy for reelection?

MR. MCCURRY: I don't know. Next year sometime. He's been very preoccupied with other matters, and he hasn't been thinking about that very much.

Q Is he running? (Laughter.)

MR. MCCURRY: Let me go through just on the -- this is a ban on oil exports from the Alaska North Slope. It does not affect new exploration or drilling in ANWR, to my knowledge. It's an administration-backed measure that provides incentives that will stimulate oil and gas production in the U.S. and allows -- also allows sale -- there's been discussion of privatization of the Alaska Power Administration. It would allow the sale of the Alaska Power Administration -- other provisions in there.

Q It repeals the ban on exporting North Slope --

MR. MCCURRY: Yes, it repeals a 22-year-old ban on exporting crude from the North Slope.

Did you have another one? You didn't get any luck on that one. Let's try something else. Anyone else?

Q -- benefit our trade deficit, presumably, with Japan, if we can sell oil from the North Slope?

MR. MCCURRY: It would have positive impacts on our trade situation, but more importantly it also reflects a more comprehensive approach to our national energy strategy, as well.

Q So what did Bush and Powell say?

MR. MCCURRY: What did they say?

Q -- when they opposed going into Bosnia in the first place?

MR. MCCURRY: Well, you know, they -- I can't honestly say I've seen anything reported on President Bush's view, but I have seen some things reported on General Powell's view. And I think it just is more appropriate for them to speak for themselves. They certainly are very capable of doing so.

Thank you.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

12:42 P.M. EST

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

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BACKGROUND BRIEFING
BY
SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL

The Briefing Room

12:55 P.M. EST

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Basically I'll go through briefly the four stops that we're planning and tell you basically what we're trying to accomplish in each stop and then open it up for questions. I'd rather just go through the whole agenda first.

The first stop the President will make is in London. It will be actually his first visit to London as President, the first time he's gone to 10 Downing Street. The general tenor of the trip will be to underscore the importance of the alliance, the close working relationship of Prime Minister Major and the President, and the need to continue to work together on the full range of security and economic issues, which you all are very familiar with. I would expect the meetings with Major to focus quite a bit on Bosnia, the other range of issues -- NATO expansion, Middle East, Ireland. I think you all know the agenda pretty well. I'd be happy to take questions on that later.

In London, he will also be meeting with the opposition leader, Tony Blair, as he does in every major country that he goes to, he usually tries to do that. Again, they will touch base on the full range of issues that the time allots.

He will also be giving a major address in London at Westminster. And that will -- I think you should look at it as a fairly major foreign policy address. He will be emphasizing the need to advance our common agenda, building a bit on the sacrifices of World War II and his themes from his visit to the commemoration of the D-Day in Europe, the need to continue those efforts to preserve the peace; we won the war, we need to win the peace, building a little bit on the themes that the children of our sacrifice and the need to mobilize support for building the peace equal to that, which was mobilized during the war.

He will also go into a little bit on the European security issues there. But the theme of that speech primarily will be the need for America's leadership in the world and the need to really have the champion of peace, building on Bosnia and whatever else is going on there.

He will also have a dinner that evening with Prime Minister Major. It will be some sort of 60-some-odd people, I think -- a working dinner with Major. The next day he goes to Belfast, Northern Ireland. He is the first President, U.S. President to go to Northern Ireland. The trip itself is significant. His presence there should not be minimized as a historic event in itself. He's

going there primarily to underscore the importance of the cease fire, to celebrate with the people of Northern Ireland the new era of peace there, to underscore and support their efforts for peace and to, again, see what we can do to help support the peace process in Northern Ireland.

His sheer presence in Northern Ireland in itself sends a strong message of encouragement to the people, will help remind them just how far they've come and give them encouragement to continue to build on the peace. He will be giving, again, what I would term an important address at a plant in the center of Belfast called Mackie's Plant. It's a manufacturing plant of machineries that has an interesting history. It's gone -- it had a difficult history of employment in the past, serious unemployment issues, discrimination issues. They are now back on the move, doing the right thing. They're equalizing their work force. Their employment is growing. We're going there to symbolize both the importance of investment to peace and the importance of trying to eliminate the problems of discrimination in that area.

The text of the speech will primarily deal with the themes of trade and investment and America's role in the peace process in Northern Ireland. And probably in a -- a slightly broader context of what's happening in the world, putting Northern Ireland a little bit in the context of other global marches towards peace.

He will also go up to Londonderry/Derry, depending on which community you're in, to walk -- he'll give a slight -- a speech to the people of the city, walk the walls of the city a bit, and then have a reception with people from the city, as well as some Americans who will have flown over for an event, and announcing the endowment of a chair on behalf of Tip O'Neill on for the University of Ulster. The President will be there to announce that while he's up there.

Q What day are we at --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: This is Thursday. He will also, while in Belfast, visit an enterprise park in East Belfast, where he'll have a chance to talk to workers who are dealing with the issues day to day of employment in Belfast, so he can have a chance to talk to some real workers and get a sense what life is really like there. He will also light the Christmas tree for the evening, which is a historic event in Belfast in the season of peace. He will not be dressed like a Mighty Morphin Power Ranger. (Laughter.)

And then he will attend a reception hosted in his honor at Queens University to which we expect to invite a broad spectrum from Northern Ireland there. As far as meeting with political leaders in Northern Ireland, there is no firm schedule on that front yet. We are going to be working in seeing basically all the major political leaders.

I know there's a lot of questions as far as who and where and when, but we simply will just leave it right now. We are going to try and work in all of the major -- we will be seeing all of the major political leaders while we're there.

He spends the night in Belfast, which is again symbolic of how far Belfast has come, as well as underscoring our own interest in doing what we can to secure the peace.

Next morning, he goes and moves to Ireland for a visit there, again, his first visit as President to Ireland. He will be

having a meeting with President Mary Robinson, again discussing sort of a range of issues. They'll do the traditional tree planting there.

He will then have a meeting also with Prime Minister Bruton, again they're to discuss a range of security issues. EU issues will probably be on the front of the agenda, since Ireland will assume the presidency of the EU in the second half of 1996. I assume Northern Ireland will on the agenda as well as humanitarian issues, European issues.

He will also touch base with the opposition leaders there and give a speech to the citizens of Dublin. Expect this to be a fairly large sort of gathering of citizens outdoors in downtown --let's see where are we now -- Dublin. And then he will also to parliament and give greetings to parliament. There is some traditional exchanges of gifts there. The remarks to parliament will again touch on the range of issues among us, although it should not be billed as a major foreign policy address; it's more sort of remarks/greetings.

He then will be the guest at a dinner hosted by the government that evening at Dublin Castle. And that pretty much covers the substantive part of the Ireland trip. From there he will go to Spain for a EU summit meeting with Gonzalez and Santer. He will also have bilateral meetings with Gonzalez and opposition leader Aznar. He will also see the King and Queen.

The purpose of the EU summit, I think you all are fully aware of, this one is somewhat more substantive and important in that it will be -- the President will be announcing a transatlantic initiative, which falls onto the agreement from the last EU summit under the French presidency. It's really an unprecedented action plan underscoring the U.S. commitment to Europe, underscoring the need for more cooperation, more specific action between us facing the new challenges of drugs and crime and the broadening agenda of trade issues.

He will be signing two documents while he's there. One is the new transatlantic agenda, and the second one will be an action plan. What the initiative is is really an ongoing, working relationship, rather than having two summit meetings where you agree on a common agenda, but there's no work in between them of putting these into effect. This has launched a work plan, action plan between the two communities, which I think will really have concrete results.

The agenda for this first one, the new transatlantic agenda, will focus primarily on four areas of common interest. And, you know, there's sort of a concrete action plan on all these. The first one will be, sort of generally, the promotion of peace, development and democracy dealing primarily with former Yugoslavia and Middle East issues.

Second is global challenges dealing with the crime, humanitarian aid, disease, the environment. That one is elevating to the agenda for the first time. These type of transnational issues, again, underscore the need for cooperation among these nations on dealing with the tough issues of crime, terrorism, drugs, as well as reflecting the need to share resources in all of our tightened budget eras.

The third issue will be trade, an action plan for further reducing the barriers to trade, ways to open markets, create

jobs. He will basically launch a series of studies that will look at how to do that. Fourth is what they're calling a building block. It's basically a series of cultural and scientific exchanges. I think you can expect the bilateral meetings in Spain to cover again the range of security issues. Spain has 1,200 troops in Bosnia. I'm sure that will be a part of it. The Middle East, they've obviously been very involved in the Middle East process since the Madrid summit -- got military bases there, and the trade issues.

And then the President comes home in time for the Kennedy Center honors on Sunday evening.

Q Where do the British-Irish talks stand? I mean, are they totally stalemated, or is there some new initiative? And do we think that the IRA should disarm totally before the --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Let me give you just a quick summary of our Irish policy, which I think will cover most of those questions. This trip is very much reflective of this involvement. This President has been the first to really put Northern Ireland on the agenda of this office and between the UK and us. We have from day one, the President has asked us to take a look at Ireland -- Northern Ireland to see where we could be helpful, where we could help make a difference to move things forward, given our relationship between both the UK and Ireland.

He has put it on the agenda of the presidency as well as within the two governments. And I think we have managed to support those who take risks for peace in a way that has advanced the cause of peace in Northern Ireland.

We have reached out to those, such as Adams, who are trying to bring an end to the violence and those in the Unionist community who have a, I think, long-held misperception that we have a special agenda or a Nationalist hidden agenda behind us. The U.S. role is not to push our agenda on them, but rather to support those who can move things forward on the basis of consent in Northern Ireland.

We have been working very hard over the last couple of years, and particularly over the last few weeks to try and see how we could be helpful to support moving things forward. We have endorsed what they call the twin-track proposal by the two governments in Northern Ireland, which is basically a proposal to have preparatory talks of varying levels move forward at the same time that there would be an international body to address the issue of arms that has become an obstacle to moving towards all party talks.

There have been a lot of conversations over the last couple of days and weeks between us and the parties in Northern Ireland and the two governments to see how we could be helpful in moving things forward.

The current status is that the two Prime Ministers, Major and Bruton, have been writing and talking to each other over the last week or so in an effort to try and move things forward. We believe that is a genuine effort. They are truly trying to work through the remaining outstanding issues. I'm not in the position to go into what those issues are really, other than to say that I think they're honestly trying to move this forward. Helen asked what our position on the decommissioning issue was. It has long been, and remains, that we have urged the parties to address seriously the issue of decommissioning of arms and continue to do so. That is included in the twin-track process.

Q What specifically do we expect or do we hope this trip will produce on those talks?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I think for the press it's been -- I mean, I see a lot of stories of expecting basically Clinton to pull a rabbit out of a hat in Northern Ireland. And it simply is not going to happen. It is not clear to me whether the twin track is going to be launched before or after we get there. Our role is to continue to move it forward. I think it's difficult to predict whether Prime Minister Major and Bruton will be able to come agreement before we get there.

I think the important to remember here is what's happened in the last 15 months there. It's a truly changed society. People live normally. They can go out shopping or to the pubs without getting blown up. They can drive their cars without getting their cars searched at checkpoints. The military presence has been dramatically reduced. And for the first time life is becoming normal there.

That is not an insignificant change. Change is going to take time in Northern Ireland, but I think there is a process going there where the two governments are deeply engaged. And we can hope that it moves forward. I think anyone who's predicting what's going to happen is ill informed.

Q Do you consider Ian Paisley a major political leader?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Yes. I mean, on the leaders there, I think we will try and work in the leaders of the major political parties, certainly, and Paisley would be one of them. Beyond that, we're just really not able to go into -- we'll be sure and see them while we're there, if they will agree.

Q Can you tell me more about the economic component of the trip, particularly in the -- in Northern Ireland and Ireland, he's got a couple speeches and appearances at industrial facilities? But is this -- is this a specific selling mission? Are they taking any American businesspeople over there to try to close any deals, or is it just kind of general to help the peace process?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I would not expect us to be closing deals while we're there, but it will be a continuation of a process that we launched last May with the trade and investment conference, which is to put the full weight of the U.S. government behind efforts to promote trade and investment in Northern Ireland.

Ron Brown has been over there, Assistant Secretary Chuck Meissner, from the Commerce Department, has made several trips over there. We've had a continuing effort with those in the business community that expressed interest there.

There will probably be a delegation that comes with us, which would include some business leaders. Frankly, we're still working out that piece of it. But I think we would want to emphasize while we're there -- and the schedule reflects that -- the importance of trade and investment.

A lot of the violence is fueled by the economic deprivation there, and to the extent you can help alleviate much of the causes as you can help solidify the peace process.

Q Is Ron Brown going as part of the delegation?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I'd have to check. Again, the actual delegation, I think we're not -- frankly, I'm just not briefed up on exactly who is going from the government yet.

Q Where do things stand on the international commission, and what role, if any, would George Mitchell play --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I'm really not in a position to discuss any role that George Mitchell would play since there's no commission yet.

Right now it's very much part of the twin track. There is agreement among the various governments that they would expect to invite a distinguished American to be involved in this commission. And beyond that until the twin track is launched, I think it's premature to get into it.

Q To what degree with the President's talks with Major focus on Northern Ireland relative, to say, Bosnia?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: It depends on where both of them are.

Q -- equal weight, or is he primarily focusing on --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I mean, I think it's always dangerous to give one weight to one country's interest over another country's interest and trying to weigh them. I think they're both important issues. Bosnia, obviously having just gotten the agreement, is going to be very much in their mind, and I'm sure they'll talk about Northern Ireland. I can't get into characterizing it.

Q On the EU transatlantic agenda you mentioned, EU is one party to it, but which is the other community you mentioned? Is it NAFTA, or what's the North American community that's the other side of this transatlantic --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: It's the United States and the European Union.

Q Just the U.S. and the EU?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Correct.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: They're shaking their heads yes.

Q Adams was very gloomy the other day -- (inaudible) -- about the prospects and saying that the process was almost at an end. Do you share this --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: We continue to believe that the gaps that exist between the various parties on the twin track can be bridged. And we believe the two governments are committed to doing what they can to launch it. I think we're still hopeful that it can move forward.

Q The telephone calls and the contacts that you've mentioned in the last days and weeks have obviously been at your level and at Anthony Lake's level. Is there a possibility that the President himself will be involved in this diplomacy in the next few days before he goes to Ireland? And if there is still no agreement,

will he actually himself, involve himself in this trying to bridge the gap once he is in London and Belfast?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I mean, there's nothing scheduled at the moment for the President's involvement on this, but I certainly wouldn't rule it out if it were appropriate right now. I'm sorry, what was the second half?

Q Once he's in London and Belfast, might he himself continue this diplomatic effort to help bridge the gap?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Yes, I mean, I think -- you have to look -- this is not a shuttle diplomacy by the President of the United States on Northern Ireland peace process. So I think when you're characterizing this, you need to have a sense of reality there. Of course, it's going to come up in his meetings. It's very much part of the agenda. I think it's unrealistic to expect him to be negotiating the details of this. But he is there supporting the peace process there. It will come up in his meetings, and I think his presence there and his involvement there will continue to advance the peace process. But there is not a secret shuttle diplomacy going on behind this trip.

Q To flip the question over, have the British and Irish governments told the United States that there will definitely not be any kind of agreement while he's there next week?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: No.

Q -- specifically said -- ruled that out?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Absolutely not, no. No, I think they're genuinely trying to move it forward. And, no, it has not -- frankly, it hasn't been ruled in or out. I mean, it's linked less now to the President being there to the two governments trying to get it done.

Q With the Bosnia agreement -- (inaudible) -- is that -- is there a possibility that Bosnia will play a larger role in the speech to the British Parliament, because the speech as you described it sounds like something we've heard a lot of before?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Again, I think we have to -- I didn't go through everything that was going to be in the speech, but clearly when I talked about the -- a large part of the theme of the speech is going to focus on peace and U.S. leadership role in peace. And Bosnia is a large chunk of that message -- that unless the United States leads, the peace processes across the globe, are going to, you know, suffer. And Bosnia is the number one effort at the moment, so I think -- if I didn't make that clear the first time, certainly Bosnia is going to be a piece of it.

Q Is there a feeling that England or other European countries need to be bucked up as well as the U.S. Congress, as far as the idea of sending troops in? Is that part of the message?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I don't know if "bucked up" is the right point. I think the British government is fully committed to doing its part in Bosnia. I think overall the message there is that this is a major agreement that we're all going to have to do our part to support. That's going to include troops and money, frankly. Part of the discussions with the EU is certainly going to revolve around reconstruction funds. There's a major reconstruction fund to Bosnia that is going to have to take place, and the Europeans

are going to do their part. But I don't think you should write the story that we're going there to pressure Major. I think he's fully on board.

Q How much of this trip is important in terms of the President's effort to convince Congress to go along with Bosnia? And do you expect that we'll see European leaders publicly say if U.S. troops don't come, we're not going to be part of it either?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I think Bosnia is going to center very much on this trip, both in the meetings with Prime Minister Major, the EU summit on the reconstruction fund, and the message back here that this is an important leadership role. I think the Europeans clearly understand the need for American leadership in this role. And that message will help underscore to those in Congress who need to get that message as well.

Q Will they be sending the message that American leadership is a prerequisite for it happening at all -- I mean, American participation?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I think that's a negative way of putting it. I think they will underscore that it's important. I think we're trying to send the message that we're going to be there, there's not a question of that. So I'd flip it a bit.

Q What's the message of this trip to Irish Americans?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: To Irish Americans?

Q Who live in Boston. (Laughter.)

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: And New York.

(Laughter.)

Q Who read my paper. (Laughter.)

Q We feel your pain. (Laughter.)

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I think, first of all, this is not just an Ireland trip. And I think the message to the American people is that America needs to lead in the world, in every part of the world; and that unless you have an activist American president, American interests are going to suffer, whether it's Bosnia or elsewhere. On Northern Ireland, I think the message is that we are going to stay engaged in Northern Ireland to help secure the peace and to the extent they can help support peace and bring an to the violence. They should continue to do that.

Q How large is the reconstruction fund, and what is the U.S. contribution likely to be?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Luckily I'm going to pass all those questions to Mike, who's going to briefing later.

Q Is he going to look for any ancestors?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: He's going to be certainly looking out for people, whether or not they look like him, but he -- (laughter) -- he, as you know, he's got Irish roots -- the Cassidys, the Hayes, and the Ayers, and --

Q The Cassidys, the who?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Hayes and Ayers -- on

both sides of his family. There's nothing formally planned with them. Frankly, the roots are pretty far back, but I'm sure that he will have a chance to touch base with his roots in some form, but there's nothing formally scheduled.

Q The British were unhappy when the President in the campaign talked about a peace envoy. Then they were unhappy when he let Adams in. Is there any element of fence mending with Major and the British --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Frankly, I think we're way past that. I think we've built a very good working relationship with the British on the issue of Northern Ireland, consult with them regularly. I think you'll find, if you ask them, that they welcome our role and find it constructive.

So I don't really think there's a problem there.

Q Is Princess Di going to be at the luncheon?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Ask McCurry that question.

Q At the beginning of the briefing you didn't mention Saturday's schedule in Ireland. Has that been scrubbed?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: No, I just really want to just go through the sort of substantive events on the schedule, just in the interest of -- there are going to be some briefings later on, on exactly what the final schedule is. I'm just trying to go through the substantive events on the schedule, so --

Q -- to accompany the President?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Sorry?

Q Is Secretary Warren Christopher going to accompany the President?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I would expect so, yes.

Q He will accompany --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: At the moment, yes.

Q Is the First Lady going?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Yes.

Q -- he meeting with Princess Di while he meets with -- (laughter) --

Q Prince Philip.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Not that I'm aware of. I frankly have not -- I haven't really gone through what the First Lady -- for the most part, she'll be with the President.

Q There was a piece in the Irish Echo last week saying that efforts to establish the President's patrimony, particularly on the Cassidy side, were ultimately unavailing because they couldn't ever establish the vital transatlantic link between the -- is that --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: That's my understanding. Frankly, I haven't spent a lot of time on the genealogy -- (laughter). That is my understanding of -- those who have attempted to really trace this back. I would not put a lot of money on whatever anybody tells you are the family trees here.

Q -- you know when he had a visit from the Mormons the other day if they -- they are genealogical experts in the extreme -- did they discuss this question at all?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I believe they did leave the President with some genealogical information on it. I have no idea -- I haven't looked at it -- I have no idea whether it's accurate. I would just caution all of you to, you know -- he's clearly from -- his ancestors are clearly from Ireland, beyond that I'd be skeptical about what you read.

Q Is Prime Minister Major going to be going to Belfast or Dublin?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Sorry?

Q Is Prime Minister Major going to be going to Belfast or Dublin with -- while he's there?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Not Dublin. He, I think, has -- it's his budget day that day in London, and it's not clear he's going to be able to join us. But it's not resolved yet.

Q Are you still hoping to get all the principal leaders in Northern Ireland together under one roof at the Queens University reception?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: We expect to invite a broad spectrum to the reception at Queens there and hope everyone comes.

Q -- receptions in different rooms for the Unionists and the Nationalists?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Not here.

Q Why is there a separate meeting with David Trimble, the leader of the Unionist party and not with any of the other leaders? I understand there's going to be a separate meeting with him.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Yes. I mean, as I said earlier, I think none of the actual -- none of the actual details have been finalized with anyone. And there was some information put out for planning purposes earlier that was just that. And I would leave it at that.

Q In the visit to Madrid, will the President discuss the possibility of a Spanish candidate to the NATO post?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: The issue of the NATO Secretary General is very much being discussed in many capitals. I think it's under discussion now. Whether it will be resolved by the time he gets there, it's really too hard to tell.

Q Is the U.S. blackballing anybody else?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Again, I can buck that

to Mike, so -- (laughter).

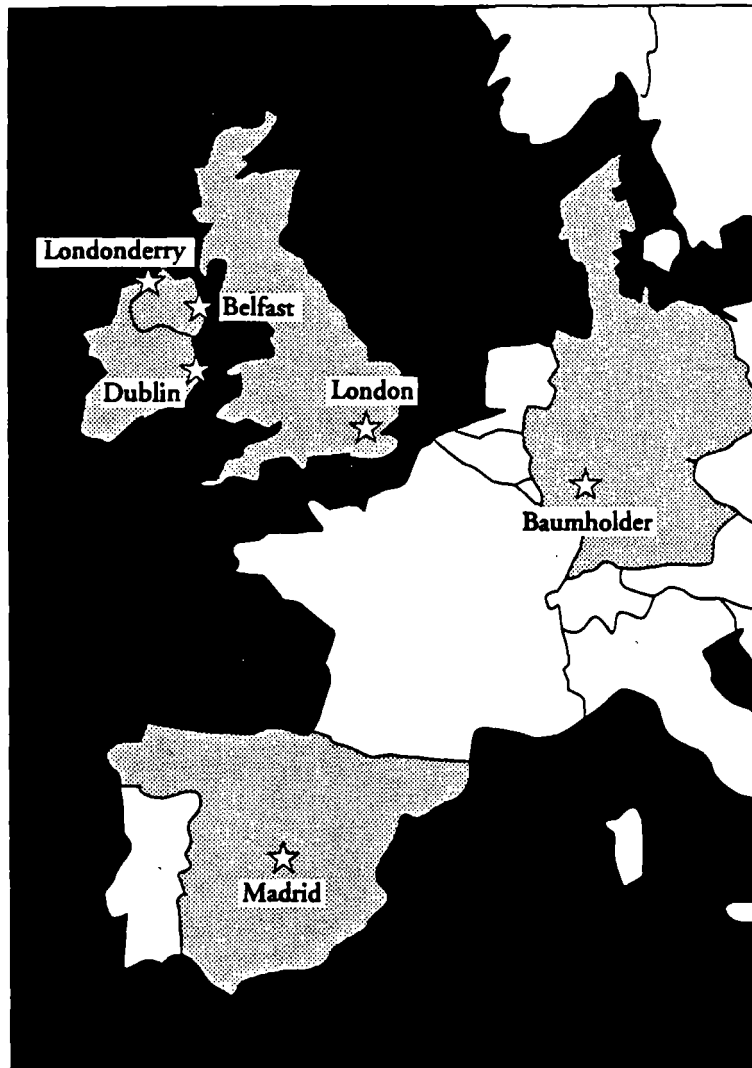
THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

1:26 P.M. EST

The Trip of the President to England, Northern Ireland, The Republic of Ireland, Germany and Spain

November 29-December 3, 1995



Briefing Book for the White House Press Corps

OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY

THE TRIP OF THE PRESIDENT TO ENGLAND, NORTHERN IRELAND, THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND, GERMANY AND SPAIN

November 29 - December 3, 1995

OVERVIEW

In a five day trip to England, Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland, Germany and Spain, President Clinton will reaffirm the important relationships between the United States and our European Allies, conduct meetings with these countries' Heads of State regarding the situation in Bosnia and other foreign policy concerns, address U.S. troops scheduled to be deployed to Bosnia, celebrate the ceasefire in Northern Ireland with the first visit of a U.S. President to that country, and participate in a U.S./European Union Summit that will produce new agreements to forge cooperation on fighting international crime and promoting free trade.

Brief overviews of the President's events follow. Substantial background material is also attached, including: History of U.S. Involvement in the Northern Ireland Peace Process; Historical Facts on Northern Ireland; Biographies of the Belfast Roundtable Participants, an article from the *Belfast Telegraph*; the Speech of the President to the U.S. Conference on Trade and Investment in Northern Ireland; the List of Guests of the President; the First Lady's Schedule; and Fact Sheets on Ireland, the United Kingdom, Spain and the European Union.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1995 LONDON, ENGLAND

In his first official visit to London since taking office, the President will, through a series of events, underscore the importance of the alliance between the United States and England and the need for our countries to continue to work together on the full range of security and economic issues.

ARRIVAL CEREMONY Heathrow Airport

On their arrival at Heathrow, the President and First Lady will be met by the Queen's Colour Squadron and then proceed to the Royal Suite to sign Her Majesty's Guest Book, before boarding Marine One enroute the Ambassador's Residence in London. There are no public events planned for the Ambassador's residence. The President and Mrs. Clinton are, however, expected to participate in a brief, private, tree planting ceremony at the residence before proceeding to Westminster Abbey for the wreath-laying at the Grave of the Unknown Warrior.

WREATH-LAYING CEREMONY AT THE GRAVE OF THE UNKNOWN WARRIOR Westminster Abbey

On his arrival in London, the President will participate in the traditional laying of a wreath at the Grave of the Unknown Warrior, which honors those lost in Britain's wars and is the British equivalent of the Tomb of the Unknowns in Arlington Cemetery. The President and Prime Minister John Major will be joined for the wreath-laying by Dean of Westminster, the Very Reverend Michael Mayne. The Dean will offer a welcome before inviting the President to lay a wreath at the foot of the Grave.

Following the wreath-laying, the Dean will escort the President and Prime Minister on a short tour of Westminster Abbey. At the conclusion of the tour, the Dean will invite the President to sign the Distinguished Visitors' Book. No remarks by the President are planned.

Background on Westminster Abbey. The original Abbey was begun in 1050 by King Edward the Confessor and consecrated on December 18, 1065. The Abbey has been rebuilt and added to at various times up to the Victorian era. The Abbey has been the setting for every coronation since 1066 and for numerous other royal occasions. It is used for worship and celebrations of national events.

Background on The Nave. This is the location of the Grave of the Unknown Warrior and memorials to many statesmen, scientists and servicemen. The Nave is 35 feet wide and 100 feet high and took 150 years to build.

The Royal Chapels. These include the Chapel of St. John the Baptist, the Henry VII Chapel, St. Edward's Chapel, the Sanctuary, and the tombs of many English monarchs dating back to medieval times. There are also many other tombs and memorials to numerous heroes, literary figures, and statesmen.

MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER JOHN MAJOR AND PRESS STATEMENT The Cabinet Room, No. 10 Downing Street

The President and Prime Minister Major will participate in a working meeting at the official Prime Ministerial residence, No. 10 Downing Street. The two leaders' meeting is expected to focus on Bosnia, but will also cover a wide range of issues, including NATO expansion, the Northern Irish peace process and the Middle East.

The President and Prime Minister will deliver a joint press statement at No. 10 Downing Street following their meeting.

Biography of John Major, Prime Minister; First Lord of the Treasury. John Major has served as Prime Minister, First Lord of the Treasury since 1990. Previously, he was the Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1989-90 and the Foreign Secretary in 1989. Other positions he has held include Chief Secretary to the Treasury (1987-89) and Minister for Health and Social Services (1983-85). Major was first elected to Parliament in 1979. Major was born on 29 March 1943. He is married and has two children.

Background on No. 10 Downing Street. The residence and offices at No. 10 are made up of several buildings. The famous front door on Downing Street enters into a house built in 1682 by Sir George Downing. Passing through the corridor you come to the main part of the building, originally a separate mansion built for the Countess of Lichfield, one of the children of Charles II by the Duchess of Cleveland.

In 1732, King George II presented the house to his chief minister, Sir Robert Walpole. He declined the house as a personal gift but accepted it on behalf of the government as a residence for the First Lord of the Treasury. In fact, it is as First Lord and not as Prime Minister that Mr. Major resides at No. 10. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, several First Lords preferred to remain in their own London homes. The house was then often the residence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Since Benjamin Disraeli moved in 1877, every Prime Minister but one has lived at No. 10 Downing Street.

The Cabinet Room is the most famous room in No. 10. A long narrow apartment, it was extended to its present length in 1781, when the Corinthian columns were added. Down the center runs the Cabinet table, with a seat for each Cabinet member. The Cabinet Room and the other offices on this floor form the real working hub of No. 10.

ADDRESS TO BOTH HOUSES OF THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT

The Royal Gallery, House of Lords

The President will deliver a foreign policy address in London in remarks to a joint meeting of both houses of the British Parliament. The theme of the President's speech will be the continued need for America's leadership in the world, in Bosnia and other important foreign policy challenges. In his remarks at Westminster, the President will underscore that our transatlantic alliance, which was forged in war, must now be transformed into an alliance for building the global peace that must follow our victory in the Cold War. The President's address will emphasize American leadership in the world and the U.S. commitment to leadership in Europe.

The President will be accompanied into the Royal Gallery by Prime Minister Major, the Right Honorable Anthony Newton, MP, The Lord President of the Council and the Leader of the House of Commons, as well as the Right Honorable the Viscount Cranborne, the Lord Privy Seal and the Leader of the House of Lords.

The President will be introduced for his remarks by the Lord Chancellor. Following his remarks, the President will be thanked by the Speaker of the House of Commons.

ARRIVAL CEREMONY AND AUDIENCE WITH HER MAJESTY, THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND

Buckingham Palace

The President and the First Lady will meet with Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip for a brief discussion and tour of Buckingham Palace. Upon the President and First Lady's arrival in the Courtyard, the Queen's Band will play the Star Spangled Banner. The President and the Duke of Edinburgh, accompanied by military aides, will then inspect the Queen's Guard.

The President, the First Lady, Her Majesty, the Queen of England and His Royal Highness, the Duke of Edinburgh, will then proceed inside the Palace for their private meeting and tour.

Biography on Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth II, Head of State. Queen Elizabeth is the 61st British monarch in a line going back 1,000 years. As head of state, temporal head of the Church of England, and Commander of the Armed Services, she takes considerable interest in affairs of state. In March 1995, she visited Northern Ireland, her first trip there since republican and unionist paramilitary groups declared cease-fires in September and October 1994, respectively. Elizabeth was born in London on April 21, 1926. In 1947 she married Philip Mountbatten, the only son of the late Prince Andrew of Greece and, like Elizabeth, a great-great-grandchild of Queen Victoria. In 1952 Queen Elizabeth succeeded to the throne upon the death of her father, King George VI. Elizabeth and Philip have four children -- Charles, Anne, Andrew, and Edward -- and six grandchildren.

Background on Buckingham Palace. The Palace takes its name from a house built on this site by the Duke of Buckingham. Purchased by George III in 1792, the house was transformed into a palace under George IV in 1825. It was Queen Victoria, however, who made the palace the primary residence of the sovereign, living here from 1837 until shortly before her death in 1901. When not in residence at Buckingham Palace, Queen Elizabeth divides her time between Windsor Castle, Balmoral in Scotland, and Sandringham in Norfolk.

Brief overviews of some of the rooms in the Palace (which may or may not be on the President's tour) follow:

The Grand Staircase. Built of Carrara marble, the staircase boasts a gilt bronze balustrade embellished with Grecian foliage. The walls are decorated with portraits of Queen Victoria's immediate ancestors and relatives.

The Picture Gallery. The 155-foot-long gallery occupies the site of the first floor rooms of the old Buckingham house. The Gallery is justly famed for the quality of its collection, which includes works by Rubens, Rembrandt, van Dyck and Vermeer.

The Blue Drawing Room. Considered one of the finest rooms in the palace, the Blue Drawing Room is 68-feet long and is divided into bays by giant Corinthian columns. Designed to create an aura of extreme opulence, the Blue Drawing Room displays an unparalleled richness.

The Music Room. The room is decorated with a gilded ceiling. The parquet floor is of rosewood, tulipwood, mahogany and holly. The columns round the wall are of lapis lazuli. The Queen's three eldest children were christened in this room with water brought from the River Jordan.

The State Dining Room. The State Dining Room was completed for King William IV and Queen Victoria, both of whose cyphers can be seen on display. The room is decorated with full-length royal portraits. The room overlooks the beautiful gardens originally landscaped in the 1820s for George IV.

MEETING WITH LABOR LEADER TONY BLAIR

The Ambassador's Residence

In London, the President will also meet with the opposition leader, Tony Blair, head of the Labour Party. The two are expected to discuss a variety of issues.

RECEPTION HOSTED BY AMBASSADOR WILLIAM CROWE AND MRS. CROWE

The Ambassador's Residence

The President will attend a reception for Americans living in London, hosted by U.S. Ambassador to the United Kingdom William Crowe and Mrs. Crowe. This reception is closed press.

DINNER AND RECEPTION HOSTED BY PRIME MINISTER MAJOR

No. 10 Downing Street

The President and Mrs. Clinton will return to No. 10 Downing Street at the end of their day to attend a dinner hosted by Prime Minister Major and Mrs. Norma Major, followed by a reception. There will be pool press coverage of remarks by the President and the Prime Minister at the end of dinner.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1995
BELFAST AND LONDONDERRY/DERRY, NORTHERN IRELAND

On Thursday, President Clinton will make a historic visit to Northern Ireland, the first-ever by a U.S. President, with a full day of events in both Belfast and Londonderry/Derry. The fact of his presence underscores the dramatic changes in Northern Ireland since the ceasefire last fall and the progress made so far in improving the lives of the citizens of Northern Ireland. The primary purposes of the President's visit will be to underscore the importance of the cease fire, to celebrate with the people of Northern Ireland the new era of peace, and to support their continued efforts for peace. U.S. efforts to promote trade and investment in the region are an integral part of those efforts.

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND
The Mackie Plant

Highlighting the importance of strengthening the economic underpinnings in Northern Ireland, and the progress that is being made integrating Catholics and Protestants in the workplaces here, the President will deliver a major speech to workers at the Mackie Plant on Springfield Road in Belfast. The theme of the President's address will be to take stock of the changes the ceasefire and peace have brought to Northern Ireland and demonstrate U.S. support for all those who are willing to take risks for peace both in Northern Ireland and around the world. The President's remarks will also reaffirm the United States' view that, just as peace brings hope for prosperity, we must bolster Northern Ireland's economic underpinnings, which give people hope for a better future, in order for peace to succeed.

The Mackie Plant is situated on the Springfield Road on a site that adjoins Protestant and Roman Catholic communities. This is an area that has suffered greatly through economic decline and violence during Northern Ireland's Troubles. In the past, the Mackie company has been criticized for not employing enough Roman Catholics in its work force. Now, however, it is widely respected for its efforts to ensure fair practices and to maintain a neutral environment where members of both communities can work together. The President has chosen to speak at Mackie to symbolize both the importance of economic investment to peace and the importance of trying to eliminate the problems of discrimination in the area.

In his remarks, the President will speak out about the importance of trade and investment in Northern Ireland, and about America's role in the Northern Ireland peace process and in promoting peace around the world.

Additional Background on the Mackie Plant. "Mackies" has been one of Belfast's major business enterprises for the last 150 years. During that time, it has supplied textile and carpet manufacturing machinery throughout the world. Although it has some sales to the U.S., most of its business now is in China and South Asia. Today, it is the last large-scale engineering plant left in West Belfast. It is a union shop.

ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION WITH TENANTS AND MANAGERS OF ENTERPRISE PARKS FROM ACROSS BELFAST, AND VISIT TO SHOPS

The East Belfast Enterprise Park

After the President's speech at Mackie's in West Belfast, he will visit East Belfast, a predominantly Protestant area that for a long time was identified with the engineering industries. Industrial decline, in particular the contraction of the famous Harland and Wolff shipyard, has led to a high rate of unemployment in the area. As part of the response to this problem, the East Belfast Enterprise Park was completed in 1994 following a \$2 million investment by LEDU (a public sector small business development agency), the International Fund for Ireland (IFI), the Making Belfast Work initiative, and the European Regional Development Fund.

At the Enterprise Park, the President will participate in a roundtable discussion with Protestant and Catholic shop owners working out of the park in order to get a sense of what life is like in Belfast since the ceasefire. The President will talk with them about the difference the Enterprise Park has made in the area and about the importance of business investment to the ongoing peace process. *Information about those participants is attached.*

Of the approximately \$2 million that was needed to develop the park, \$685,000 was provided by the International Fund for Ireland. The U.S. appropriates \$19.6 million per year to the IFI. Other contributors are Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the EU, the largest contributor per annum.

Additional Background on the East Belfast Enterprise Park Limited. The Enterprise Park is a community-owned business park run on a not-for-profit basis by a voluntary Board of Directors. It was set up to develop the spirit of enterprise in the local area by encouraging the start-up of new small businesses and to improve and upgrade the environment by providing well designed buildings. The company was established with a cross-community Board of Directors, all of whom either live or have business interests in East Belfast.

The park is supported by the Greater East Belfast Enterprise (Shadow) Partnership, a grouping of twenty representatives from the public, private and community sectors that responds to social needs in the most disadvantaged areas of East Belfast. The Shadow Partnership includes members of the leading Unionist parties as well as representatives from the predominantly Catholic Short Strand area.

The Park has been open for business since November 1994 and it consists of 34 units ranging in size from 400 to 1500 square feet, each suitable for a variety of service and manufacturing businesses. Presently, 30 of these units are occupied, housing some 27 businesses. This workspace is supported by an administration unit providing secretarial and business support services. The company also operates a revolving business development fund under the International Fund for Ireland's Business Enterprise Program which provides modest low-interest loans to assist small businesses.

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF LONDONDERRY/DERRY

Londonderry/Derry City Hall Steps

In his remarks to the people of Londonderry/Derry, the President will talk about the changes that have taken place since the ceasefire and recognize the people of Londonderry/Derry, and in particular SDLP Leader John Hume, for their efforts to rebuild and city and preserve peace. (*For a biography on John Hume, please see the entry for the reception at Queens University.*)

INAUGURATION OF THE TIP O'NEILL CHAIR FOR PEACE STUDIES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ULSTER

The Minor Hall, Londonderry/Derry City Hall

President Clinton will attend a ceremony at Londonderry/Derry City Hall to inaugurate the Tip O'Neill Chair in Peace Studies at the Magee campus of the University of Ulster. The Chair at Magee, funded in part by a \$250,000 grant from the America Ireland Fund, is associated with the UN University of Conflict Resolution, which is on the University of Ulster campus. The funding of the Chair is the largest financial project undertaken by the America Ireland Fund.

Tip O'Neill, the late Speaker of the House (D-MA), was very supportive of constitutional democracy in Northern Ireland and worked along with Senators Kennedy, Kerry, and Moynihan to stop the flow of American money and arms to support violence in Northern Ireland during 1970's and 80's.

THE CITY OF DERRY CITY RECEPTION

Guildhall, Londonderry City Hall

The President will greet the members of the City of Derry City Council at a reception in Guildhall just prior to the Christmas Tree Lighting. No remarks are planned.

Background on Guildhall. Guildhall is the seat of city government and, along with the city walls, is a traditional emblem of the city. The name derives from the historical association between the city and the medieval trade guilds of the City of London. At the time of the Ulster Plantation in the early 17th Century, the guilds were given a royal charter by James I to build a walled city on the banks of the Foyle. This is also the origin of the "London" in Londonderry. The current Guildhall is the city's fourth town hall and was built in 1890 on reclaimed land just outside the Shipquay Gate of the city walls. The Guildhall was built at a time of great expansion for the city, expansion which drew significantly from the city's role as a major embarkation point for departing emigrants. In 1908, the building suffered extensive damage in a fire. In 1972, it was badly damaged by two IRA bomb attacks which were only days apart.

Both inside and out, the Guildhall's architecture is reminiscent of a church. The building's tall tower supports the largest four-faced clock in Ireland, north or south, and the entire building is filled with stained glass windows, most commemorating either the London Guilds or Irish service in the First World War.

CHRISTMAS TREE LIGHTING CEREMONY

Outside Belfast City Hall

The President will turn on the lights of the Belfast city Christmas tree in a ceremony that will also highlight children who recently won the "Bringing Peace to Northern Ireland Letter Writing Contest." The contest, sponsored by the *Belfast Telegraph*, encouraged children from Northern Ireland to write to President Clinton about their hopes for peace. The two winners, a Protestant boy and a Catholic girl, will each be awarded a two-week trip to the United States next summer, provided by Counsellors USA, an international counsellor exchange program. (A article from the *Belfast Telegram* on this contest is attached.)

Also of note, Belfast has a sister city relationship with Nashville, Tennessee and this year the 45-foot Christmas tree which will stand in downtown Belfast was sent from Nashville. Belfast has sponsored a Christmas Tree lighting ceremony for more than 20 years. It has typically drawn crowds of 15,000 people or more, even during the years of the Troubles.

The program for the tree lighting is:

- Lord Mayor of Belfast, Councillor Reverend Eric Smith, makes welcoming remarks and introduces the two children winners of the letter-writing contest.
- The First Lady reads excerpts from the children's letters.
- The Lord Mayor leads the crowd in a countdown.
- The President, accompanied by the two children, lights the Christmas tree.
- The President makes remarks.
- Following his remarks, the President proceeds to the World War II Memorial Stone for a rededication.

RECEPTION HOSTED BY SIR PATRICK AND MRS. MAYHEW

Queens University

Thursday evening in Belfast, the President will attend a reception at Queens University, hosted by Sir Patrick Mayhew, Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, and Mrs. Mayhew. All of the major political leaders in Northern Ireland will be invited to attend this reception with the President. Biographies on some of these leaders are below. The President's remarks to the reception will be open to pool coverage.

Biography of Patrick Mayhew, Secretary of State for Northern Ireland (since 1992).

Mayhew is the first senior British official to volunteer for post of Secretary of State for Northern Ireland. As Attorney General (1987-92), Mayhew was actively involved in many aspects of Anglo-Irish affairs. He was first elected to parliament in 1974. Mayhew holds master's degree from Oxford and was knighted in 1983. Born on 11 September 1929, Mayhew is married and has four sons.

Biography of Gerald Adams, President, Sinn Fein (since 1983). Gerry Adams, head of the political wing of the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA), has assumed a high profile in the Northern Ireland peace process since republican and unionist cease-fires in August and October 1994, respectively. Adams has been a member of Sinn Fein since 1964 has served as the organizations vice president during 1978-1983. Although he was elected to Parliament in 1983, he never took his seat, which he held until he was defeated in the 1992 general election. Born in West Belfast on October 6, 1948, Adams was educated in local schools until he dropped out of school by age 17. He has authored many works including Falls Memories (1982), The Politics of Irish Freedom (1986), and Cage Eleven (1990). He is married and has one son.

Biography of Ian Paisley, Member of Parliament (since 1974). Preacher and politician, Paisley is one of the original cofounders of the Democratic Unionist Party. Paisley was a member of the European Parliament from 1979 until mid-1994. Born on April 6, 1926, Paisley attended the South Wales Bible College and the Reformed Presbyterian Theological College in Belfast before being ordained a Baptist minister in 1946. He later received an honorary doctorate in divinity from Bob Jones University in Greenville, South Carolina. Paisley is married and has twin sons and three daughters.

Biography of John Hume, founding member of the Social Democratic and Labor Party (SDLP) and a member of parliament since 1984. The SDLP is the largest Catholic political party in Northern Ireland. Hume was nominated for the 1994 Nobel Peace Prize in recognition of the key role he has played in advancing the peace process in Northern Ireland. Hume was born on January 18, 1937. He has a M.A. in English and French History from St. Patrick's College in Northern Ireland. From 1969 until 1973, he was a member of the Stormont Assembly, a failed attempt at powersharing in Northern Ireland. He briefly served as Commerce Secretary in 1974 before becoming a counselor to the Irish Commissioner at the EC in Brussels in 1975. Hume was an associate fellow at Harvard University's Center for International Affairs in 1976. In 1979, he took over the reins of the SDLP and became a member of the European Parliament.

Biography of David Trimble, a lawyer and former university lecturer, who won the leadership of the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) following the resignation of longtime James Molyneaux in August 1995. Trimble, who was born on October 15, 1924, holds a law degree from Queens University Belfast (QUB). He was called to the bar of Northern Ireland in 1969; he has also worked at QUB as a junior (1968-77) and then a senior (1977-90) law lecturer.

Background on the Queen's University of Belfast. The Queen's University was founded by Queen Victoria as a University College (alongside colleges in Cork and Galway) in 1845 and became an independent university in 1908. It remained the only university in Northern Ireland until 1965, when the University of Ulster was established. The main university building is the Laynon Building which dates from 1894. It is named after the architect Sir Charles Laynon, who designed many of Belfast's most significant buildings.

The university provides courses in a wide range of subject areas, and is noted as a center of excellence in medicine, law and engineering. There are 12,500 students engaged in full-time and part-time study. There is an open admission policy based on academic achievement for students from both traditions.

**FRIDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1995
DUBLIN, IRELAND**

**MEETING WITH PRESIDENT MARY ROBINSON
Aras An Uachtarain**

On their arrival in Dublin, the President and First Lady will be met by Irish President Mary Robinson. The two Presidents will then proceed to a on-on-one meeting at President Robinson's residence, Aras An Uachtarain. They are expected to discuss the peace process in Northern Ireland, Ireland's considerable contributions to humanitarian efforts around the world, and the strong cultural and family ties that bind our two nations.

Biography of Mary Bourke Robinson, President (since 1990). A Constitutional lawyer and political independent, Robinson is the Republic of Ireland's first woman President. She is also the first Irish President to visit mainland Britain (since 1937) and Northern Ireland. She was elected to Senate in 1969, the youngest member and first Catholic to represent Protestant Trinity College. She holds degrees in French and law from Trinity College, Dublin, and master's degree in law from Harvard (1968). She began her career as a tutor at University College, Dublin (1969), was one of only four women lawyers in Ireland. Born on May 21, 1944, Robinson has published a book, A Voice for Somalia, describing her 1992 visit. She and her husband, Nicholas, a fellow lawyer, have two sons and a daughter.

Background on Aras An Uachtarain. The President will meet President Mary Robinson at "Aras An Uachtarain" (pronounced "oris on ook tah rahn"), which is Gaelic for "President's House." It is often referred to simply as "the Aras." The Aras was built in 1751 and expanded in the mid-19th century in the style of a Georgian country mansion. It is surrounded by 169 acres of land in the middle of Dublin's largest green space, Phoenix Park. The Aras was formerly a residence for the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the British monarch's personal representative. In 1938, the Aras became the official residence of Ireland's President. President Robinson keeps a bright light shining from an upper window of the Aras as a symbol of Ireland's concern for its millions of emigrants abroad.

TREE PLANTING

Aras An Uachtarain

While at President Robinson's residence, President Clinton will plant an oak tree in a grove approximately 350 yards from the front door of the Aras. No remarks are planned.

Background on the Grove at Aras An Uachtarain. A commemorative plaque is placed by each tree, the first being planted by Queen Victoria in 1853. Other trees have been placed at the site by Charles de Gaulle, Pope John Paul II, and Presidents John F. Kennedy and Ronald Reagan.

MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER BRUTON AND PRESS STATEMENT

The Prime Minister's Office, Government Buildings

Following his meeting with President Robinson, President Clinton will meet with Prime Minister John Bruton, known as the Taoiseach ("Tee-Shock".) The meeting will take place at the "Government Buildings." The President and Prime Minister are expected to discuss a range of security, economic and humanitarian issues, as well as Northern Ireland peace process. EU issues are also expected to be on the front of the agenda, given that Ireland will assume the presidency of the EU in the second half of 1996.

Following their meeting, the President and Prime Minister Bruton are expected to deliver a joint press statement outside the Government Buildings.

Biography of John Bruton, Prime Minister (since December 1994), Addressed as: Taoiseach (tee-shuk). Fine Gael leader John Bruton returned his party to power in December 1994 after a seven-year hiatus by forging a coalition with the Labor Party and the Democratic Left following the collapse of former Prime Minister Albert Reynold's government. He has served in the Dail (lower house of parliament) for 25 years. He has pledged to make peace in Northern Ireland his top priority. Born on May 18, 1947, Bruton studied at University College Dublin and Kings Inn. He is married and the couple has a son and three daughters.

Background on the "Government Buildings." "Government Buildings" actually refers to just one building -- a graceful domed palace opened by King George V in 1911 to serve as the Royal College of Science. It was to be the last great building completed by the British government in the southern part of Ireland. While students filled its lecture halls and the work of adding wings to either side went ahead, some of the more momentous happenings in Irish history took place in the streets outside. When the north wing was completed in 1922, it was immediately occupied by the Executive Council and government departments of the newly independent Ireland. The seat of the Irish government has remained there ever since.

REMARKS TO THE PEOPLE OF DUBLIN

Outside the Bank of Dublin at College Green

The President will address the people of Ireland in a large outdoor speech in downtown Dublin, outside the Bank of Ireland. In his remarks, the President will emphasize our common roots and shared ideals for a better world, touching on the unique ties between our two nations, beginning with the tremendous emigration that followed the potato famine more than 100 years ago. Following his remarks, the President will be conferred with The Freedom of the City, Dublin's highest civic honor, by Lord Mayor Sean Loftus.

Background on the Bank of Ireland. The Bank of Ireland occupies the former Irish Houses of Parliament. Architect Edward Lovett Pierce designed the building in the late 1720's. The building was largely finished at the time of Pierce's death in 1733. Substantial renovations occurred in 1792, following a fire which destroyed the commons chamber. The Bank of Ireland purchased the premises in 1803 for 40,000 pounds. Founded in 1782 as a national bank, the Bank of Ireland received a charter from King George III in 1783 similar to that held by the Bank of England. The Bank of Ireland served as the Irish Central Bank until 1943 when the Central Bank of Ireland was established.

Background on "The Freedom of the City." The Freedom of the City of Dublin is an honorary award with roots in an ancient honor. From the late 12th century until 1918, becoming a "free citizen" conferred the right to vote and significant commercial privileges. The honorary Freedom of the City was established in 1876. The ancient Freedom of the City was then abolished in 1918, to allow for a more democratic franchise. The honorary Freedom of the City is granted by the Dublin City Council in the form of a resolution and then conferred in a ceremony conducted by the Lord Mayor.

U.S. Presidents Ulysses S. Grant and John F. Kennedy were also awarded this honor. Recent grantees include: Pope John Paul II (1979); Crown Prince (now emperor) Akihito of Japan and Crown Princess (now Empress) Michiko of Japan (1985); Nelson Mandela (1988); and Mother Teresa (1993).

VISIT TO THE IRISH PARLIAMENT

The Dail, Leinster House

Following his meeting with Prime Minister Bruton, the President will give remarks to the Irish Parliament (commonly known as "Leinster House") on the close ties between the U.S. and Ireland and our common agenda on many humanitarian and economic issues. In his remarks, the President will also salute Ireland's contributions to the peace process in Northern Ireland.

In the Dail Chamber, there will be a joint sitting of the Parliament, including the 60 members of the Seanad (pronounced "sha-nod," meaning Senate). The President will be introduced by the Speaker of the Dail, Sean Treacy, who is normally referred to by his Irish title "Ceann Comhairle" (pronounced "con-korla"). The President's address to the parliament will be carried live on national television.

On his way to the chamber of the 166-member Dail (pronounced "doyle," meaning House of Representatives), the President will be shown the banner of the Irish Brigade's 69th Regiment, an Irish unit which fought gallantly on the Union side during the U.S. civil war. President Kennedy presented the banner as a gift to the Irish people during his 1963 visit to Parliament.

Background on the Parliament building. The Parliament building, which dates from the mid-1700's, was originally the private residence of the Duke of Leinster. Leinster House has not been privately owned since 1815, when it became the headquarters of the Royal Dublin Society (RDS), a private organization set up to promote Irish agriculture and industry.

Leinster House has been the seat of Parliament since 1922, when Ireland won independence from the UK. Dominating the front lawn of Leinster House is a memorial to three of the most important figures in securing Irish independence: Arthur Griffith (the founder of Sinn Fein), Michael Collins (leader of the Irish Republican Army during the War of Independence), and Kevin O'Higgins (Vice-President and Minister of Home Affairs in the first Irish Free State government).

DINNER HOSTED BY THE IRISH GOVERNMENT

Dublin Castle

As their final event in Dublin, the President and Mrs. Clinton will attend a black tie dinner hosted by the Irish Government at Dublin Castle. There will be pool press coverage of the toasts by the President and Prime Minister.

Background on Dublin Castle. Dublin Castle, originally built by the Normans around 1210 on the site of an old Viking stronghold, is located in the center of Dublin. It has been the scene of many of the most dramatic events in Ireland's history. For centuries it was the headquarters of British rule in Ireland, and regarded by nationalists as a symbol of oppression. The castle was handed over peacefully to the new government when Ireland became independent in 1922. It is now used for state occasions such as the Irish presidential inauguration, and is the site of the European Union meetings when Ireland holds the revolving presidency. The dinner which the President and First Lady will attend will be held in St. Patrick's Hall, a large, high-ceilinged room decorated in Georgian style.

Background on The Ambassador's Residence. The President and First Lady will stay at the Ambassador's residence during their stay in Dublin. The residence occupies 62 acres in Phoenix Park, a 1,760 acre complex.

The original house dates back to 1776, when the newly installed Bailiff of Phoenix Park built a home comprising two stories with great tower-like projections or bays at either end of the main south front. This house served as the official residence of the Chief Secretary of government from 1782 until 1922, when Sir Homer Greenwood, the last holder of that office, left. As a boy, Winston Churchill -- whose father served as private secretary to the Viceroy in 1878 -- roamed the gardens and woods and took great delight in riding up and down the paths in his donkey and cart.

When Ireland gained Independence in 1921, the U.S. was one of the first countries to recognize and establish diplomatic relations with the new Irish Free State. The Honorable Frederick A. Sterling was the first Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to arrive in Dublin. During the period 1927-1949, the property was leased from the Board of Works and the Government of Ireland. In 1949 a new lease for 99 years was negotiated and signed. The rent is one penny per year, but only if requested.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1995

GERMANY

Information on the President's trip to Germany to address U.S. troops will be provided during the trip.

MADRID, SPAIN

In his first trip to Spain since taking office, President Clinton will hold an important meeting with the leadership of the European Union, as well as a bilateral meeting with Spain's Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez. During their stay, the President and Mrs. Clinton will also attend dinner with the King and Queen and tour the famous Prado Museum.

DINNER WITH THE KING AND QUEEN OF SPAIN
Palacio de Oriente

On their arrival in Madrid, the President and Mrs. Clinton will join their Majesties King Juan Carlos I and Queen Sofia for dinner at the Palacio de Oriente, also called the Palacio Real (Royal Palace). The President and Mrs. Clinton will overnight at the U.S. Ambassador's residence.

Biography of Juan Carlos de Borbon y Borbon, King of Spain. King Juan Carlos I, Spain's first reigning monarch since his grandfather fled the country in 1931, has used his moral authority, position and popularity to smooth Spain's transition to democracy in the post-Franco era. The King travels frequently and often hosts visiting heads of state. He has received many awards and holds honorary doctorates from New York University, Columbia University and Portugal's University of Coimbra. He and his wife, Queen Sofia, have two daughters and a son, who is heir to the throne.

Biography of Queen Sofia. Trained as a pediatric nurse, Queen Sofia has spent a great deal of time working with charities and retarded children. She is the eldest daughter of King Paul I and Queen Fredericka of Greece. She has published two brief treatises on her archeological investigations in Attica, in collaboration with her sister Irene.

Background on The Palacio de Oriente. The Palacio de Oriente was built by Philip V, the first of Spain's Bourbon kings, who sought to erect a palace distinct from those built by his predecessors of the Hapsburg dynasty. Completed in 1764 during the reign of Charles III, on the site of a fortress originally built by the Moors, the palace is classic Baroque in style. A great rectangular building, with a facade of enormous pilasters and Corinthian columns surrounding a large courtyard, its interior is marked by ornate gilded borders, chandeliers, tapestries, and ceiling frescos. No monarch has lived in the Palacio de Oriente since 1931, when Alfonso XIII went into exile. King Juan Carlos uses the palace for state and diplomatic occasions and formal receptions. A small plaque in the Hall of Columns commemorates the June 12, 1985 signing of the documents which made Spain a member of the European Community. The Palace was also the site of the 1991 Middle East Peace Conference.

**SUNDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1995
MADRID, SPAIN**

**BREAKFAST MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER FELIPE GONZALEZ OF SPAIN
Moncloa Palace**

Emphasizing Spain's important role in the Atlantic Alliance and to international security, the President will begin his events in Spain Sunday with a bilateral meeting with Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez. The two leaders are expected to address specific issues of mutual interest, including Bosnia, the Middle East peace process and trade liberalization in the Mediterranean.

Biography of Felipe Gonzalez Marquez, Prime Minister; President, Council of Ministers (since 1982). Felipe Gonzalez won his fourth consecutive term as Prime Minister in June 1993. He joined the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) in 1964 and served as a member of its provincial committee during 1965-70. Gonzalez was elected to parliament and became party secretary general in 1977. Gonzalez was born on March 5, 1942 in Seville. His wife, Carmen Romero, is a schoolteacher and a member of parliament. The couple has three children.

UNITED STATES/EUROPEAN UNION SUMMIT

Moncloa Palace

The President will hold a U.S./EU Summit meeting in Madrid with Prime Minister Gonzalez and European Commission President Jacques Santer, the highlight of which will be the announcement of New Transatlantic Agenda -- an agreement between the U.S. and the E.U. that sets forth an ambitious agenda for U.S.-E.U. cooperation on a wide range of issues of common concern. (More information on this below.)

The President has three broad objectives for the United States/European Union Summit, which will be held at Moncloa Palace: first, to reaffirm the strong relationship between the U.S. and Europe; second, to promote his vision of a post-Cold War order consisting of a Europe united around the principles of democracy and free markets; and third, to deepen transatlantic relations by initiating specific joint actions (described below) to address global economic, political, humanitarian and environmental challenges more effectively.

Biography of Jacques Santer, President, European Commission (since January 1995).

Former Luxembourg Prime Minister (1984-94) Jacques Santer is the ninth man to head the European Commission. A member of the European Parliament from 1975 until 1979, he has served as its vice president during the last two years of his term. Santer was born on May 18, 1937. He holds degrees in law, philosophy, and literature from the Universities of Strasbourg and Paris. A member of the Christian Social Party (CSV), he has served as its general secretary, chairman, and leader. He has also served in the Chamber of Representatives. Santer is married and has two sons.

SIGNING OF THE TRANS-ATLANTIC DECLARATION AND PRESS

AVAILABILITY

Moncloa Palace

Following the Summit meeting, the President and Prime Minister will participate in a signing ceremony for the New Transatlantic Agenda (NTA) and action plan -- an unprecedented agreement which underscores the U.S. commitment to Europe and the need for more cooperation as we face the new global challenges of drugs and crime and the broadening agenda of trade issues. *Following the signing the President and Prime Minister will take questions from the press.*

At the last U.S.-EU summit in June 1995, President Clinton, French President Chirac (then President of the EU Council) and President Santer directed their senior representatives to develop an Agenda to guide the U.S.-EU relationship into the twenty-first century. The NTA reaffirms and builds on the U.S.-EU relationship, which has contributed significantly to political stability and security in Europe and the world, and will generate new jobs on both sides of the Atlantic by increasing trade opportunities between us and around the world.

The NTA encompasses a broad range of initiatives that highlight key current and future areas of U.S.-EU cooperation.

The NTA's agenda will focus on four areas of common interest, outlined below:

- Promoting Peace, Development and Democracy Globally: Including efforts in the former Yugoslavia and the Middle East.
- Responding to Global Challenges: Including international crime, trafficking in drugs and nuclear materials, terrorism, disease and destruction of the environment.
- Expanding Trade: Opening markets and creating jobs. Including setting out an agenda for creating a Transatlantic Marketplace, characterized by lower barriers and great integration between our two economies.
- Building Transatlantic Bridges: Expanding cultural and scientific exchanges.

TOUR OF PRADO MUSEUM

Prado Museum

At a time to be determined, either after dinner with the King and Queen or following the U.S./EU Summit, the President and Mrs. Clinton will visit one of the great art museums of the world and the chief cultural attraction of the Spanish capital: the Prado Museum. The visit will be closed press.

Background on The Prado Museum. The Prado displays one of the best and most carefully selected displays of European art in the world, the fruit of three centuries of Spanish empire. The Prado houses the definitive works of Spain's great masters, including Goya (Francisco Jose de Goya y Lucientes), Velazquez (Diego Rodriguez de Silva Velazquez) and El Greco (Domenikos Theotokopoulos).

Opened in 1819, the museum contains collections assembled by Spain's monarchs between the 16th and 18th centuries. It also includes important Italian and Flemish works; Italy and Flanders were part of the Spanish empire at that time. In addition to the works on display, the Prado has over nine thousand additional works of art in storage at any given time.

MEETING WITH JOSE MARIA AZNAR, LEADER OF THE POPULAR PARTY OF SPAIN

Airport

Prior to departing Spain, the President will meet with Jose Maria Aznar, leader of the Populist Party of Spain. The two are expected to discuss issues of mutual concern.

Biography on Jose Maria Aznar, Leader, Popular Party (since 1990). Before becoming leader of the opposition Popular Party (PP), Jose Maria Aznar served as president of the Castilla y Leon autonomous community during 1987-89. A member of parliament since 1982, Mr. Aznar previously served as PP deputy secretary general (1984-87) and as the party's regional assistant secretary general for the autonomous community of La Rioja (1978-79). Aznar holds a degree in law from Madrid's Complutense University. Born on 25 February 1953, Aznar is married to Ana Botella and they have three children.

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FACT SHEET

ADMINISTRATION SUPPORT FOR PEACE IN NORTHERN IRELAND

- President Clinton is the first U.S. President to become seriously engaged in supporting the search for peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland. He has supported those who are taking risks for peace. The results are making a difference in the daily lives of the people of Northern Ireland.

Transformation in Northern Ireland

- For over 15 months, the guns have been silent in Northern Ireland. We do not know who they are, but there are perhaps hundreds of people alive today who would have been victims of violence but for the historic cease-fires of August and October 1994.
- For the first time in a generation, the people are enjoying the pleasures of a normal daily life. They can visit a pub, go Christmas shopping or go for a walk without fear.
- The Army is back in barracks, patrols are gone from the streets, checkpoints and x-ray machines have disappeared, and people are able to walk and drive about freely.
- Foreign investors are looking with new interest at Northern Ireland as a place to do business. Unemployment is down to its lowest level in 14 years, manufacturing output is up and tourism is thriving.

Active Engagement

The President has taken concrete steps to engage those working for peace in Northern Ireland.

- In January 1994, President Clinton took a risk for peace and approved the granting of a visa to Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams, a decision which helped bring about the IRA cease-fire.
- The IRA announced its cease-fire on August 31, 1994; the loyalists followed suit on October 13, 1994.
- On October 3, 1994, the President lifted the ban on contacts between U.S. government official and Sinn Fein representatives. The first official contact was a phone call from the Vice President to Sinn Fein President Adams.
- Visas were granted to loyalist party officials after the announcement of the loyalist cease-fire.

- The President invited representatives of all parties to attend the White House celebration of St. Patrick's Day in March 1995, where he declared that those who take risks for peace should be welcome in the White House and in our country.
- The Administration decided in March 1995 to remove the restriction against fundraising for Adams and other Sinn Fein members. We put in place a monitoring system to ensure that the funds are used for legitimate political activities in compliance with U.S., British and Irish law.

Active Support for Peacemakers

- The Administration conducts an ongoing dialogue with representatives of both communities, and with the British and Irish governments.
- The President is in regular contact with Prime Ministers Major and Bruton.
- The Vice President and National Security Advisor first met with leaders of Northern Ireland's largest party, the Ulster Unionist Party, in 1994. Building on that relationship, the President and Vice President met with the new UUP leader, David Trimble, during his visit to Washington in October 1995.
- The President and Vice President have also held meetings with John Hume, the leader of the largest nationalist party, the Social Democratic and Labour Party.
- The Vice President has met recently with other party leaders, including Dr. Ian Paisley of the Democratic Unionist Party and Dr. John Alderdice of the Alliance Party. In September, the Vice President met with Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams.
- The President warmly welcomed the Downing Street Declaration* of December 1993, which was signed by Prime Minister Major and former Prime Minister Reynolds, and which breathed new life into the process begun by the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985.
- The President strongly supported the Joint Framework Document**, announced by the Irish and British Governments in February of this year, as the basis for future dialogue.

Trade and Business Ties

In December 1994, Commerce Secretary Brown led a major trade and investment delegation to Northern Ireland. A second delegation in October 1995 was led by Commerce Assistant Secretary Charles Meissner.

- A very successful White House Conference on Trade and Investment was held May 24-26, 1995. The President, Vice President and Secretaries of State and Commerce addressed the Conference.

- The conference offered an unprecedented opportunity for representatives of different viewpoints and parties to come together to discuss issues of common concern. It was also the first time Sinn Fein President Adams met the British Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Sir Patrick Mayhew.
- Among the initiatives launched by the Administration to support peace through trade and investment is an on-line business information service through the Department of Commerce and a program to bring 50 business people from Northern Ireland to the U.S. each year to enhance their management skills and foster business ties.

*The Downing Street Declaration committed both governments to work for peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland. In the Declaration, the British Government reaffirmed that it would uphold the democratic wish of the majority of the people in Northern Ireland on whether they preferred to support the Union or a united Ireland. The Irish Government accepted that it would be wrong to attempt to impose a united Ireland in the absence of the freely given consent of a majority of the people in Northern Ireland. The Declaration stated that parties that establish a commitment to exclusively peaceful means and abide by the democratic process would be included in dialogue on the way forward.

**The Joint Framework Document lays the foundation for all-party talks among the political parties of Northern Ireland and the British and Irish Governments. It is based on the need for majority consent of the people of Northern Ireland to any constitutional changes. It proposes North-South bodies, accountable to a Northern Ireland Assembly and the Irish Parliament, that would have a harmonizing and consultative role in matters most efficiently handled in an all-island context; e.g., agriculture, tourism. The Irish Government agreed to introduce and support changes to Articles 2 and 3 of its Constitution, to remove a territorial claim of right of jurisdiction over the North.

NORTHERN IRELAND

DESCRIPTION

Northern Ireland is part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (UK) and is made up of 6 of the 9 counties of the old Irish Province of Ulster. It has a population of approximately 1.6 million (3% of the UK total) living in an area of 5267 square miles. Approximately half of the population is settled on the eastern seaboard, with two-thirds living within 30 miles of the capital, Belfast. There are two main population centers: Belfast, with a population of 300,000; and Londonderry/Derry, with a population of 100,000. The 1991 census showed a breakdown of the population as 56% Protestant, 41.5% Catholic, and 2.5% other.

GOVERNMENT

Northern Ireland had its own devolved Government between 1921 and 1972, although the British Parliament retained supreme authority over the Parliament of Northern Ireland and dealt with matters affecting the UK as a whole, including defense, foreign affairs and national fiscal policy. In 1972 the British Parliament exercised its sovereign powers and suspended and subsequently abolished the Parliament of Northern Ireland in response to insistent demands for political reform. Since then, attempts to restore some measure of regional self-government have failed (a power sharing executive lasted only 4 months in 1974). Currently, Northern Ireland is ruled directly from London through a Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Sir Patrick Mayhew, who is a member of the British Cabinet and answerable to the British Parliament. He is assisted by four Junior Ministers who supervise the departments of the former Government of Northern Ireland.

Secretary of State

Sir Patrick Mayhew

Minister of State

Law and Order, Finance and Information Services

Sir John Wheeler

Minister of State

Political Development, Education, Sports and Arts

Michael Ancram

Parliamentary Under Secretary

Economy and Agriculture

Baroness Denton

Parliamentary Under Secretary

Health and Social Services and the Environment

Michael Moss

Northern Ireland elects seventeen members to the British Parliament: 13 Unionists (Protestant); 4 SDLP (Catholic). Northern Ireland also has 26 District Councils with responsibilities for refuse services, recreational facilities and cemeteries. They also function in a consultative capacity on water, roads and municipal and rural planning. They have recently received limited powers to promote industrial development and community relations.

HISTORY

The island of Ireland was conquered by Normans in 1170 A.D. Full British rule was accomplished by the 17th century. Plantations of English and Scottish settlers came in the 16th and 17th centuries. In 1798 rebellion broke out throughout the island in reaction to new penal laws which were regarded as depriving Irish people of civil and religious liberties. The rebellion was suppressed by the British and was followed by the Act of Union of Britain and Ireland in 1800. Tension continued throughout the 19th century, as Irish activists sought to establish rights for Irish landholders through the British Parliament. In the late 19th century, pressure for limited self-government (Home Rule) for Ireland was met by increasing resistance among the Protestants in the northern counties.

After the 1916 Easter Rising on Easter day in 1916 which was crushed by Britain, a nascent Sinn Fein, a militant independence party, won almost all the Irish seats outside Ulster in the 1918 Westminster general election. On December 21, 1919 those same Sinn Fein MPs formed an Irish Parliament and reaffirmed the independence of the Republic of Ireland which had been first declared at the 1916 Easter Rising. In 1920 the British Parliament passed the Government of Ireland Act which established two "Home Rule" Parliaments, in Dublin and in Belfast. The Act was implemented in Northern Ireland, but was ignored in the south, where the Irish Republican Army (IRA) continued to fight for independence.

After a truce was signed in June 1921, negotiations with the southern Irish led to the Anglo-Irish Treaty of December 1921, which resulted in the establishment in 1922 of the Irish Free State with dominion status. The six northernmost counties remained in the United Kingdom. All territory to the south belonged to the Irish Free State.

The Irish people differed over whether to accept the partition, leading to a two and a half year civil war. In the end, those accepting partition prevailed over the IRA. The boundary with Northern Ireland was confirmed in 1925.

Even though partition of the island had become a fact, it was never fully accepted among the population. The Catholic minority in Northern Ireland provided tacit approval, cover and recruits for the IRA which continued its opposition to the partition and the British presence. In 1937 Articles Two and Three of a newly adopted Irish Constitution declared the whole territory of the island to belong to the Republic. In 1949, the Free State became a Republic, leaving the Commonwealth.

The IRA waged an aggressive terrorist campaign primarily targeting British officials and commercial enterprises during a period popularly known as "The Troubles." From 1969 to 1993 more than 3,000 persons were killed and over 9,000 injured by the IRA, Protestant paramilitaries and British security forces. In 1973 the British Parliament passed the Ireland Constitution Act which declared "... in no event will Northern Ireland or any part of it cease to be part of ... the United Kingdom without the consent of the majority of the people of Northern Ireland voting in a poll." This principle has reaffirmed in the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985, the Downing Street Declaration of 1993 and the Joint Framework Document of 1995.

NORTHERN IRELAND PARTIES:

There are five principal political parties in Northern Ireland:

The Ulster Unionist Party (UUP): Largest political party in Northern Ireland whose leader is the Honorable David Trimble, MP. It gained 34.5 % of the vote in Northern Ireland in the last Westminster elections. The UUP supports the union and traditionally is to the right of center in social and economic policies. However, on the basis of strictly economic and social issues, many individual members would be more comfortable in the British Labour Party .

The Democratic Unionist Party (DUP): Formed in 1971, it is a more radical Protestant party refusing to discuss union with the Republic of Ireland. It receives about 13 per cent of the province-wide vote and is led by Reverend Ian Paisley. Its membership is recruited more from the Protestant blue collar working class areas.

The Social Democratic and Labor Party (SDLP): Formed in 1970 it is the largest Catholic party in Northern Ireland. Its leader is John Hume, MP. The SDLP currently represents about two-thirds of the Nationalist (pro-union with the Republic) vote. The party is committed to unification with the Republic of Ireland by non-violent, gradualist means. It received 23.5% of the vote in the last Westminster elections.

Alliance Party: Formed in 1970 by both Catholics and Protestants, the party is non-sectarian and supports power-sharing. The party's leader is Dr. John Alderdice. It received 8.7% of the vote in the last Westminster elections.

Sinn Fein: Has its origins in the 1917 move to independence by the Republic of Ireland. In 1919 it controlled the majority of seats in the Irish Parliament. Some years later the party adopted a more moderate political profile and Sinn Fein was reincarnated in Northern Ireland as a political front to the Irish Republican Army (IRA). The party seeks British withdrawal from Northern Ireland and unification of the whole island under a new socialist government with equal rights for women and total separation of church and state. Gerry Adams is the president of Sinn Fein. The party received 10% of the vote in the last Westminster election.

Progressive Unionist Party: Loyalist political party with links to the loyalist paramilitary Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF). The party draws less than 5% of the vote and is represented only on a few local city councils. The previous Lord Mayor of Belfast, Hugh Smyth, is a PUP member. The party leaders are Billy Hutchinson and David Ervine. Both men have served sentences for terrorist related offenses.

Ulster Democratic Party: Loyalist political party with links to the Ulster Defense Force (UDF) and the Ulster Freedom Fighters (UFF). The party leader is Gary McMichael, whose father was killed by the IRA. The party has less than 5% support and has elected less than five local councillors.

Source: Background Notes, U.S. Department of State

EAST BELFAST ENTERPRISE PARK
ROUNDTABLE PARTICIPANTS

- **Sammy Douglas**, Chairman, East Belfast Partnership (one of four new area partnerships set up to focus on economic and social regeneration in each of Belfast's communities -- a mix of council members, community and business representatives.)

Sammy is head of the East Belfast Development Agency, a community development group. He is also a consultant to the International Fund for Ireland. Sammy is married with children.

- **Franklin Hunter**, age 57, owner of Renaissance Ironcraft. Frank was a redundant (laid off) sheet metal worker who was on the dole for over a year before receiving assistance from LEDU (Local Economic Development Unit), IFI (International Fund for Ireland) and EBEP (East Belfast Enterprise Park) to start his own business. He opened on November 1, 1994 and now employs 3 people, including his daughter Fiona Hunter, who will present the President with the table-top candlestick piece entitled "Light and Understanding", symbolizing Ireland, the world and the "Light" coming from both sides of the Irish question.
- **Lynne McGregor**, owner of Altered Images, a business that produces framed photographic images engraved onto mirrors. She is a single mother of two children, previously unemployed and on the dole. She started Altered Images in June 1995 with assistance from LEDU, IFI and EBEP.
- **Shane McCusker**, owner of a neon sign business and tenant of Bryson Street community Enterprise Partnership, a group similar to EBEP located close by in the "Short Strand," a Catholic area surrounded by the heavily Protestant working class East Belfast area. Bryson Street is funded by the Community Economic Regeneration Scheme (CERS), a community-based similar to LEDU.
- **Margaret Alton**, owner of Let's Pretend, a manufacturer of children's dress outfits. She is a tenant of the West Belfast Enterprise Park on the Crumlin Road on a mixed Protestant-Catholic area. She opened her business with support from LEDU.
- **John Mageen**, Chairman of the Belfast Enterprise Area Network (BEAN). He is a highly successful businessman, now retired, who is also Chairman of the Glenwood Enterprise Agency, which services the West Belfast and Poleglass areas, both very deprived locations.
- **David Blevings**, Manager, East Belfast Enterprise Park. David came to EBEP in March 1994, during its construction. The facility opened in November 1994. Prior to EBEP, he managed Workspace, one of Northern Ireland's most highly reputed enterprise areas. He is a surveyor by training and previously worked in property development.

Belfast Telegraph, Monday, November 27, 1995

New

Top
left

EDUCA

Telegra

YOUNG PEOPLE SHARE

Hope twos win th trip o a lifet

Thousands enter o
letter to the Presid

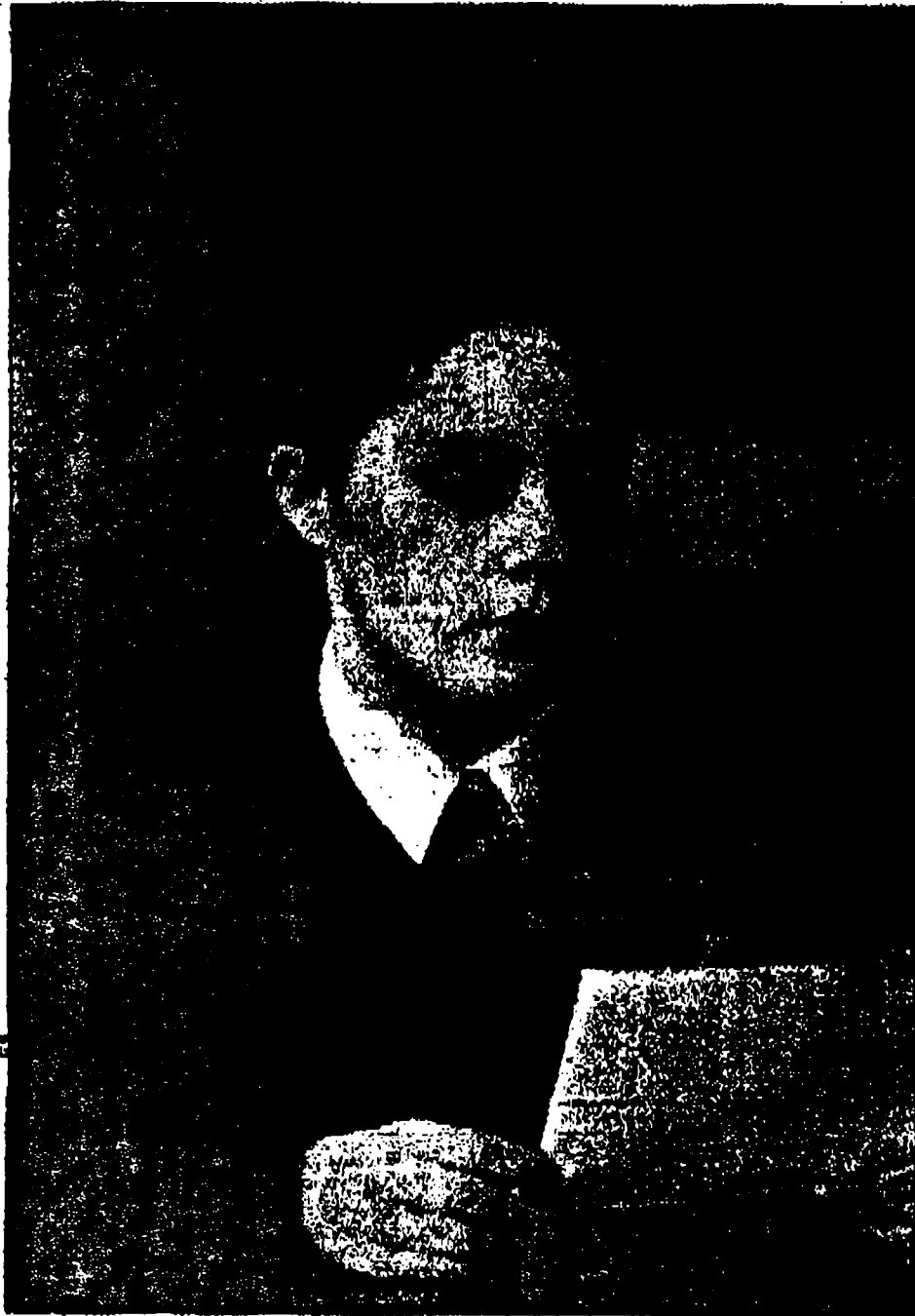
by Emma Ffynn

TWO Ulster schoolchildren have opened their hearts to the President of the United States — and won the trip of a lifetime

Cathy Harte, 17, and Mark Lennox, 15, beat off thousands of other entrants to win the top prize in the Belfast Telegraph President Clinton Competition.

The letter contest, in which young people were asked to share with the President their hopes for the future of a peaceful Northern Ireland, marks Bill Clinton's visit to Belfast on Thursday.

The lucky winners receive a two week summer camp holiday on the east coast of America, courtesy of the Council on USA.



ews

9

ATION

graph

Top
RIGHT

ARE VISION OF FUTURE

eful
some
the
of
time

er our 'Write a
resident' contest

family, so I am really happy
that there's peace now and I
hope it always stays."

Mark was usually speechless
at his success. "I didn't think
my entry was good enough to
win, but I am really pleased
since I have never been out of
Britain before."

"My mum and dad are on
holiday right now — I'll have
a great surprise for them when
they come home."

Correspondence of all
clamps and stars to the United
States' leading citizen poured
in from all over the province.

US Consul General
Kathleen Stephens and Bel-
fast Telegraph editor,
Edmund Curran, had a tough
job picking out the top letters
out of such a mass of entries.

"I was quite overwhelmed
by the massive response to the
competition," said Ms
Stephens. "Every letter was
sent with a personal touch."



Visit welcomed: Mark Lennox sends a greeting to the president.

recent years that cannot have
been easy to put on to
paper.

"Several told of personal
loss — I was constantly re-
minded that the letters had
been written by young people
who are only now adjusting to
life without the constant back-
drop of violence."

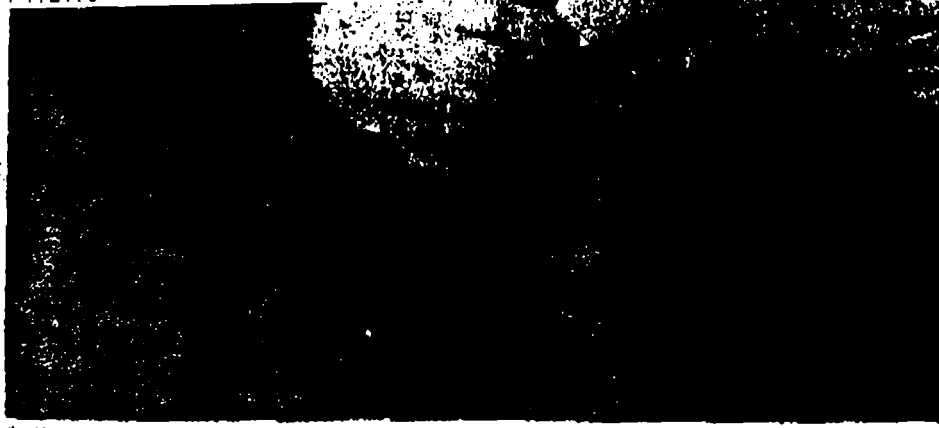
"Yet there was little bitter-
ness to be found in the letters.
The unanimity with which
schoolchildren across North-
ern Ireland hoped for lasting
peace and called for greater
contact and understanding be-

will be an unforgettable night
for the city, and for Northern
Ireland."

Bill Harwood of Counselors
USA said he was honoured
and happy to provide the
winning prize. "The
children's essays filled me
with great hope and joy for
the future of Northern Ire-
land," he said.

"Over the past 10 years,
Camp Counselors USA has
demonstrated that mutual
understanding can be
achieved by living and work-
ing together. We are happy to
play a part in President

USA role
is vital to
our peace



Cathy Harter Surprised

6
All my life I have only known guns and bombs with people fighting. Now it is different

By Lynn Flynn

DEAR Mr President,

What's the crack as we say here but in other words how are you doing?

My name is Cathy Harter 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. My dad's a teacher and my mum is an operator. I love animals and I have a dog of my own called Lucy.

All my life I have only known guns and bombs with people fighting. Now it is different there are no guns or bombs and on TV we see our local news presenters are laughing about news in fact and say they do is mostly good.

When I went down south for my holidays I used to play games the neighborhood on the cars but now I can play it here in Belfast. There are millions of southern videos and cars around and the town is packed

with people from everywhere seeing the sights and shopping and well it's my kind of Belfast.

My dream 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 and hand and will be able to live in the same areas. Religion to me does not matter. Catholics, protestants black or white it is the person inside that counts. Actually my aunt and uncle are protestants and it is very interesting to see their traditions and ways of life.

What I hope 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. I will see you when you turn on the Christmas tree lights. I send you all the Irish good luck.

Yours faithfully

Cathy Harter, St. Dominic's, Folia Road, Belfast.

Delighted winners Cathy from St. Dominic's High School, Belfast, and Mark from Glengormley High School, Newtownabbey, have never been to the States before.

"I am really surprised," said Cathy. "I've always wanted to go to America. I have known a lot of people who have suffered in the Troubles — my best friend's dad was shot."

"I wouldn't want that to happen to me or anyone in my family."

List of

Mark Barr, Newcastle, Jane Bell, Friends School, Lisburn; Linn Boyle, Downshire School, Carrickfergus; Catherine Brady, Belfast; Catherine Burroll, Downmore High School; Teresa Butler, St. Louis Grammar School, Ballymena; Peter Byrne, Sharnahate Integrated College.

Amanda Caldwell, Carrickfergus College; Kelly Campbell, Downmore; Fiona Carr, Co. Down; Iain Carson, Carrickfergus College; Graeme Casey, St. Louis Grammar School, Ballymena; Martin Cennaghan, Lisburn; Suzanne Chmielek, Carryduff.

Eilish Conway, St. Pius X High School, Magherafelt; Mark Evans, Belfast; Nadia Ferguson, Bloomfield College, Belfast; Peter Fuso, Ballymena; Philip Garland, Rathmore Grammar School; James Gibson, Friends School, Lisburn; Helen O'More, Rathfriland; Ian Hood, Omagh High School; Wendy Gray, Saints and Scholars Integrated Primary School, Armagh; John Gibben, St. Malachy's High School, Castle

SCHOOL day

Sean endured the power

By Lynn Flynn

SEAN Rafferty, presenter of BBC-1's flagship programme Inside Ulster, was educated at the School of Hard Knocks.

Sean first experienced the powers of the cane at St. Mary's Primary in Newcastle, a small, old-fashioned school with a roaring fire and only a few rooms.

Corporal punishment con-

attractive option for Sean who was an only child living in an exciting fictional world of Panto Five and Secret Seven.

"The cane was used very liberally during my schooldays. I thought I was reasonably well-behaved but there were always elements of naughty lurking inside," he said.

"I grew up and accepted the punishment like everyone else. The threat of the cane meant you did not do things

I lost respect for a number of teachers and priests who abused their power

Some of them drew blood on



...to ...
States leading citizen poured
in from all over the province.
US Consul General
Kathleen Stephens and Belfast
Telegraph editor,
Edmund Curran, had a tough
job picking out the top letters
out of sackfuls of entries.
"I was quite overwhelmed
by the massive response to the
competition," said Ms
Stephens. "Every letter was
carefully read and it was
apparent to me that a lot of
thought and effort had gone
into the writing of these
letters.
Selecting just two winners
was very difficult. I hope that
Mark and Cathy enjoy their
time in America and that
through this competition they
and the other students who
participated make many new
friends both at home and in
America.
"Many of the letters were
very touching, expressing high
hopes for the future while at
the same time recounting
experiences and emotions of
life in
Belarus.

loss — I constantly re-
minded that the letters had
been written by young people
who are only now adjusting in
life without the constant back-
drop of violence.
"Yet there was true bitter-
ness to be found in the letters.
The unanimity with which
schoolchildren across North-
ern Ireland hoped for lasting
peace and called for greater
contact and understanding be-
tween the two communities
was heartening.
"Reading these letters has
increased the understanding
of what is the minds of
Northern Ireland's young
people. It is an extremely
optimistic indication of what
the future may hold.
"I would like to thank
everyone who took the time
to write a letter to the Pres-
ident. I hope that they are all
able to come to Belfast city
centre on Thursday evening
and see President Clinton
light the Christmas tree and
that they enjoy what I know

and happy to provide the
winning prize. "The
children's letters
with great hope and joy for
the future of Northern Ire-
land," he said.
"Over the past 10 years,
Camp Counselors USA has
demonstrated that mutual
understanding can be
achieved by living and work-
ing together. We are happy to
play a part in President
Clinton's support for peace
and reconciliation in Northern
Ireland."
Mr Edmund Curran said:
"We are pleased that so many
young people in Northern
Ireland had the opportunity to
express themselves directly to
the President and his advisors
through the Belfast Tele-
graph.
"We are delighted by the
response from schools from
across the community and the
winning entries bear testi-
mony to how strongly young
people feel about peace and
the need to maintain it."

USA role is vital to our peace

Dear President Clinton,
I am a 13-year-old school-
boy from Glegormley High
School. I am very pleased
about the chance of permanent
peace in Northern Ireland and
chances of living in a secure
atmosphere. I am also glad of
support.

The USA government is
very important to the North-
ern Irish people because if the
peace talks fall things will go
back to the way they were, or
even worse.
All the people in Northern
Ireland want peace, both
Roman Catholics and Protest-
ants. It is only a minority who
resort to violence. It is difficult
to achieve political settlement
because of all the different
marches and demonstrations
of different traditions.

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 understand-
ing 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. We must
not allow this to happen. The
death of Prudential Rubin
shows how much of a threat
peace makers are to those who
oppose them. This has only
made people more determined
to have peace.

I hope that Northern Ire-
land will have a peaceful and
secure future and with your
help, Mr President, this may
happen.

Yours faithfully,
Mark Lenoir, Glegormley
High School, Newtownabbey.

f competition finalists

Bell-
wellan; Emma Grimes, Holy
Trinity College, Carristown;
Caroline Hewitt, Castlecoagh;
Gemma Higgins, Belfast; Sep-
ah Ho, Downpatrick; Debbie
Huganor, Portadown College;
Janet Johnson, Salina Integrated
College; Philip Johnston, Lurgan
College; Kevin Jones, Craig-
avon.

Christina Kelly, Omagh; Grace
Kennedy, Omagh High School;
Kieran Leslie, Oakgrove Integra-
ted; Joanne Little, Brumagha
College, Omagh; Paul McAlister,
Carristown; Natalie McCabe, St
Mary's High School, Downpat-
rick; Rosemary McLean, St
Malachy's High School, Castle-
wellan; Mervyn McClelland,
Lurgan College, Lurgan.

Caroline McCormick, New-
bridge Integrated College, War-
renpoint; Raymond McCloskey,
Dromagh College, Omagh;
Catherine McConr, Rathmore
Grammar School, Belfast; Nicky
McCullough, Holy Trinity
College, Cookstown; Laura
McDowall, St Ruan's High School,

Belfast; Aolfe McDowell, Dun-
murry; Sean McDowell, New-
bridge Integrated School, War-
renpoint; Susan McIlhatton,
Rathmore Grammar School, Bel-
fast.

Paul McElvanna, Armagh;
Laura McEwan, St Dominic's
High School; Michael McKee,
Omagh; Laurie McKibben, Gros-
venor Grammar, Hollywood;
Michelle McLaughlin, Temple-
more Secondary School, Londonderry;
Kristoffer McMorris, Lon-
donderry; Brendan McMullan,
Randalstown.

Louise McMullan, Dromore;
Liamy McMillan, Carristown
College; Seamus McMonaghan, St
Malachy's High School, Castle-
wellan; Judith McNeill, Gros-
venor Grammar School, Hollywood;
Jacqueline McFarland, Portadown;
Gaius McWilliams, Omagh;
Emma McLean, Our
Lady's Grammar School, Newry;
Colin Morgan, Balis and
Scholers Integrated PS; Elaine
Murray, Our Lady's Grammar,
Newry; Una O'Farrell, Dangan-

non.
Claire Nichol, Kircubbin; Lee
O'Boyle, Marston, Antrim;
Una O'Farrell, Danganmon; Julie
O'Leane, Coalisland; Paul
O'Reilly, Belfast; Annette Page,
Annabli; Bridgeport Park, St Mus
X High School, Londonderry;
Claire Patterson, Mirra; David
Patterson, Maghera High School;
Colette Quinn, St Mus X High
School, Magherafelt; Catherine
Reid, Carristown and Prudential School;
Emma Ruzic, Holy Trinity
College, Cookstown; Declan
Scullion, St Louis Grammar, Bal-
lymena.

Joanna Selfridge, Maghera
High School; Adam Sloan, Bel-
fast; William Stewart, Downshire
School, Carristown; Richard
Teer, Hazelwood Integrated
College, Newtownabbey; Susan
Tew, Our Lady and St Patrick's
College; Carla Thompson, Ach-
field Girls' High School, Rathfriland;
Debbie Tonar, Rallymena;
Nathan Truesdale, Newtownabbey;
and Nikita and Emma, from
Johnnally Special School, Arm-
agh.

days

wer of the cane

parcel of St Colman's had
been used to pretend to have
dental appointments in the
town so he could escape from
the school grounds.

"I would only buy ice
cream and see the shops in
Newry. It was really just my
way of saying stuff the rules
and break out of the system,
it only for a few hours."

and play. One of his starring
roles was Mark Anthony in
Julius Caesar.

Chemistry and physics were
his worst subjects and English
was a firm favourite.

Midnight feasts were part
and parcel of boarding life.
"We used to light a fire in a
special box in the dorm. I
nearly set the dorm on fire
once."



THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

May 25, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT CONFERENCE ON TRADE AND INVESTMENT IN IRELAND

Sheraton Washington
Washington, D.C.

10:48 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Secretary Christopher, Secretary Brown, Senator Mitchell, Deputy Prime Minister Spring, Mr. Patrick Mayhew, Mr. Ambassador, ladies and gentlemen, to all of you of Irish, British, and American heritage from the business communities of these great nations, I thank you for being here. I have looked forward to this day for a long time, to having people like you here who see the opportunities for trade and investment that come from peace, and the opportunities for trade and investment to support peace.

I'm especially delighted that so many are here from Ireland and the United Kingdom. And to all of our friends from Northern Ireland, your attendance here shows your dedication to a future of cooperation and prosperity and we're particularly glad to have you.

Let me say a special word of thanks to George Mitchell for the tremendous work he has done in organizing this conference. His devotion to the cause of nurturing peace and growth in Northern Ireland and the Republic's border counties has played a central part in the progress that we celebrate here today. I'm delighted that he will lead another mission to Ireland this summer, and even more pleased that he's agreed to continue his work in overseeing our economic initiatives through the end of this year. (Applause.)

Ireland is lucky to have George Mitchell on its side, even if it has to put up with the envy of the United States Senate, the Supreme Court, and Major League Baseball. (Laughter.)

You know, George is Irish and Lebanese. Maybe when we succeed in Ireland, if the Secretary of State is not finished -- (laughter) -- he'll volunteer for other duty. (Laughter.)

As all of you know, the United States has a keen interest in a stable and democratic and prosperous Europe. But that interest is particularly strong when it comes to Ireland. Our strong bonds of kinship, culture and history shared with the

peoples of the United Kingdom in Ireland are well-known.

This is a moment of historic opportunity for you and historic interest for the United States. For my own part, people ask me from time to time why this is a matter of such deep personal interest to me. It goes beyond my Irish roots. I wish I could just say that's all there was to it. But an important part of our mission at this moment in time as Americans is to help reconcile the divisions which keep people apart and lead them sometimes to violence both within our own country and around the world.

If you look into the next century you could thank the good Lord that we may -- we may -- succeed in removing the nuclear threat from the children of the 21st century. But we still see these ancient impulses that keep people apart based on religious or racial or ethnic differences.

I tell my fellow Americans all the time that the great genius of our country in the next century may be our ability to exalt the greatest amount of diversity of any large country in the world. But it is still a challenge for us here. You see it all the time. And we can think of no greater mission in our quest to reconcile diversity than trying to help peace and prosperity succeed in Northern Ireland, and in Ireland, in general. (Applause.)

This is, as I'm sure you know, an extraordinary gathering which you are a part. Never before have representatives of all the political parties in Northern Ireland, officials from the United Kingdom and Ireland, and so many business leaders joined to help us to build a better tomorrow. The conference shows anew the historic progress that has been made toward a just and lasting settlement, and toward a peace that respects the rights and traditions of both communities.

In the last few months, thanks to the cease-fire and the momentum of the negotiations, a powerful transformation has begun. Peace is closer than it's been in a generation. For the first time in decades, children can walk to school without worrying. Families that have endured so much violence with so much dignity can now enjoy the blessings of days without violence and nights without fear.

The roads between North and South are more open than they have been in 25 years. And citizens of the Republic are visiting the North in even greater numbers. In Belfast, the army patrols have ended, the body armor and helmets are gone, hundreds of troops are now going home. These landmark achievements would not have been possible without the leadership and courage of Prime Minister Major, Prime Minister Bruton, and before him, Prime Minister Reynolds. With the Joint Framework Document, they are paving the way for a new and hopeful era of reconciliation. All true friends of Ireland are grateful to them and to the parties that have risen to their challenge. I salute them, and I salute

others who work for peace --individuals such as Foreign Minister Spring; Sir Patrick Mayhew; and that tireless advocate of peace, our friend, John Hume. (Applause.)

We pay tribute as well to the brave people of Northern Ireland, whose courage has brought them to this point. The United States is proud to have helped them and all peacemakers, and today I renew my pledge to do everything in my power to support their efforts. (Applause.) I know I speak for all Americans when I say that people who take risks for peace here and anywhere else in the world will always be welcome in the White House, in Washington, and throughout our country.

This momentum must be maintained. The ministerial -level talks represent a step of tremendous promise. I hope the parties can soon sit down together to discuss the future and their differences. That is the best guarantee of a permanent peace.

But there must be progress as well outside the conference rooms. Violence is diminished, but it has not disappeared. I call on all those who continue to employ violence to end the punishment beatings and the intimidation. (Applause.) And to all who are observing the cease-fire, I appeal to you to take the next step and begin to discuss serious decommissioning of weapons. (Applause.) Paramilitaries on both sides must get rid of their bombs and guns for good. And the specter of violence that has haunted Ireland must be banished, once and for all. (Applause.)

It is also time to begin healing the wounds of a generation. Many innocents disappeared during The Troubles. Others were banished from their homes. Today there are families that have still not had the chance to grieve in peace, to visit the graves of their loved ones, to reunite after years of separation. It is time to allow families to be whole again. (Applause.)

As everyone knows, peace is more than cease-fires and formal agreements. It demands real hope and progress in the hearts of people. It demands common striving for the common good. It is time for those who have been most affected by the fighting to feel this kind of hope and this sense of progress. As Yeats wrote, "Too long a sacrifice can make a stone of the heart." There must be a peace dividend in Northern Ireland and the border counties so that everyone is convinced that the future belongs to those who build, not those who destroy; so that the majority that supports peace is strengthened; so that there is no slipping back into the violence that frustration breeds.

That is why this conference is so important. It underscores that all sides have an interest in investing in the future of Northern Ireland, and that all sides will benefit from the peace. Our own experience here in America shows what a difference that kind of progress and benefit can bring. More than a century ago, our great sage, Ralph Waldo Emerson, said that trade

was "the principle of liberty," that it "made peace and keeps peace." That is what we wish for Ireland, and now it is time to realize that wish.

The end of organized violence makes that possible. So I urge American businesses and all others to consider investing in Northern Ireland and the border counties. The opportunities are excellent. The work force is well-educated and well-motivated. The productivity levels are high. The unit labor costs are low. The labor relations are good. The infrastructure, the communications, the access to the European market are fine. With the prospect of an enduring settlement on the horizon, business confidence is rising fast. Experts predict investment booms on both sides of the border, and an increase in tourism in the North that could exceed 100 percent.

Already the United States is the number one investor in both Northern Ireland and the Republic. American companies employ nearly 10 percent of all the workers in Northern Ireland's manufacturing sector. And Ireland imports almost \$3 billion worth of American goods. The firms that we have in these markets are increasing their investments, strengthening their positions in Europe, building businesses that create jobs on both sides of the Atlantic. By doing well, these companies are also doing good.

More investment in Northern Ireland promises to lift the region out of the cycle of despair that leads to violence. It will reduce the chronic unemployment that runs around 50 percent in some urban areas and has deadened the dreams of so many.

If growth is accompanied by an end to discrimination, by fair and nonsectarian employment practices and encouraging investment in areas in greatest need, then both Catholics and Protestants will feel that they have a stake in their society and its peaceful future. (Applause.) When both communities feel the benefits of peace and see that they are distributed fairly, despair will lose its hold, and all will have the chance they deserve to fulfill their God-given potential.

"Peace," Yeats said, "comes dropping slow." The past will not be overcome in a day, but the perception of change provides the kindling for hope, and the opportunities for positive, powerful, profitable change clearly are now present in Northern Ireland.

As long as I am President, the United States will continue to encourage that change. I am proud of all that Secretary Brown has done in achieving -- on his mission to Ireland last December. I'm proud of the many efforts of the Department of Commerce, USAID, USIA and other government agencies to support reconciliation in Ireland. I am proud of the work of the State Department, and I want to say a special word of thanks to our Ambassadors in the area, Ambassador Crowe and Ambassador Jean Kennedy Smith for the outstanding work that they have both done.

(Applause.) Thank you.

Ours is the first administration ever to include appropriations for the International Fund for Ireland. The IFI have lived up to our hopes for it. The Fund supports over 3,000 economic development projects, and has created some 23,000 jobs in areas that were recruiting grounds for the paramilitaries. It is promoting cooperation across the border and between communities.

The record challenges us to go even further. So we have increased our funding request for the IFI to almost \$60 million over the next two years. (Applause.) And we are working to build more bridges across the ocean through exchange programs for managers, students, agricultural experts, artists and scholars. Programs that establish bonds of friendship, while transporting ideas and information, benefitting people on both sides of the ocean.

There are some in Washington who would like to cut our funding for these and other programs that support peace -- in Ireland and throughout the world. That would be a grave error. (Applause.)

The United States has an abiding interest in creating peace and the opportunities it brings. We must have the resources to foster peace and stand by those who take the hard risks for peace. We have seen time and again that our investments in peace, whether in the Middle East, Southern Africa, Haiti or Ireland, have always yielded great benefits for the American people -- in growing markets, greater stability, increased security.

I hope all those who want to see peace in Northern Ireland will keep that in mind. Peace has a price, but it is a small one compared to the alternative, and it is a price very much worth paying. (Applause.)

I'm also glad we've been able to help the cause of peace through this conference and other economic initiatives, because Ireland has given us so much. The two communities that today are coming together in cooperation have each given America a rich legacy. In our nation, Catholic and Protestant have been intertwined, and together they have contributed immensely to the greatness of our people and the success of America. There is evidence all around us. In places like New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio, counties, cities and towns with names like Londonderry, Ulster and Antrim dot the map. Often these places mark the frontier in the 18th century when Ulster Protestants, some of them my ancestors, pushed west to build new lives and a new nation. These settlers were the forbears of nearly a dozen American presidents, including Andrew Jackson, William McKinley and Woodrow Wilson.

Irish Catholics contributed just as much to our country's rise, whether in building railroads or institutions. A visiting journalist in the last century took the measure of that

effort when he said that, in America, you could see "water power, steam power, horse power and Irish power." (Laughter and applause.) And, he concluded, "the last works hardest of all." (Laughter.)

In this half of our century, the names John F. Kennedy, Justice William Brennan, Speaker Tip O'Neill only began to tell the story of Irish Catholics' contribution to all the branches of American democracy. These true traditions, harnessed together in the New World for common goals, has been America's great fortune. Time and again, we have seen peoples of different backgrounds and ancestries put freedom over faction, the goals of the community over the interests of its separate parts.

Of the gifts we can give to Ireland, this example of people joining together for the common good clearly is the greatest. The challenges of the coming century demand that we keep in mind the example of those who went before us, who built bridges across their differences, and found the strength to pull together.

We now face a whole new set of challenges in this new era. The global economy, the explosion of information, the advance of technology, the growing mobility of people -- all these forces are bringing us into a more integrated world, more full of possibilities than ever before. The next century can be the most exciting time in all human history because of the opportunities for human possibilities.

But we have to recognize that all these forces of integration have a darker side, as well. If we do not rise to the challenges they present, we become vulnerable to the organized forces of destruction and evil; for the modern world requires us to be open in order to take advantage of all the forces of integration. And as we become more open, we become more vulnerable to those who would hate and those who would destroy.

As the people of Northern Ireland are showing, we can seize the moment. We can turn away from terror. We can turn away from destruction. We can turn toward peace and unity and possibility. But to keep this process going, to lock in the accomplishments, we must make hope real. To grasp the opportunity, we must build stronger business and communities and families. We must have more and better jobs. We must strengthen the prospects of a better tomorrow.

That is the way to preempt fanaticism. That is the way to close the book on old and bloody conflicts. That is the way to give our children the future they all deserve. The chance is there. It is here. It is now. We have it in our power to make all the difference. Let us do it.

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

END11:09 A.M. EDT

CABINET AND PRESIDENTIAL GUESTS
TRIP TO BELFAST AND DUBLIN
NOVEMBER 29 THROUGH DECEMBER 2, 1995

Cabinet

Honorable Ronald Brown
Secretary
U.S. Department of Commerce

Honorable Richard Riley
Secretary
U.S. Department of Education

Honorable Mark Gearan
Director
U.S. Peace Corp

Presidential Guests

Ms. Mary Boergers
Senior Fellow
Ireland-U.S. Political Leadership Program
College Park, MD

Honorable Mary O. Boyle
President, Board of County Commissioners
Cuyahoga County
Cleveland, OH

Mr. Stephen J. Burrows
President and Chief Operating Officer
Anheuser-Busch International, Inc.
St. Louis, MO

Ms. Elizabeth J. Coleman
Chairman and CEO
Maidenform Worldwide, Inc.
Atlanta, GA

Mr. Pat Conroy
Author
Beaufort, SC

Honorable Richard M. Daley
Mayor
City of Chicago
Chicago, IL

Mr. William Michael Daley
Partner
Mayer, Brown & Platt
Chicago, IL

Mr. Thomas R. Donahue
Former President
AFL-CIO
Washington, DC

Mr. John P. Dunfey
Chairman
New England Citizens Circle
Portsmouth, NH

Dr. Thom White Wolf Fassett
General Secretary, Board of Church and Society
United Methodist Church
Washington, DC

Mr. John D. Feerick
Dean
Fordham University School of Law
Mount Kisco, NY

Mr. William J. Flynn
Chairman of the Board
Mutual of America
New York, NY

Reverend Canon Brian J. Grieves
The Episcopal Church, USA
New York, NY

Reverend Duncan Emery Hanson
Coordinator for Ecumenical Relations and Mission in Europe
Presbyterian Church USA
Louisville, KY

Mr. Neil F. Hartigan
Chairman
World Trade Center Chicago
Chicago, IL

Mr. William Kennedy
Novelist and Director
New York State Writers Institute
Albany, NY

Mr. Donald R. Keough
Chairman
Allen & Company
Atlanta, GA

Mr. Terence R. McAuliffe
President
American Capitol Management
Washington, DC

Mr. James McCann
Chairman and CEO
1-800-Flowers
Westbury, NY

Honorable Ed McNamara
County Executive
Detroit County
Detroit, MI

Mr. Bruce Morrison
Chairman
Federal Housing Finance Board
Washington, DC

Mr. Denis P. Mulcahy
National Chairman
Project Children
Greenwood Lake, NY

Honorable Thomas J. Murphy, Jr.
Mayor
City of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, PA

Mr. Niall O'Dowd
Founding Publisher
Irish Voice and Irish America Magazine
New York, NY

Mr. Brian O'Dwyer
Chairman
Emerald Isle Immigration Center
New York, NY

Dr. Henry J. Postel
Chairman
Northern Ireland Working Group
Darnestown, MD

Mr. John B. Pound
Partner
Herrara, Long & Pound, P.A.
Sante Fe, NM

Most Reverend Daniel P. Reilly
Chairman, International Policy Committee
National Conference of Catholic Bishops
Worcester, MA

Honorable Richard J. Riordan
Mayor
City of Los Angeles
Los Angeles, CA

Mr. Phillip B. Rooney
President
WMX Technologies Inc.
Oak Brook, IL

Mr. John J. Sweeney
President
AFL-CIO
Washington, DC

Bishop Melvin G. Talbert
Resident Bishop
California-Nevada Annual Conference
West Sacramento, CA

Honorable Kathleen Kennedy Townsend
Lieutenant Governor
State of Maryland
Annapolis, MD

Not Confirmed

Mr. Robert Scully
President
National Association of Police Organizations
Washington, DC

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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NOT FOR RELEASE OR PUBLICATION
NOVEMBER 25, 1995

CONTACT: LISA CAPUTO
NEEL LATTIMORE
KAREN FINNEY
202-456-2960

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON'S SCHEDULE DURING
THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO THE UNITED KINGDOM,
WESTERN IRELAND, IRELAND, SPAIN AND GERMANY.**

**THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IS FOR PLANNING PURPOSES
ONLY AND IS SUBJECT TO CHANGE.**

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton will have a limited schedule independent of the President during the November 29 - December 3 European trip.

**LONDON, UNITED KINGDOM
WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1995**

Mrs. Clinton will accompany the President to the wreath laying ceremony at the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior at Westminster Abbey. Following the wreath laying ceremony, Mrs. Clinton will motorcade to the residence of the American Ambassador for a discussion with prominent women from the United Kingdom. Following the discussion, Mrs. Clinton will depart the Ambassador's residence to attend the President's address to the British Parliament, and then accompany the President to the audience with Her Majesty, The Queen of England. That evening Mrs. Clinton will accompany the President to the dinner hosted by Prime Minister John Major.

DISCUSSION WITH PROMINENT WOMEN:

DATE: Wednesday, November 29, 1995
TIME: 9:45 AM
LOCATION: Residence of the American Ambassador

PRESS NOTE: Due to space limitations the discussion will be open to a press pool only. Coverage will be limited to Mrs. Clinton's opening remarks.

PRESS POOL MEMBERS: Network Crew and Correspondent, AP Correspondent and Photographer, UPI Correspondent and Photographer, Reuters Correspondent and Photographer, Newspaper Correspondent, Magazine Correspondent, Magazine Photographer.

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First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's Schedule
for England, Ireland, Spain and Germany
NOT FOR PUBLICATION OR BROADCAST

TRAVELLING PRESS POOL NOTE: MEMBERS OF THE PRESS POOL REPRESENTING THE UNITED STATES SHOULD GATHER AT THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS FILING CENTER AT 8:45 AM FOR DEPARTURE TO THE RESIDENCE OF THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR. (PLEASE NOTE THAT THE DEPARTURE TIME IS SUBJECT TO CHANGE, REVISED INFORMATION WILL BE POSTED IN FILING CENTER.) THE ON-SITE PRESS CONTACT IS DAVID NESLAN.

BELFAST, NORTHERN IRELAND THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1995

Mrs. Clinton will accompany the President to the Mackie Plant. Following the President's speech, the First Lady will motorcade to the Women's Drop-In Center for a discussion with cross community (protestant and catholic) women involved in the peace process. Following the discussion, Mrs. Clinton will join the President and depart for Londonderry/Derry. In Londonderry/Derry, Mrs. Clinton will accompany the President to his address at City Hall, the inauguration ceremonies for the Tip O'Neil Chair for Peace Studies at the University of Ulster, and attend the reception hosted by the Derry City Council. Upon returning to Belfast, Mrs. Clinton will join the President at the tree lighting ceremony outside of City Hall and attend the reception at Queen's University hosted by Sir Patrick Mayhew.

WOMEN'S DROP-IN CENTER:

DATE: Thursday, November 30, 1995
TIME: 12 Noon
LOCATION: Women's Drop-In Center
Belfast, Northern Ireland

PRESS NOTE: Due to space limitations the discussion will be open to a press pool only. Video and still cameras will be allowed to cover the opening remarks only, pencil reporters and correspondents will be permitted to stay throughout the discussion.

PRESS POOL MEMBERS: Network Crew and Correspondent, AP Correspondent and Photographer, UPI Correspondent and Photographer, Reuters Correspondent and Photographer, Newspaper Correspondent, Magazine Correspondent, Magazine Photographer.

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First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's Schedule
for England, Ireland, Spain and Germany
NOT FOR PUBLICATION OR BROADCAST

TRAVELLING PRESS POOL NOTE: . MEMBERS OF THE PRESS POOL REPRESENTING THE UNITED STATES SHOULD GATHER AT THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS FILING CENTER AT 11:00 AM (PLEASE NOTE THAT THE DEPARTURE TIME IS SUBJECT TO CHANGE, REVISED INFORMATION WILL BE POSTED IN FILING CENTER.) FOR DEPARTURE TO THE WOMEN'S DROP-IN CENTER. THE ON-SITE PRESS CONTACT IS SHARON KENNEDY.

DUBLIN, IRELAND FRIDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1995

In Dublin, Mrs. Clinton and the President will meet with President Mary Robinson and Nick Robinson at the presidential residence, and then join Prime Minister Bruton and Mrs. Bruton for photo opportunity at the Government Buildings. Following the photo opportunity, Mrs. Clinton and Mrs. Burton will proceed to the National Gallery where the First Lady will address approximately 300 women. Following her remarks, Mrs. Clinton will join the President at the College Green, attend the President's speech to the Irish Parliament and accompany the President to Cassidy's Pub. That evening Mrs. Clinton will join the President at the dinner hosted by the Irish Government.

ADDRESS AT NATIONAL GALLERY

DATE: Friday, December 1, 1995
TIME: 12:00 Noon
LOCATION: Shaw Hall
National Gallery
Dublin, Ireland

PRESS NOTE: Due to space limitations, the First Lady's address will be open to expanded press pool coverage only. Members of the United States press corps wishing to cover the First Lady's remarks should assemble at the White House filing center at 10:45 AM for departure to the National Gallery. (PLEASE NOTE THAT THE DEPARTURE TIME IS SUBJECT TO CHANGE, REVISED INFORMATION WILL BE POSTED IN FILING CENTER.) The on-site press contact is Bill O'Leary.

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First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's Schedule
for England, Ireland, Spain and Germany
NOT FOR PUBLICATION OR BROADCAST

FRANKFURT, GERMANY
SATURDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1995

Mrs. Clinton's schedule is TBA.

MADRID, SPAIN
SATURDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1995

Mrs. Clinton will join the President at the dinner hosted by the
King and Queen of Spain.

MADRID, SPAIN
SUNDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1995

Mrs. Clinton has no public schedule.

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background notes

United Kingdom

Official Name:
**United Kingdom of Great Britain
and Northern Ireland**

PROFILE

Geography

Area: 244,111 sq. km. (94,251 sq. mi.); slightly smaller than Oregon.
Cities: *Capital*—London (metropolitan pop. about 6.9 million). *Other cities*—Birmingham, Glasgow, Leeds, Sheffield, Liverpool, Bradford, Manchester, Edinburgh, Bristol, Belfast.
Terrain: 30% arable, 50% meadow and pasture, 12% waste or urban, 7% forested, 1% inland water.
Climate: Generally mild and temperate; weather is subject to frequent changes but to few extremes of temperature.

People

Nationality: *Noun*—Briton(s). *Adjective*—British.
Population: 58 million.
Annual growth rate: 0.2%.
Ethnic groups: British, West Indian, South Asian.
Religions: Church of England, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian.
Languages: English, Welsh, Gaelic.
Education: *Years compulsory*—12.
Attendance—nearly 100%. *Literacy*—99%.
Health: *Infant mortality*—8/1,000. *Life expectancy*—males 73 yrs; females 79 yrs.

Work force (1994, 28 million): *Services*—72%. *Manufacturing and engineering*—18%. *Mining and energy*—5%. *Construction*—4%. *Agriculture*—1%.

Government

Type: Constitutional monarchy.
Constitution: Unwritten; partly statutes, partly common law and practice.
Branches: *Executive*—monarch (chief of state), prime minister (head of government), cabinet. *Legislative*—bicameral parliament: House of Commons, House of Lords. *Judicial*—magistrates' courts, county courts, high courts, appellate courts, House of Lords.
Subdivisions: Municipalities, counties, parliamentary constituencies, province of Northern Ireland, and Scottish regions.
Political parties: Conservative; Labour, Liberal Democrats; and various smaller parties including the Greens and parties of Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland.
Suffrage: British subjects and citizens of the Irish Republic resident in the U.K., at 18.

Economy

GDP (1994): \$1 trillion.
Annual growth rate (1994): 4.2%.
Per capita GDP (1994): \$18,000.
Natural resources: Coal, oil, gas (North Sea).
Agriculture (1.8% of GDP): *Products*—cereals, livestock, livestock products, fish.
Industry (33% of GDP): *Types*—steel, heavy engineering and metal manufacturing, textiles, motor vehicles and aircraft, construction, electronics, chemicals.
Trade (1994): *Exports*—\$200 billion: machinery and transport equipment, petroleum, manufactures, chemicals.
Major markets—EU, U.S., Sweden, Saudi Arabia, Nigeria, Switzerland, South Africa.
Imports—\$215 billion: machinery and transport equipment, manufactures,

foodstuffs, petroleum, chemicals. *Major suppliers*—EU, U.S., Japan, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland.

U.S.-U.K. RELATIONS

The United Kingdom is one of the United States' closest allies, and British foreign policy emphasizes close coordination with the United States. Bilateral cooperation reflects the common language, ideals, and democratic practices of the two nations. The relations were strengthened by the U.K.'s alliance with the United States during both World Wars, the Korean conflict, and the Persian Gulf war. The United Kingdom and the United States continually consult on foreign policy issues and global problems and share major foreign and security policy objectives. In the United Nations, the U.K. is a permanent member of the Security Council. As of May 1995, some 3,500 British soldiers were serving with UNPROFOR in Bosnia; additional reinforcements were sent in June.

The U.K. has historic global ties, but as its global commitments have been reduced since World War II, it has sought a closer association with Europe. A key member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the U.K. is one of its major European maritime powers. The U.K. ranks fourth among NATO countries in total defense expenditure.

The 56,000-member Royal Navy is in charge of NATO's independent strategic nuclear arm—Polaris missile submarines now being replaced by Trident II. Defense of U.S. reinforcement and resupply of Europe is one of the Royal Navy's major tasks. In addition, the 7,600-member Royal Marines provide commando units for amphibious assault and for specialist reinforcement forces in and beyond the NATO area. The army, with a strength of 123,500, including 7,600 women, provides



for the ground defense of the United Kingdom through its participation in NATO.

Trade and Investment

The United Kingdom is one of the largest European economies and one of the world's major trading powers. London ranks with New York as a leading international financial center.

After Canada, Japan, and Mexico, the United Kingdom is the fourth-largest U.S. export market. In 1994, it purchased American goods valued at \$26.8 billion and accounted for about 25% of all U.S. trade with the European Union. The U.K. is also the largest source of foreign tourists to the United States; an estimated 3 million British tourists visited the U.S. in 1994—and 3.1 million are expected for 1995—accounting for more than \$8 billion in travel receipts.

The U.K. is America's most important investment partner. For 1993, two-way direct investment was more than \$190 billion. The U.K. was America's largest destination for investment abroad; valued at \$96 billion, U.S. investment accounted for 18% of total investment in the U.K. In addition, 21% of foreign direct investment in the U.S. came from the U.K., which at \$95 billion was second only to Japan.

British industry is a mixture of publicly and privately owned firms. Several important industries are publicly owned, including steel, railroads, coal mining, shipbuilding, and certain utilities. Since 1979, the British Government has privatized most large state-owned companies, including British Steel, British Airways, British Telecom, British Coal, British Aerospace, and British Gas.

The United Kingdom is an energy-rich nation with significant reserves of oil and gas in the North Sea and large coal resources. Energy production accounts for almost 5% of GDP. North Sea oil production, currently over 2.4 million b/d, is on an upward trend expected to continue into 1996. U.K. offshore areas should be an important source of continued production and new discoveries for some years. U.S. oil and oil-service companies participate actively in the North Sea oil industry and consider the United Kingdom an attractive environment for future investment.

Principal U.S. Embassy Officials

Ambassador—William J. Crowe Jr.
Minister (Deputy Chief of Mission)—
Timothy E. Deal
Minister for Economic Affairs—
Thomas H. Gewecke
Minister-Counselor for Political Affairs—
Michael Habib
Minister-Counselor for Commercial
Affairs—Kenneth Moorefield

The U.S. embassy in the United Kingdom is located at 24/31 Grosvenor Sq., W.1A 1AE, London (tel. [44] (171) 499-9000; fax [44] (171) 409-1637).

GOVERNMENT

The United Kingdom does not have a written constitution. The equivalent body of law is based on statute, common law, and "traditional rights." Changes may come about formally through new acts of parliament, informally through the acceptance of new practices and usage, or by judicial precedents. Although parliament has the theoretical power to make or repeal any law, in actual practice the weight of 700 years of tradition restrains arbitrary actions.

Executive government rests nominally with the monarch but actually is exercised by a committee of ministers (cabinet) traditionally selected from among the members of the House of Commons and, to a lesser extent, the House of Lords. The prime minister is the leader of the majority party in the Commons, and the government is dependent on its support.

Parliament represents the entire country and can legislate for the whole or for any constituent part or combination of parts. The maximum parliamentary term is five years, but the prime minister may ask the monarch to dissolve parliament and call a general election at any time. The focus of legislative power is the 650-member House of Commons, which has sole jurisdiction over finance. The House of Lords, although shorn of most of its powers, can still review, amend, or delay temporarily any bills except those relating to the budget. Only a few of the 1,200 members of the House of Lords attend its sessions regularly. The House of Lords has more time than the House of Commons to pursue one of its more important functions—debating public issues.

The judiciary is independent of the legislative and executive branches but cannot review the constitutionality of legislation.

The separate identity of each of the U.K.'s constituent parts also is reflected in governmental structure. Welsh affairs are handled at the national level by a cabinet minister (the Secretary of State for Wales) with the advice of a broadly representative council for Wales. Scotland continues, as before its union with England, to employ different systems of law (Roman-French), education, local government, judiciary, and national church (the Presbyterian Church of Scotland instead of the Church of England). In addition, most domestic matters are handled by separate departments grouped under a Secretary of State for Scotland, who also is a cabinet member.

Until suspended in March 1972, Northern Ireland—with the British Government retaining ultimate responsibility—had its own parliament and prime minister. Then, in response to deteriorating security and political conditions in the province, direct rule from London was established through a Secretary of State for Northern Ireland. Northern Ireland is represented by 17 members in the House of Commons. The six counties of Northern Ireland comprise about 900,000 Protestants and 650,000 Catholics.

On November 15, 1985, the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland signed the Anglo-Irish agreement to diminish the divisions in Northern Ireland and to achieve peace and stability. In the agreement, both governments affirm that any change in Northern Ireland's status will come about only with the consent of a majority of its people. An intergovernmental conference was established to deal with political, security, legal, and cross-border cooperation issues and provides for possible future devolution of responsibility for some matters within Northern Ireland.

In December 1993, the U.K. and Irish Governments adopted a joint declaration reiterating both governments' commitment that there would be no change in Northern Ireland's constitutional status unless a majority of the voters in the province so desired. All constitutional parties were invited to take part in a negotiation aimed at achieving a political

Travel and Business Information

The U.S. Department of State's Consular Information Program provides **Travel Warnings and Consular Information Sheets**. Travel Warnings are issued when the Department of State recommends that Americans avoid travel to a certain country. Consular Information Sheets exist for all countries and include information on immigration practices, currency regulations, health conditions, areas of instability, crime and security information, political disturbances, and the addresses of the U.S. embassies and consulates in the subject country. They can be obtained by **telephone** at (202) 647-5225 or by **fax** at (202) 647-3000. To access the Consular Affairs Bulletin Board by **computer**, dial (202) 647-9225, via a modem with standard settings. Bureau of Consular Affairs' publications on obtaining **passports and planning a safe trip abroad** are available from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, tel. (202) 783-3238.

Emergency information concerning Americans traveling abroad may be obtained from the Office of Overseas Citizens Services at (202) 647-5225.

While planning a trip, travelers can check the latest **information on health requirements** and conditions with the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention in Atlanta, Georgia. A **hotline** at (404) 332-4559 provides telephonic or fax information on the most recent health advisories, immunization recommendations or requirements, and advice on food and drinking water safety for regions and countries. A booklet entitled *Health*

Information for International Travel (HHS publication number CDC-94-8280, price \$7.00) is available from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402, tel. (202) 512-1800.

Information on **travel conditions, visa requirements, currency and customs regulations, legal holidays, and other items of interest to travelers** also may be obtained before your departure from a country's embassy and/or consulates in the U.S. (for this country, see "Principal Government Officials" listing in this publication).

Upon their arrival in a country, **U.S. citizens are encouraged to register with the U.S. embassy** (see "Principal U.S. Embassy Officials" listing in this publication). Such information might assist family members in making contact en route in case of an emergency.

Further Electronic Information:

Consular Affairs Bulletin Board (CABB). Available by modem, the CABB provides Consular Information Sheets, Travel Warnings, and helpful information for travelers. Access at (202) 647-9225 is free of charge to anyone with a personal computer, modem, telecommunications software, and telephone line.

Department of State Foreign Affairs Network. Available on the Internet, DOSFAN provides timely, global access to official U.S. foreign policy information. Updated daily, DOSFAN includes *Background Notes*; *Dispatch*, the official weekly magazine of U.S. foreign policy; daily press

briefings; directories of key officers of foreign service posts; etc. DOSFAN is accessible three ways on the Internet:

Gopher: dosfan.lib.uic.edu

URL: gopher://dosfan.lib.uic.edu/

WWW: <http://dosfan.lib.uic.edu/dosfan.html>

U.S. Foreign Affairs on CD-ROM (USFAC). Published on a quarterly basis by the U.S. Department of State, USFAC archives information on the *Department of State Foreign Affairs Network*, and includes an array of official foreign policy information from 1990 to the present. Priced at \$80 (\$100 foreign), one-year subscriptions include four discs (MSDOS and Macintosh compatible) and are available from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, P.O. Box 37194, Pittsburgh, PA 15250-7954. To order, call (202) 512-1800 or fax (202) 512-2250.

Federal Bulletin Board (BBS). A broad range of foreign policy information also is carried on the BBS, operated by the U.S. Government Printing Office (GPO). By modem, dial (202) 512-1387. For general BBS information, call (202) 512-1530.

National Trade Data Bank (NTDB). Operated by the U.S. Department of Commerce, the NTDB contains a wealth of trade-related information, including *Country Commercial Guides*. It is available on the Internet (gopher.stat-usa.gov) and on CD-ROM. Call the NTDB Help-Line at (202) 482-1986 for more information. □

solution to the conflict in the province. The U.K. and Irish Governments also cooperate in promoting economic and social development in the unstable areas and are seeking international support for this effort.

In February 1995, U.K. Prime Minister Major and Irish Prime Minister Burton announced a Joint Framework Document (JFD) outlining their governments' shared proposals for inclusive talks on Northern Ireland. The JFD lays the foundation for "all-party talks" among the political parties of Northern Ireland and the U.K. and Irish Governments. At the same time, the U.K. Government separately announced a Framework for Accountable Government—proposals for a new, devolved local assembly in Northern Ireland. These proposals are intended to form the basis

for negotiations between the U.K. Government and Northern Ireland's political parties.

As of 1994, the United States has given or pledged contributions totaling \$248 million to the International Fund for Ireland. The Fund provides grants and loans to businesses to improve the economy, redress inequalities of employment opportunity, and improve cross-border business and commercial ties.

Principal Government Officials

Head of State—Queen Elizabeth II
Prime Minister—John Major
Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs—
Malcolm Rifkind

Ambassador to the U.S.—

Sir John Kerr

Ambassador to the UN—

Sir John Weston

The United Kingdom maintains an embassy in the United States at 3100 Massachusetts Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20008 (tel. 202-462-1340; fax 202-898-4255).

POLITICAL CONDITIONS

Prime Minister John Major's government was elected in April 1992 in a surprise win over the opposition Labour Party. The Conservatives (Tories) have now won four straight general elections since 1979. Although the Conservatives' share of the popular vote stayed steady at about 42% in 1992, their number of seats in the House of Commons fell from 375 to 336. Deaths of several parliamentarians since 1992 and

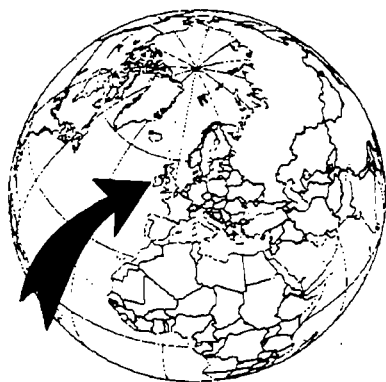
losses in by-elections have reduced the Tory majority over other parties in parliament to less than 10 today compared to 100 in 1987. The official opposition, the left-of-center Labour Party, is up from 228 to 272. The remaining seats are divided among the centrist Liberal Democrats (23), the Northern Ireland parties (17), the Scottish Nationalists (4), and the Welsh Nationalists (4). The current Conservative Government is seeking to build on the 1980s legacy of former Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who led a drive to curb the power of unions, privatize

nationally owned industries, and reform local government, education, and the National Health Service.

Although Britain, like the United States, is emerging from its deepest recession since World War II, the Tories are being hit by scandal, internal divisions over Europe, and significant losses in the May 1995 local elections. The Labour Party underwent its own transformation in the 1980s and early 1990s, abandoning unilateral nuclear disarmament and nationalization, and developing more

moderate policies on social and economic issues. The party is now leading in opinion polls for general elections due no later than 1997.

Both main British parties support a strong transatlantic link but have become increasingly absorbed by European issues as Britain's economic and political ties to the continent grow in the post-Cold War world. June 1994 European Union-wide elections for the European Parliament in Strasbourg saw huge gains by the Labour and Liberal Democrat parties at the expense of the Conservatives. ■



background notes

Ireland

Official Name: Ireland

PROFILE

Geography

Area: 70,282 sq. km. (27,136 sq. mi.); slightly larger than West Virginia.
Cities: *Capital*—Dublin (pop. 502,749; about 1 million in metropolitan area, or about one-third the total population).
Other cities—Cork (133,271), Limerick (56,279), Galway (47,104), Waterford, (39,529).
Terrain: Arable 10%, meadows and pastures 77%, rough grazing in use 11%, inland water 2%.
Climate: Temperate maritime.

People

Nationality: *Noun*—Irishman, Irishwoman. *Adjective*—Irish.
Population: 3.6 million.
Ethnic groups: Celtic, with English minority.
Religions: Roman Catholic 91%, other Christian denominations 4%.
Languages: English, Irish (Gaelic).
Education: *Years compulsory*—9.
Attendance—93%. *Literacy*—90%.
Health: *Infant mortality rate*—6/1,000.
Life expectancy—75 years: male 72 yrs., female 78 yrs.

Work force: *Services*—54%.
Industry—28%. *Agriculture*—12%.
Government—6%.

Government

Type: Parliamentary republic.
Independence: 1921.
Constitution: December 29, 1937.
Branches: *Executive*—president (chief of state); prime minister (Taoiseach—pronounced “TEE-shuk”) head of government. *Legislative*—bicameral National Parliament (Oireachtas—pronounced “ir-ROCK-tas”): House of Representatives (Dail—pronounced “DAW-il”), and Senate (Seanad—pronounced “SHAN-ad”). *Judicial*—Supreme Court.
Administrative subdivisions: 26 counties.
Major political parties: Fianna Fail, Fine Gael, Labor, Workers’ Party, Progressive Democrats, Democratic Left, Green Party.
Suffrage: Universal over 18.

Economy

GNP (1994): \$46 billion.
Annual growth rate (1994): 5.5%.
Per capita income: \$12,000.
Natural resources: Zinc, lead, natural gas, barite, copper, gypsum, limestone, dolomite, peat, silver, gold.
Agriculture (8% of GNP): *Products*—cattle, meat, and dairy products, potatoes, barley, sugar beets, hay, silage, wheat.
Industry (36% of GNP): *Types*—food processing, beverages, engineering, computer equipment, textiles and clothing, chemicals and pharmaceuticals, construction.

Trade (1994): *Exports*—\$36 billion: computer equipment, chemicals, meat, dairy products, machinery. *Major markets*—U.K. 27%, other EU countries 41%, U.S. 8%. *Imports*—\$26 billion: grains, petroleum products, machinery, transport equipment, chemicals, textile yarns. *Major suppliers*—U.K. 36%, other EU countries 20%, U.S. 18%.

U.S.-IRISH RELATIONS

U.S. relations with Ireland are based on common ancestral ties and on similar values and political views. The United States seeks to maintain and strengthen the traditionally cordial relations between the people of the United States and Ireland.

Emigration is a major factor affecting the political, economic, and social fabric of Ireland. Pushed by high unemployment, more than 150,000 persons have left the country in the last 10 years. The primary destination is the United Kingdom, with the United States a strong second. The status of tens of thousands of Irish illegals in the United States, most of them under 30 years of age, is a matter of concern and debate in Irish public life.

U.S. Government policy on Northern Ireland condemns all acts of terrorism and violence. It also cautions all Americans to question closely any appeal for financial or other aid from groups involved in the Northern Ireland conflict to ensure that contributions do not end up in the hands of those who perpetuate violence, either directly or indirectly. The United States has warmly welcomed the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985 and the 1993 Downing Street Declaration as a framework for progress in Northern Ireland.



Trade and Investment

In 1994, trade between Ireland and the United States was \$7.6 billion, a 20% increase over 1993. U.S. exports to Ireland were \$4.7 billion, an increase of about 25% over 1993 and 18% of Ireland's total imports. The range of U.S. products includes electrical components, computers and peripherals, drugs and pharmaceuticals, electrical equipment and livestock feed. Irish exports to the United States grew by 10% to just under \$3 billion in 1993, representing about 8% of all Irish exports. Exports to the United States include alcoholic beverages, chemicals and related products, electronic data processing equipment, electrical machinery, textiles and clothing, and glassware.

The U.S. traditionally has had a trade surplus with Ireland, due primarily to purchases of U.S.-origin raw materials and intermediate goods by the many U.S. subsidiaries in Ireland and substantial trade in agricultural products. In 1994, the U.S. trade surplus was \$1.8 billion, compared to \$1 billion in 1993. Given the continued favorable outlook for the Irish economy, good sales opportunities exist for U.S. producers in Ireland. Export-Import Bank financing and the presence of major U.S. banks in Ireland facilitate marketing by U.S. suppliers.

U.S. statements have noted the important contribution toward economic and social progress represented by American industrial investment in Ireland—north and south—and have pledged to maintain the U.S. commitment to facilitate the growth of such job-creating investment. U.S. investment has been particularly important to the growth and modernization of Irish industry over the past 25 years, providing new technology, export capabilities, and employment opportunities. U.S. investment in Ireland is more than \$8 billion. There are more than 400 U.S. subsidiaries, employing about 50,000 people and spanning activities from manufacturing of high-tech electronics, computer products, medical supplies, and pharmaceuticals to retailing and services.

Many U.S. businesses find Ireland an attractive location to manufacture for the EU market, since it is inside the EU customs area. Government policies are generally formulated to facilitate trade

and inward direct investment. The availability of an educated, well-trained, English-speaking work force and relatively moderate wage costs have been important factors. Ireland offers good long-term growth prospects for U.S. companies under an innovative financial incentive program, including capital grants and favorable tax treatment, such as a reduction from 40% to 38% in the standard corporation tax rate and a 10% corporation income tax rate for certain manufacturing firms.

Principal U.S. Officials

Ambassador—Jean Kennedy Smith

Deputy Chief of Mission—

Dennis A. Sandberg

Administrative Officer—vacant

Commercial Attache—Edward Cannon

Consular Officer—Ann Sides

Defense Attache—Col. William Torpey

Economic Officer—Madelyn Spirnak

Political Officer—Richard Norland

Public Affairs Officer—Lynn Cassel

The U.S. embassy in Ireland is located at 42 Elgin Road, Ballsbridge, Dublin 4 (tel. 668-7122; fax 668-9946). The consular section is located in an annex across the street on the third floor of Hume House.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

Ireland is a sovereign, independent, democratic state with a parliamentary system of government. The president, who serves as chief of state in a largely ceremonial role, is elected for a seven-year term and can be re-elected only once. In carrying out certain constitutional powers and functions, the president is aided by the Council of State, an advisory body. On the prime minister's advice, the president also dissolves the House of Representatives.

The president appoints as prime minister the leader of the political party, or coalition of parties, which wins the most seats in the House of Representatives. Executive power is vested in a cabinet whose ministers are nominated by the prime minister and approved by the House.

The bicameral National Parliament (Oireachtas) consists of the Senate (Seanad Eireann) and the House of

Representatives (Dail Eireann). The Senate is composed of 60 members—11 nominated by the prime minister, six elected by the national universities, and 43 elected from panels of candidates established on a vocational basis. The Senate has the power to delay legislative proposals and is allowed 90 days to consider and amend bills sent to it by the House, which—because it can initiate legislation—wields greater power in Parliament. The House has 166 members popularly elected to a maximum term of five years under a complex system of proportional representation.

Judges are appointed by the president on nomination by the government and can be removed from office only for misbehavior or incapacity and then only by resolution of both houses of parliament. The ultimate court of appeal is the Supreme Court, consisting of the chief justice and five other justices. The Supreme Court can also decide upon the constitutionality of legislative acts if the president asks for an opinion.

Local government is by elected county councils and—in the cities of Dublin, Cork, Limerick, and Waterford—by county borough corporations. In practice, however, authority remains with the central government.

Political Parties

From 1800 to 1921, Ireland was part of the United Kingdom. The Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 established the Irish Free State, which after World War II left the British Commonwealth and became a republic. Six northern counties—Northern Ireland—remained part of the United Kingdom.

Irish politics remain dominated by the two political parties that grew out of Ireland's bitter 1922-23 civil war. Fianna Fail was formed by those who opposed the 1921 treaty that partitioned the island. Although treaty opponents lost the civil war, Fianna Fail quickly became Ireland's largest political party. Fine Gael, representative of the pro-treaty forces, remains the country's second-largest party.

In recent years, however, there have been signs that this largely two-party structure is breaking down. Mary Robinson of the Labour Party shocked the political establishment by winning the 1990 presidential election. Before

Robinson, the presidency had always been held by either Fianna Fail or Fine Gael. Articulating a progressive agenda for Ireland's future and outspoken on social issues, Robinson represents a distinct break from the conservative politics of the two major parties.

The November 1992 general election confirmed this trend. The two main parties lost ground as the Labour Party scored a historic breakthrough, winning 19% of the vote and 33 seats in the House. Fianna Fail won 39% and 68 seats; Fine Gael won 24.5% and 45 seats. As a result of the election, Labour holds the balance of power between the two largest parties, neither of which was able to win a parliamentary majority. Labour initially chose to go into coalition with Fianna Fail, but that government collapsed in November 1994 over a scandal involving the Attorney General's handling of the extradition of a pedophile priest. In the ensuing struggle, Labour again demonstrated its new kingmaking powers when it dictated the terms of a new "rainbow" government coalition with Fine Gael and the Democratic Left.

Northern Ireland

Resolving the Northern Ireland problem remains the leading political issue. Nationalists in Northern Ireland want unification with Ireland, while unionists and loyalists want continued union with Great Britain.

Since the 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement granting Ireland a formal voice in Northern Ireland affairs, there has been an extensive dialogue between the two governments on how to bring about a peaceful, democratic resolution of the conflict. In December 1993, then-Irish Prime Minister Reynolds and British Prime Minister Major issued the "Downing Street Declaration." This held out the promise of inclusive political talks on the future of Northern Ireland and led the Irish Republican Army (IRA) to call a "total cessation" of military operations on August 31, 1994. This was followed six weeks later by a similar cease-fire by the loyalist paramilitaries.

Following up on the cease-fires, the two governments in February 1995 issued their joint "Frameworks"

Travel and Business Information

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Gopher: dosfan.lib.uic.edu

URL: [gopher://dosfan.lib.uic.edu/](http://dosfan.lib.uic.edu/)

WWW: <http://dosfan.lib.uic.edu/dosfan.html>

U.S. Foreign Affairs on CD-ROM (USFAC). Published on a quarterly basis by the U.S. Department of State, USFAC archives information on the Department of State Foreign Affairs Network, and includes an array of official foreign policy information from 1990 to the present. Priced at \$80 (\$100 foreign), one-year subscriptions include four discs (MSDOS and Macintosh compatible) and are available from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, P.O. Box 37194, Pittsburgh, PA 15250-7954. To order, call (202) 512-1800 or fax (202) 512-2250.

Federal Bulletin Board (BBS). A broad range of foreign policy information also is carried on the BBS, operated by the U.S. Government Printing Office (GPO). By modem, dial (202) 512-1387. For general BBS information, call (202) 512-1530.

National Trade Data Bank (NTDB). Operated by the U.S. Department of Commerce, the NTDB contains a wealth of trade-related information, including *Country Commercial Guides*. It is available on the Internet (gopher.stat-usa.gov) and on CD-ROM. Call the NTDB Help-Line at (202) 482-1986 for more information. □

document, which proposed a basis for negotiations. While the document was generally welcomed by nationalists, it was immediately rejected by unionists, who disparaged it as a "blueprint for a united Ireland." Despite the negative unionist reaction, the two governments tried to launch the negotiating process by announcing that they would hold a series of bilaterals with all the constitutional parties in the north.

By the summer of 1995, however, this effort had yet to get off the ground due to a continuing disagreement between the British Government and Sinn Fein, the political arm of the IRA. The British

Government insisted that Sinn Fein could not be included in all-party talks on the future of Northern Ireland until the IRA had demonstrated its commitment to the democratic process by beginning to decommission its large cache of arms. Sinn Fein responded that it was not in position to have the IRA decommission its weapons at least until a political settlement was in sight. With the approach of the one-year anniversary of the IRA cease-fire, there was hope that the impasse could be broken by the establishment of an international commission to study the problem, although such a body has yet to be set up.

Principal Government Officials

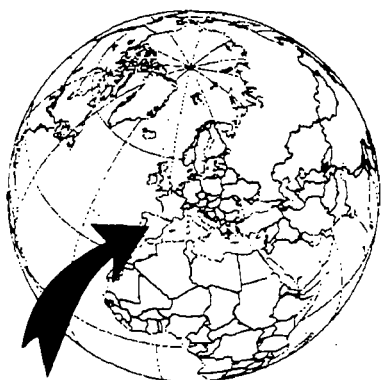
President—Mary Robinson
Prime Minister —John Bruton
Deputy Prime Minister and
Minister for Foreign Affairs—
Dick Spring
Ambassador to the United States—
Dermot Gallagher

Ireland maintains an embassy in the United States at 2234 Massachusetts Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20008 (tel. 202-462-3939/40/41/42). Irish consulates are located in New York, Chicago, Boston, and San Francisco. ■

background notes

Spain

November 1995



Official Name: Kingdom of Spain

PROFILE

Geography

Area: 504,750 sq. km. (194,884 sq. mi.) including the Balearic and Canary Islands; about the size of Arizona and Utah combined.

Cities: *Capital*—Madrid (pop. 2.9 million est). *Other cities*—Barcelona (1.6 million), Valencia (753,000), Seville (659,000), Zaragoza (586,000), Bilbao (369,000), Malaga (512,000).

Terrain: High plateaus and mountains.

Climate: Seasonably variable, dry; temperate in northwest.

People

Nationality: *Noun*—Spaniard(s).

Adjective—Spanish.

Population: 40 million.

Annual growth rate: 0.3%.

Ethnic groups: Distinct ethnic groups within Spain include the Basques, Catalans, and Gallegos.

Religion: Predominantly Roman Catholic.

Languages: Spanish (official), Catalan-Valenciana 17%, Galician 7%, Basque 2%.

Education: *Years compulsory*—to age 16. *Literacy*—97%.

Work force (15.2 million): *Services*—55%. *Agriculture*—12%. *Construction*—10%. *Industry*—4%.

Government

Type: Constitutional monarchy (Juan Carlos I proclaimed King November 22, 1975).

Constitution: 1978

Branches: *Executive*—prime minister nominated by monarch, subject to approval by democratically elected Congress of Deputies. *Legislative*—bicameral Cortes: a 350-seat Congress of Deputies (elected by the d'Hondt system of proportional representation) and a Senate. Four senators are elected in each of 47 peninsular provinces, 16 are elected from the three island provinces, and Ceuta and Melilla elect two each; this accounts for 208 senators. The 17 autonomous regions also appoint one senator as well as one additional senator for every 1 million inhabitants within their territory (about 20 senators). *Judicial*—Constitutional Tribunal has jurisdiction over constitutional issues. Supreme Tribunal heads system comprising territorial, provincial, regional, and municipal courts.

Subdivisions: 47 peninsular and three island provinces; two enclaves on the Mediterranean coast of Morocco (Ceuta and Melilla); and three island groups along that coast—Alhucemas, Pelon de Velez de la Gomera, and the Chafarinas Islands.

Political parties: Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE), Popular Party (PP), Social and Democratic Center (CDS), and the United Left (IU) coalition. Key regional parties are the Convergence and Union (CIU) in Catalonia and the Basque National Party (PNV) in the Basque country.

Economy

GDP (1994): \$483 billion (seventh-largest OECD economy).

Annual growth rate: 2%.

Per capita GDP: \$12,000.

Natural resources: Coal, lignite, iron ore, uranium, mercury, pyrites, fluor-spar, gypsum, zinc, lead, tungsten, copper, kaolin, hydroelectric power.

Agriculture (3.5% of GDP): *Products*—grains, vegetables, citrus and deciduous fruits, wine, olives and olive oil, sunflowers, livestock.

Industry (23% of GDP): *Types*—processed foods, textiles, footwear, petrochemicals, steel, automobiles, consumer goods, electronics.

Trade (1994): *Exports*—\$73.5 billion: automobiles, fruits, minerals, metals, clothing, footwear, textiles. *Major markets*—EU 75%, U.S. 5%. *Imports*—\$92.7 billion: petroleum, oilseeds, aircraft, grains, chemicals, machinery, transportation equipment, fish. *Major sources*—EU 69%, U.S. 7.3%.

Average exchange rate:
134 pesetas=U.S.\$1. ■



United States Department of State
Bureau of Public Affairs
Office of Public Communication

PEOPLE

Spain's population density, lower than that of most European countries, is roughly equivalent to New England. In recent years, following a long-standing pattern in the rest of Europe, rural populations are moving to cities.

Spain has no official religion. The constitution of 1978 disestablished the Roman Catholic Church as the official state religion, while recognizing the role it plays in Spanish society. More than 90% of the population are at least nominally Catholic.

Educational System

About 70% of Spain's student population attends public schools or universities. The remainder attend private schools or universities, the great majority of which are operated by the Catholic Church.

Compulsory education begins with primary school or general basic education for ages 6-14. It is free in public schools and in many private schools, most of which receive government subsidies. Following graduation, students attend either a secondary school offering a general high school diploma or a school of professional education (corresponding to grades 9-11 in the United States) offering a vocational training program. The Spanish university system offers degree programs in law, sciences, humanities, and medicine, and the superior technical schools offer programs in engineering and architecture.

HISTORY

The Iberian Peninsula has been occupied for many millennia. Some of Europe's most impressive Paleolithic cultural sites are located there—the famous caves at Altamira contain spectacular paintings which date from about 15,000-25,000 years ago. The Basques are the first identifiable people of the peninsula and are the oldest surviving group in Europe. Iberians arrived from North Africa during a more recent period.

Beginning in the ninth century BC, Phoenicians, Greeks, Carthaginians, and Celts entered the Iberian Peninsula, followed by the Romans, who

arrived in the second century BC. Spain's present language, religion, and laws stem from the Roman period. Although the Visigoths arrived in the fifth century AD, the last Roman strongholds along the southern coast did not fall until the seventh century AD. In 711, North African Moors sailed across the straits, swept into Andalusia, and, within a few years, pushed the Visigoths up the peninsula to the Cantabrian Mountains. The Reconquest—efforts to drive out the Moors—lasted until 1492. By 1512, the unification of present-day Spain was complete.

During the 16th century, Spain became the most powerful nation in Europe, due to the immense wealth derived from its presence in the Americas. But a series of long, costly wars and revolts, capped by the defeat by the English of the "Invincible Armada" in 1588, began a steady decline of Spanish power in Europe. Controversy over succession to the throne consumed the country during the 18th and 19th centuries, leading to occupation by France in the early 1800s.

The 19th century saw the revolt and independence of most of Spain's colonies in the Western Hemisphere; three wars over the succession issue; the brief ousting of the monarchy and establishment of the First Republic (1873-74); and, finally, the Spanish-American War (1898), in which Spain lost Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines to the United States. A period of dictatorial rule (1923-31) ended with the establishment of the Second Republic. It was dominated by increasing political polarization, culminating in the leftist Popular Front electoral victory in 1936. Pressures from all sides, coupled with growing and unchecked violence, led to the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in July 1936.

Following the victory of his nationalist forces in 1939, Gen. Francisco Franco ruled a nation exhausted politically and economically. Spain was officially neutral during World War II but followed a pro-Axis policy. The victorious Allies isolated Spain at the beginning of the postwar period, and

the country did not join the United Nations until 1955. In 1959, under an International Monetary Fund stabilization plan, the country began liberalizing trade and capital flows, particularly foreign direct investment.

Despite the success of economic liberalization, Spain remained the most closed economy in Western Europe—judged by the small measure of foreign trade to economic activity—and the pace of reform slackened during the 1960s as the state remained committed to "guiding" the economy.

Nevertheless, in the 1960s and 1970s, Spain was transformed into a modern industrial economy with a thriving tourism sector. Its economic expansion led to improved income distribution, and helped develop a large middle class. Social changes brought about by economic prosperity and the inflow of new ideas helped set the stage for Spain's transition to democracy during the latter half of the 1970s.

Upon the death of General Franco in November 1975, Prince Juan Carlos de Borbon y Borbon, Franco's personally designated heir, assumed the titles of king and chief of state. Dissatisfied with the slow pace of post-Franco liberalization, in July 1976, the King replaced Franco's last prime minister with Adolfo Suarez. Suarez entered office promising that elections would be held within one year, and his government moved to enact a series of laws to liberalize the new regime.

Spain's first elections to the Cortes (parliament) since 1936 were held on June 15, 1977. Prime Minister Suarez's Union of the Democratic Center (UCD), a moderate center-right coalition, won 34% of the vote and the largest bloc of seats in the Cortes.

Under Suarez, the new Cortes set about drafting a democratic constitution which was overwhelmingly approved by voters in a December 1978 national referendum.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

The 1978 constitution established Spain as a parliamentary monarchy, with the prime minister responsible to the bicameral Cortes elected every four years. The elections of March 1979 gave

Suarez's party a large plurality, but the coalition of parties backing Suarez soon began to disintegrate. In January 1981, Suarez resigned, and the King nominated Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo to replace him. On February 23, while the Congress of Deputies was voting on the Calvo Sotelo nomination, rebel elements among the security forces seized the Congress and tried to impose a military-backed government. However, the great majority of the military forces remained loyal to King Juan Carlos, who used his personal authority to put down the coup. The bloodless coup attempt was over in 18 hours. On February 25, the Congress of Deputies reconvened to approve Calvo Sotelo's nomination as Prime Minister.

In October 1982, the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE), led by Felipe Gonzalez Marquez, swept both the Congress of Deputies and Senate, winning an absolute majority; the government was reelected in June 1986.

On December 14, 1988, the two largest labor union confederations, the Socialist-affiliated General Workers Union and the communist-led Confederation of Workers Commissions, sponsored a successful one-day nationwide work stoppage. The general strike was seen as an expression of labor union dissatisfaction with the governing PSOE's leadership as well as a move to highlight specific union grievances. It marked a widening split between the labor unions and the Socialist government. The strike was interpreted as a sign that the government had lost some support, especially among blue-collar workers, a sector of the electorate traditionally pro-socialist.

Prime Minister Gonzalez called for a general election in October 1989. Although the PSOE retained control of the Senate, the party lost ground, both to the Popular Party on the right and the communist-led United Left. Gonzalez won a fourth term in 1993 with a minority government supported by the regional Catalan party.

Local Government

The 1978 constitution authorized the creation of regional autonomous governments. By 1985, 17 regions

covering all of peninsular Spain, the Canaries, and the Balearic Islands had negotiated autonomy statutes with the central government. In 1979, the first autonomous elections were held in the Basque and Catalan regions, which have the strongest regional traditions by virtue of their history and separate languages. Since then, autonomous governments have been created in the remainder of the 17 regions.

Terrorism

The Government of Spain is involved in a long-running campaign against Basque Fatherland and Liberty (ETA), a terrorist organization founded in 1959 and dedicated to promoting Basque independence. ETA targets primarily Spanish security forces, military personnel, and Spanish Government officials. The group has carried out numerous bombings against Spanish Government facilities and economic targets. In recent years, the Government of Spain has had more success in controlling ETA, due in part to increased security cooperation with French authorities.

In early 1989, the Spanish Government held a series of meetings in Algeria with ETA representatives in an effort to reach an agreement ending the campaign of terrorism. But the talks broke down, and ETA resumed its terrorist operations with a series of bombings on April 7, 1989, effectively ending a three-month cease-fire. The spring and summer of 1990 saw another significant wave of terrorist operations, with ETA and the radical leftist group GRAPO claiming responsibility for bombings against public installations throughout the country.

A series of highly successful Spanish police counter-terrorist operations conducted in coordination with French authorities, including the arrest of the ETA leadership, had reduced that organization's activities by the close of 1992. However, a core of hardliners saw to it that the ETA's agenda of violence continued, orchestrating two assassinations in January 1993.

As for GRAPO, while not responsible for any deaths during 1992, its members procured the equivalent of \$622,000 from armored-car heists. The group carried out an armored-car

robbery in early January 1993, an act which was expected to boost the morale of members of Spain's Communist Party, the political arm of GRAPO.

Catalonia liberation groups, most notable of which is Terra Lliure (TLL), were given special attention by the police in preparation for the 1992 Barcelona Summer Olympics, and their activity was largely neutralized.

Principal Government Officials

Chief of State, Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces—

King Juan Carlos I

President of the Government (Prime Minister)—

Felipe Gonzalez Marquez

Minister of Foreign Affairs—

Javier Solana

Ambassador to the United States—

Jaime de Ojeda y Eiseley

Spain maintains an embassy in the United States at 2375 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20037 (tel. 202-728-2340) and consulates in many larger U.S. cities.

ECONOMY

Following peak growth years in the late 1980s, the Spanish economy entered into recession in mid-1992. Both investment and private consumption were negative during 1993, while registered unemployment surged to nearly 25%. Four devaluations of the peseta since 1992 have made Spanish exports more competitive and have contributed to a boom in tourism revenues. A modest export-led recovery began in 1994. Late that year, investment also picked up, but consolidation of the recovery will require a return of consumer confidence and domestic private consumption.

Spain's accession to the European Community—now European Union (EU)—in January 1986 has required the country to open its economy, modernize its industrial base, improve infrastructure, and revise economic legislation to conform to EU guidelines. The Spanish Government has announced its commitment to meet the Maastricht Treaty requirements for economic and monetary union; the

fundamental challenges for Spain are to reduce the public sector deficit and to lower inflation.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

After the return of democracy following the death of General Franco in 1975, Spain's foreign policy priorities were to break out of the diplomatic isolation of the Franco years and expand its diplomatic relations, enter the European Community, and define its security relations with the West.

As a member of NATO since 1982, Spain has established itself as a major participant in multilateral international security activities. Spain's EU membership represents an important part of its foreign policy, and even on many international issues beyond Western Europe, Spain prefers to coordinate its efforts with its EU partners through the European political cooperation mechanism.

With the normalization of diplomatic relations with Israel and Albania in 1986, Spain virtually completed the process of universalizing its diplomatic relations. The only country with which it now does not have diplomatic relations is North Korea.

Spain has maintained its special identification with Latin America. Its policy emphasizes the concept of *Hispanidad*, a mixture of linguistic, religious, ethnic, cultural, and historical ties binding Spanish-speaking America to Spain. Spain has been an effective example of transition from authoritarianism to democracy, as shown in the many trips that Spain's King and Prime Ministers have made to the region. Spain maintains economic and technical cooperation programs and cultural exchanges with Latin America, both bilaterally and within the EU.

Spain also continues to focus attention on North Africa, especially on Morocco. This concern is dictated by geographic proximity and long historical contacts, as well as by the two

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URL: [gopher://dosfan.lib.uic.edu/](http://dosfan.lib.uic.edu/)

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Spanish enclave cities of Ceuta and Melilla on the northern coast of Africa. While Spain's departure from its former colony of Western Sahara ended direct Spanish participation, it maintains an interest in the peaceful resolution of the conflict brought about there by decolonization. Spain has gradually begun to broaden its contacts with sub-Saharan Africa. It has a particular interest in its former colony of Equatorial Guinea, where it maintains a large aid program.

In its relations with the Arab world, Spain frequently supports Arab positions on Middle East issues. The Arab countries are a priority interest for Spain because of oil and gas imports and because several Arab nations have substantial investments in Spain.

Spain has been successful in managing its relations with its two European neighbors, France and Portugal. The accession of Spain and Portugal to the EU has helped ease some of their periodic trade frictions by putting these into an EU context. Franco-Spanish bilateral cooperation is enhanced by joint action against Basque ETA terrorism. Ties with the United Kingdom are generally good, although the question of Gibraltar remains a sensitive issue; the two countries agreed in 1984 to discuss all subjects, including sovereignty, in their talks on the future of this British colony. This agreement has led to a relaxation of border controls and greater movement of people and goods.

U.S.-SPANISH RELATIONS

Spain and the United States have a long history of official relations and are now closely associated in many fields. This association has been cemented in

recent years by the exchange of high-level visitors. In April 1993, King Juan Carlos received a gold medal from the United States National Philosophical Society in Philadelphia on the occasion of its 250th anniversary.

In addition to U.S. and Spanish cooperation in NATO, defense and security relations between the two countries are regulated by a 1989 agreement on defense cooperation. Under this agreement, Spain authorizes the United States to use certain facilities at Spanish military installations.

The two countries also cooperate in several other important areas. Under an agreement which will remain in force until 1997 and which is subject to renewal at that time, the U.S. National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) and the Spanish National Aerospace Institute (INTA) jointly operate tracking stations in the Madrid area in support of earth orbital, lunar, and planetary exploration missions. The Madrid tracking station is one of the three largest tracking and data acquisition complexes supporting NASA operations.

An agreement on cultural and educational cooperation was signed on June 7, 1989. A new element, supported by both the public and private sectors, gives a different dimension to the programs carried out by the joint committee for cultural and educational cooperation. These joint committee activities complement the binational Fulbright program for graduate students, postdoctoral researchers, and visiting professors, which, in 1989, became the largest in the world. Besides assisting in these exchange endeavors, the U.S. embassy also conducts a program of official visits between Spain and the United States.

Principal U.S. Embassy Officials

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The European Union

The European Union (EU; formerly the European Community) is comprised of three separate communities: the European Coal and Steel Community (established in 1951); and the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) and the European Economic Community (EEC), both established in 1957. The EU currently has 15 members: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom.

The Union had by the beginning of 1993 the elements of a true "single" or common market, with free movement of persons, goods, services, and capital, although portions remain to be fully implemented. In December 1991, at Maastricht, Netherlands, EU members agreed to amendments of the EU treaties which would move the Union in the direction of greater economic, monetary, and political union, including more unified foreign and security policies. The Maastricht treaty went into effect November 1, 1993. On that date, the European Community formally became the European Union, and the Commission of the European Communities became the European Commission. Under the Maastricht treaty, member states have formally begun intergovernmental coordination on Common Foreign and Security Policy (the "Second Pillar") and Justice and Home Affairs (the "Third Pillar").

U.S.-EU Relations

The United States and the European Union maintain a continuing dialogue on political and economic issues of mutual interest, and engage in direct negotiations on trade and investment issues. The Union is the United States' largest trading partner. Total U.S.-EU trade was \$195 billion in 1993, up from \$190 billion in 1991 and 1992. In 1993, U.S. imports from the EU were \$98 billion and represented 17% of total U.S. imports. U.S. exports that year to the EU were \$97 billion, representing 21% of total U.S. exports.

Due largely to the continued recession in Europe, the U.S. had a \$1 billion trade deficit with the EU in 1993, down from a \$9 billion trade surplus in 1992. The United States and the Union are each other's most significant source of direct investment. By the end of 1992, the Union had more than \$219 billion invested in the United States, and the United States had about \$201 billion invested in the EU.

The United States continues to support the EU's implementation of the single market program. It is in the interest of both sides that this integration be implemented in an open fashion without creating new trade barriers. The United States holds regular meetings with the Union to discuss a range of economic and political issues and to resolve trade differences, many concerning agriculture. In its negotiations with the Union on trade and investment issues, the U.S. Government works to ensure that American interests are fully represented. The global reform of agricultural policies was an impor-

tant U.S. objective and a major goal of the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations.

The United States long has discussed foreign and trade policy issues on an ad hoc basis with the Union. These arrangements were formalized by the Declaration on U.S.-EU Relations of November 23, 1990, which institutionalized regular consultation and cooperation on political, economic, scientific, educational, and cultural matters. As agreed in the declaration, the U.S. President meets twice annually with the head of state or government of the presidency country and the President of the European Commission. The Secretary of State meets twice annually with the EU foreign ministers and as necessary with the foreign ministers of the "troika" countries (the EU presidency country, its predecessor, and its successor). Discussions include a broad range of issues: maintenance of international peace and security in areas such as the Gulf, the Middle East, and former Yugoslavia; international trade issues; support for the emerging democracies of Eurasia; and cooperation in science and technology.

EU Institutions and Presidency

Since July 1967, the three communities have functioned with common institutions. Major EU institutions are the Commission, the Council of Ministers, the European Parliament, and the Court of Justice. Member states agree to relinquish a degree of national sovereignty to EU institutions and to cooperate in the joint administration of these powers.



The 20-member Commission, appointed by common agreement of the 15 governments and approved by the European Parliament, has primary responsibility for initiating and implementing EU policy in areas that fall under EU treaties (for example, the internal market, external trade, and agricultural policy). The Council of Ministers, representing the member states, occupies the preeminent position in the current institutional power balance and decides on the Commission's proposals. The Parliament, the only EU institution that directly represents European citizens, has significant power over budgetary matters and can amend or reject certain legislation approved by the Council. The Court, which has a role similar to that of the U.S. Supreme Court, is the final authority on the interpretation of EU treaties and laws.

Each member state serves as President of the Council for six months in rotation. The presidency country presides at all meetings of the member states and serves as spokesman in dealing with countries on intergovernmental matters, including efforts to coordinate the foreign policies of the member states. This foreign policy coordination process, known as Common Foreign and Security Policy, is one of seeking consensus for joint action by the 15 members on international political issues, such as the Gulf crisis and refugee aid, the former Yugoslavia, the Middle East peace process, South Africa, Central America, and the Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Since ratification of the Maastricht treaty, the presidency country now also presides over intergovernmental cooperation and consultation on justice and home affairs.

European Integration

The process of European integration was strengthened by the implementation, in July 1987, of the Single European Act (SEA), which increased the scope of the Union's legislative and executive authority. The SEA endorsed the objective of

economic and monetary union and outlined a series of directives necessary to eliminate all physical, technical, and fiscal barriers to completion of an internal "single" market by January 1, 1993. It also formalized procedures for cooperation in the area of foreign policy.

At the landmark Maastricht summit in December 1991, EU members approved additional proposals which will forge even closer economic, monetary, and political ties within the Union. The treaty calls for the EU to establish a European Central Bank (the European Monetary Institute is located in Frankfurt, Germany) and a single currency by the end of the decade, although all 15 member countries may not enter the new arrangements at once. The treaty also sets in motion a further acceleration of political integration, including elements of a common foreign and security policy and cooperation in justice and home affairs.

The question of how fast to proceed with enlargement of the Union while strengthening EU institutions (the "widening" versus "deepening" issue) continues to be a major topic for discussion among member states. In the most recent enlargement, Austria, Finland, and Sweden joined the EU on January 1, 1995. Cyprus, Malta, Turkey, Switzerland, Poland, and Hungary have applied for membership, and several Central European states have indicated their desire to join the EU. Poland and Hungary both formally applied for membership in April 1994.

An intergovernmental conference is scheduled to be held in 1996 to evaluate the progress of economic and monetary integration and to consider greater coordination of foreign policy and security matters.

EU Economy

With the accession of Austria, Finland, and Sweden, the population of the EU is now roughly 368 million; the EU's gross domestic product at the beginning of 1995

was about \$6.7 trillion, with a per capita GDP of \$18,000. An important aspect of the EU's economy is its Common Agricultural Policy, a complicated system of price supports, subsidies, and protection to European farmers that consumes more than half of the EU budget. EU member states agreed to an important reform of that policy in May 1992.

Relations With Other Countries

The EU is the largest trading entity in the world. In April 1992, the EU and the seven-member European Free Trade Association (Austria, Finland, and Sweden were EFTA members before joining the EU) signed an agreement to broaden their existing free trade agreement and create a European Economic Area (EEA). The EEA establishes free movement of goods, services, capital, and labor throughout the combined territory. In a December 1992 referendum, Switzerland rejected participation in the EEA.

The EU and its member states have long-standing political and economic ties with the formerly communist countries of Central Europe and the New Independent States (former Soviet republics). The EU has provided significant economic assistance to these new emerging democracies and has eased access to its markets for them. The EU created a new kind of association agreement for the countries of Central Europe. These agreements, also known as Europe agreements, cover industrial, technical, and scientific cooperation, financial assistance, and political dialogue. Most importantly, these agreements envision eventual EU membership for these Central European states. The EU signed association agreements with Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia in December 1991; after Czechoslovakia's dissolution, the EU signed new, separate agreements with the Czech Republic and Slovakia in 1993. Association agreements were signed with Romania in February 1993, and with Bulgaria in March 1993. The EU reached agreement on separate

association agreements with Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania in April 1995; they were to be signed in late May 1995. The EU is discussing an association agreement with Slovenia. In December 1994, the EU approved a pre-accession strategy designed to help the associated Central European states to move toward joining the EU. The EU adopted a white paper in June 1995 describing some of the steps associated Central European states will need to take before joining the EU.

In 1989, the European Commission began coordinating aid from the then-24 countries (including the U.S.) of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development to Central and Eastern Europe; this process is known as the Group of 24. The objective is to strengthen the process of political and economic reform, with emphasis on improving

the private sector. The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (of which the United States is an active member) was established in 1990 to support investment and the development of market economies in these countries.

In January 1992, the commission announced that it would negotiate new agreements with the former Soviet republics to replace the 1989 EU-U.S.S.R. trade and cooperation agreement. In June 1994, the EU signed a partnership and cooperation agreement (PCA) with Russia, which provides for political dialogue at all levels, possible talks in 1998 on a free trade area, EU support for eventual Russian accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO), and EU assistance on nuclear safety, restructuring state-run enterprises, and economic reforms. The EU also signed a similar PCA with Ukraine in June 1994. The EU has initialed less-extensive PCAs with Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Belarus, and Moldova.

The Union has placed priority on improving relations with developing countries. The Lome Convention provides a framework for EU development cooperation with 70 African, Caribbean, and Pacific (ACP) countries. In 1989, a new 10-year agreement was signed with the ACP states to provide aid to development projects, free access to EU markets for almost all manufactured imports from those countries, and incentives to promote European investment.

The Union is linked with a number of countries in the Mediterranean by either association or preferential trade agreements that provide duty-free access for industrial products and direct grants and loans. EU economic ties to Asia and Latin America usually take the form of bilateral agreements that allow preferential access and certain types of development aid. ■

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