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12/2/95 11 p.m.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12.2.95

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON
ADDRESS TO U.S. TROOPS
BAUMHOLDER, GERMANY
DECEMBER 2, 1995**

Chancellor Kohl; General Shalikashvili; Secretary
West; General Joulwan; General Crouch; General
Nash:

I am so glad to be here at Baumholder -- the Home of
Champions. And I am proud to stand with the men
and women of the First Armored Division --
America's Iron Soldiers.

Previous generations of Iron Soldiers answered their nation's call with legendary skill and bravery. Each time, it was a call to war. From North Africa to Italy, they helped freedom triumph over tyranny in World War II. ^{Then} For twenty years, their powerful presence here -- ~~on what used to be the front line of democracy~~ -- stood down the Soviet threat and helped bring victory in the Cold War.

And just four years ago, when Saddam Hussein made
~~a very... big... mistake~~ and attacked Kuwait, the First
AD's awesome power turned back Iraq and protected
the security of the Persian Gulf. Many of you were
there. ~~Let me remind you of a few numbers.~~ In just
89 hours of combat, you destroyed 440 enemy tanks,
485 armored personnel carriers, 190 pieces of
artillery and 137 air defense guns. ~~Saddam Hussein~~
~~found out the hard way -- you don't mess with the~~
~~Iron Soldiers.~~

Yours is a remarkable record of achievement. Now,

America summons you to service again. This time,

not with a call to war -- but a call to peace. ~~Our~~

The leaders of Bosnia, Croatia, & Serbia have agreed to
~~country has asked you to help the people of Bosnia~~
~~end 4 yrs of war and atrocities. They have asked for our~~
~~make good on their commitment to peace so that it~~
~~help to implement their peace agreement. It is very much in~~
~~takes hold and lasts.~~ ^{And} We are counting on you, the
~~our Nation's interest, and consistent w/ our values, to see that the~~
 men and women of Task Force Eagle, to get the job ^{peace} ~~done~~ ^{succeeds} ^{and endures.}

done. For 3 years, I refused to send
 American forces into Bosnia where they could
 have been pulled into war -- ~~But~~ ^{But} ~~I~~ ^{do} want
 you to go there on a mission of peace.

After speaking to your commanders and looking out

at all of you, there is not a doubt in my mind: this

task force is ready... ^{willing} ~~to~~ ~~act~~ and able to
 carry out ~~that~~ mission:

~~I am here, too, because you should know from me~~
~~what you can expect in Bosnia -- and what your~~
~~nation expects of you. And I want you to hear from~~
~~me why the mission you are about to undertake is so~~
~~important to America -- to our most cherished values~~
~~and our important security interests.~~

~~Your mission~~ is to help people exhausted from war
 make good on the peace they have chosen ~~and~~

*the peace they have asked you to help them
 achieve*

Two weeks ago, in Dayton, Ohio,. the warring parties in Bosnia agreed to put down their guns... to pull back their armies and their heavy weapons... to hold free elections... to start rebuilding their homes, their towns and their lives.

But they need help to do that
~~Now, they need help in making the full turn from the~~
~~savagery of war to ^{the} security ^{of} for peace -- and they have~~
asked America and our NATO allies to provide it.

They need help because

After nearly four years of terrible brutality, trust is in

That's what they
short supply in Bosnia. Each side wants NATO to

help them live up to their commitments →

~~police their agreement~~ -- to make sure each army

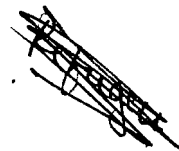
withdraws behind the separation line and stays there...

to maintain the cease fire so that war does not start

again and thus to give all the parties the confidence

they need to keep their word -- and faith that the other

side will too.



I pledged to the American people that I would not
send you to Bosnia unless I was absolutely sure the
goals we set for you are clear, realistic and achievable
within about one year. ^{This mission} ~~The goals I outlined a moment~~
~~ago~~ ^{are} meet ~~those essential criteria.~~ ^{At a distance,}

Set I also vowed that you ~~would not set foot in Bosnia~~
until I was sure the risks to your safety were
minimized.

You know better than anyone that every deployment has risks. There could be accidents. And in a formerly hostile environment, there could be incidents with people who have not given up their hatred. As President, I take full responsibility for your well-being.

But I also take pride in the knowledge that we are making this mission as safe as it can possibly be.

You will take your orders from the American general who commands NATO -- there will be no confusing chain of command. You are already superbly prepared -- and you will be heavily armed.

The reputation that precedes you and the technology and training that protect you will make those who might attack you think twice. But you will also have very clear rules of engagement that spell out the most important rule of all in big, bold letters: If you are threatened with attack, you may respond immediately -- and with decisive force. As you look out for each other, America will look out for you.

Your presence will help create a climate of security in Bosnia -- and allow the international community to begin a massive program of humanitarian relief and reconstruction, largely paid for by our partners in Europe and around the world. This effort will bring the people of Bosnia the food, medicine, shelter and clothing so many have been denied for so long. It will help them rebuild their roads and their towns... their schools and their hospitals... their factories and their shops. It will reunite families torn apart by the war and return refugees to their homes.

It will help the people of Bosnia rediscover the quiet blessings of a normal life -- and give them a much greater stake in peace than in war.

Then moving after 2 days of working for peace in U.N.
~~Today~~, in Dublin, I met with Zlata Filipovic [ZLA-ta fill-uh-Po-vitch], the young Bosnian girl whose diary of her wartime experience in Sarajevo moved millions of people around the world. I thanked her for a powerful letter *of support for our efforts for peace in Bosnia just a few days ago.* she recently wrote me. And then I told her I was on my way to visit with all of you. She said, "Mr. President, when you're in Germany, please thank the American soldiers for me. I want to go home."

She also asked me to thank the American people for, ^{for her and all the}
 in her words, “opening the door of the future” ^{chance of} in ^{Bosnia}
 Bosnia. Without you, that door will close. The peace
 agreement will collapse. The war will reignite. The
 atrocities that have so troubled our souls will begin
 again. And the conflict could spread throughout the
 region and weaken our partnership with Europe.

We must not allow that to happen.

Without you, that door will close. The peace agreement will collapse. The war will reignite. The atrocities that have so troubled our souls will begin again. And the conflict could spread throughout the region ~~and~~ weaken our partnership with Europe. ~~and~~ ^{undermine} ~~undermine~~ our leadership in ^{area} ~~other~~ critical to our security.

We must not allow that to happen.

12/1/95 1 p.m.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12.1.95

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
ADDRESS TO THE CITIZENS OF DUBLIN
COLLEGE GREEN, DUBLIN, IRELAND
DECEMBER 1, 1995**

Hello Ireland! Hello Dubliners!



**Lord Mayor, I am deeply honored to receive the
Honorary Freedom of the City of Dublin... to sign my
name alongside great heroes of history and towering
figures of our time -- George Bernard Shaw, President
John Kennedy, Mother Teresa, Nelson Mandela. I'm
told that in earlier times, being awarded the freedom
of the city meant you no longer had to pay tolls to the
Vikings. I'm not sure how far that will get me with
our Internal Revenue Service. But I do know that I
am very proud to be able to say, from this day
forward: I am a free man of Dublin.**

Thank you for the warm welcome you and your fellow
 Dubliners have extended to Hillary and me. It's great
 to be here in Ireland. And to be greeted by such a
on a beautiful Irish day -
 wonderful Irish crowd I feel like a real "dub" today.

And I hear you have a handy football team as well.

*Thank you - I want to see the rest
 - Penetration < winning*

It gives me great pleasure to announce that President

Robinson has accepted my invitation to visit the

United States next June. We will need every day

between now and then to match your grand

hospitality.

As an American in Ireland, I thought I should first introduce you to some of the people who put the Irish in America. You all know our Ambassador, Jean Kennedy Smith -- and some of you may remember when she accompanied her brother, President Kennedy, on his historic visit to Ireland 32 years ago. I also want to recognize the Members of Congress who traveled all the way from Washington DC to be here today. When some of their forbears came to America generations ago, they faced a hard life as new immigrants -- and even discrimination. But these great Americans are having the last laugh. Today, they run the country.

Years ago, Americans learned about Dublin from the stories of James Joyce and Sean O'Casey. Today, America - and the world -- learn about Dublin, and Ireland, through the words of Sebastian Barry, Paula Meehan and Roddy Doyle. We learn through the films of Jim Sheridan and Neil Jordan. The voices of Mary Black and Dolores Keane. And bands like "The Cranberries." And "U2." Anyone who wants to understand -- and live -- today's global culture had better come to Ireland.

By now, you may have heard about my family ties to Ireland. My mother was a Cassidy.

~~if with she had used to be part of this day~~

She would have felt at home here. She would have

loved the small towns ~~which are so much like the~~

~~ones I grew up in across the ocean.~~ With the warmth

you have shown us, she would have felt at home in this

great city, too. But what she would have loved most of

all about your country is this: here you have nearly

300 racing days a year. My mother loved the horses.

I understand there are some Cassidy's out in the

audience. As we say in Arkansas: Cead Mille Failte

[Kade Meel Fall-tcha] -- a hundred thousand

welcomes.

FAD SAIL AUGUS

SLAWN-76

One hundred and fifty years ago this year, Ireland's crops turned black in the ground. One fourth of its people either starved from the great hunger or were lost to emigration. That famine was the greatest human tragedy in Irish history. But out of that horrible curse came the most bittersweet of blessings: the arrival in my country of millions of new Americans who built the United States with their brawn and climbed to the top of its professions with their brains. For every person here in Ireland, twelve more in the United States has proud roots in Irish soil.

~~Prison~~

~~I know that~~ memory of the famine is ~~scared into your~~
~~hearts and minds. How else to explain~~ ^{in part} the

extraordinary generosity of the Irish people -- not just
 to needy neighbors in the local parish but to strangers
 around the globe.

You do not forget those who still go hungry in the
 world today... those who yearn simply to put food on
 their tables and clothes on their backs. In places as far
 away as the Holy Land, Asia and Africa, you are
 helping people build a future of hope.

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

Your commitment to peace helps conquer the foes that threaten us all. As we move from the Cold War to the global village, we still face the forces of hatred and division...

The spread of weapons of mass destruction.

Terrorism. Ethnic hatreds. Religious fanaticism.

**And an international drug trade that poisons our
children and the places we call home.**

**Ireland is helping to beat back the forces of
disintegration that wage guerrilla wars against
humanity. You are an inspiration to all peace loving
nations everywhere, even those many times your size.
You are making peace heroic.**

**Nowhere are the people of Ireland greater heroes for
peace than right here at home.**

Tuesday night, before I left home, I got word that the Taoiseach [TEE-shuck] and Prime Minister Major had opened a gateway to a just and lasting peace -- a peace that will lift the lives of your neighbors in Northern Ireland -- and their neighbors in the towns and counties that share the Northern border. That was the greatest welcome anyone could have asked for.

I know that waging peace is risky. It takes courage. It takes strength. It can be a hard road to travel. But it is the right road. Not because peace is a piece of paper... or a treaty ... or even a handshake among leaders. But because peace touches people's lives -- in their hearts, in their homes, on the job, in the pub.

Yesterday, in Northern Ireland I saw that for myself. I saw it on the floor of the Mackie plant -- where Catholics and Protestants are working side by side to build a better future for their families.

And I heard it in the voices of two extraordinary children -- a Catholic girl and a Protestant boy -- who introduced me to the people of Belfast. They joined hands and told the world of their hopes for the future. A future without bullets or bombs. A future in which the only barriers they face are the limits of their dreams.

Everywhere I have gone... from the hope filled streets of Belfast... to the ancient walls of Derry... to this busy College Green... the message is the same: People want peace. And now the voice of the people is being heard.

young people Cath + Prot want peace
 Emigration for friends helped make this
 I want to see friends when young
 people can live out their dream close
 to their home

In Derry and Belfast, there is truly "music in the air."

I couldn't say it better than your Nobel Prize winning

poet Seamus Heaney [HEE-knee]: We are living in a

moment when "hope and history rhyme."

> by Merlin < by history → to
 up upon to take next step -
 the house → you must be generous -
 To the people of Ireland, I say: America will be with hands
entireties

you as walk the road of peace. We know from our

own experience that making peace is the work of a

lifetime. It is the constant challenge of finding

strength in diversity. Learning to respect our

differences. Yet never losing sight of that core of

common humanity that binds us all together.

Deep down, we all want the same things: To provide for ourselves and our loved ones. To raise our families without fear. To help our children live up to their God-given potential. But if we are to make these wishes real, we must rise to the challenge of peace.

A generation ago, President Kennedy, in his visit to this city, said that he “sincerely” believed "that your future is as promising as your past is proud, and that your destiny lies not as a peaceful island in a sea of troubles, but as a maker and shaper of world peace."

A generation later, Ireland has claimed that destiny.

Yours is a more peaceful land in a world that is ever

more peaceful for your efforts. For touching the

hearts and minds of peace loving people in every

corner of the world... For the risks you take for

peace... For inspiring the nations of the world by your

example... America says: thank you Ireland, and God

bless you.

#

12.1.95

Remember what we have seen in Bosnia. Ethnic cleansing. Mass executions. The rape of women and young girls as a tool of war. Young men forced to dig their own graves and then shot down into the ground like animals. Endless lines of desperate refugees. Images of these terrible wrongs have

flooded our living rooms for nearly four years.

~~That too long ago, things began to change. From a situation in which there was a peace pact to the current situation~~
~~Because America stood up and led -- through the~~

~~United States government and the power of the American people~~
~~of our image and the power of our image in Bosnia, but most of all~~

~~NATO air strikes that brought the parties back to the~~
~~the impact of American leadership, to~~

~~negotiating table and through our diplomatic initiatives~~

~~determination which clinched the peace agreement --~~

Now
 the violence in Bosnia has ended. We must not let it return.

~~And remember how important Europe's stability is, to~~
~~our own security.~~ For decades, the American people
The importance of a stable, strong, free Europe
 have recognized ~~that reality.~~ That's why we fought
to our own security.
 two world wars in Europe. That's why, after World
 War II, we made the commitments that kept Europe
 free and at peace... that created unparalleled
for us as well as them.
 prosperity. and that helped bring victory in the Cold
 War.

Europe can be our strongest partner in confronting the difficult challenges of a new era: terrorism...

organized crime and international drug trafficking...

the spread of weapons of mass destruction. But it

won't be a strong partner as long as a war rages at its

^{in Bosnia} very heart. And it won't follow our lead in dealing

with common problems if we fail to lead for peace in

Bosnia. When America's partnerships are weak and

our leadership is questioned, it ^{is} ~~makes it~~ a lot tougher

to protect our national interests.

When people ask why can't the Europeans do their part — remember: when we led in Desert Storm we asked for help from many nations who could have taken a part but they stood aside. When we led in Haiti, we were supported by many nations that refused our call to stand with us — Here in Bosnia we are ~~needed~~ ^{needed}.

Men and women of Task Force Eagle, I know that the burden of American leadership weighs heavily on you and your families. Each and every one of you who volunteers to serve your country makes hard sacrifices. We send you far from home for months at a time. We take you away from your children and loved ones. These are the burdens America assumes - the burdens you assume -- to stand up for our values and serve our interests in this time of challenge and change.

~~Because you are the best trained, the best equipped~~
~~and the best prepared soldiers in the world, we know~~
~~you will succeed. And because your work is so~~
~~important, we know you will take great pride in it. In~~

~~Bosnia~~, the mission is clear. You are strong and very
 well prepared. And the stakes demand American

leadership. ~~But don't take it from me. Take it from the words of~~
~~your own children. Patricia Dengel, a 7th Grade~~
~~English teacher at Baumholder High School, asked~~
~~her students to write letters to their parents who are~~
~~preparing to go to Bosnia.~~

But don't take it from me. Take it from the words of
 your own children. Patricia Dengel, a 7th Grade
 English teacher at Baumholder High School, asked
 her students to write letters to their parents who are
 preparing to go to Bosnia.

I've seen a few of the letters and I was moved: by the fears they expressed -- but even more by the pride and confidence they demonstrated.

Justin Zimmerman's father, Captain Ronald Zimmerman, is a company commander with the 40th Engineering Battalion. Justin writes: "Dad, I know you'll be fine in Bosnia because of all the training you've had. I'll miss you and count the days until we see you again."

And Rachel Bybee, whose father, Major Leon Bybee, is a doctor with the Medical Corps, tells him: "I'm proud of your job which is to help others. It must make you feel great to know you've saved lives."

Your children know that you are heroes for peace.

And soon, so will the children of Bosnia. Your country and I salute you -- and we wish you Godspeed in the days and months ahead.

God bless you. And God bless America.

11/29/95 11:00 p.m.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-1-95

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS TO THE PARLIAMENT
DUBLIN, IRELAND
DECEMBER 1, 1995**

Acknowledgments: Ceann Comhairle [con-korla --
Speaker of the Dail]
Taoiseach [tee-shuck]
Tanaiste [taw-nish-tah]
Members of the Dail [doyle]
and the Ceanad [sha-nod]

Thank you for the honor of inviting me to speak with
you. I am especially pleased to be here at this
particular moment...before the elected representatives
of a strong, confident and democratic Ireland ...which
today plays a greater role on the international stage
than at any time in history. We live in times of
immense hope and possibility -- a time, as Seamus
Heaney wrote, when “the longed for tidal wave of
justice can rise up, and hope and history rhyme.”

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

Today, I have traveled from the north, where I have seen the difference Ireland's leadership has made for the cause of peace. At the lighting of Belfast's Christmas Tree...in the faces of two communities divided by bitter history...we saw the radiance of an optimism just born. In the voices of the Shankill and the Falls, we heard a harmony of new hope.

I saw that the people...want...peace. And that they will have it.

George Bernard Shaw, with his Irish love of irony, said, “Peace is not only better than war, but infinitely more arduous.” Today, I thank Prime Minister Bruton, former Prime Minister Reynolds and Deputy Prime Minister Spring and Britain’s Prime Minister Major for their unfailing dedication to arduous tasks.

From the Downing Street Declaration...to the historic
cease-fire that began 15 months ago...to Tuesday's
announcement of the Twin Track initiative...which
will open a dialogue in which all voices can be heard
and all viewpoints represented....they have taken
great risks without hesitation. They have chosen a
hard road because it is the right road.

Today, I renew America's pledge: your road is our
road. We will walk it together...and we will continue
our support -- political, financial and moral -- to those
who build peace...

That is why mine was the first Administration to support the International Fund for Ireland....so that those on both sides of the border...who have been denied so much for so long...see that their risks are rewarded...with the tangible benefits of peace.

Not only on this beautiful island but around the world, the Irish are waging peace.

Almost 1500 years ago, Ireland stood as a lone beacon of civilization to a continent shrouded in darkness. In our time, when so many nations seek to overcome conflict and barbarism, the light still shines out of Ireland. Since 1958, there has never been a day that Irish troops did not stand watch for peace on some distant shore. In Lebanon... Cyprus...Somalia and many other places, more than 41,000 Irish military personnel and police have served over the years as peacekeepers -- an immense contribution for a nation whose armed forces today number fewer than 13,000.

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

America also has a vital stake in a Europe that is stable, strong and free -- something which is in reach now for the first time since nation-states appeared here. But we know that such a Europe will never be built so long as conflict tears at the heart of the continent in Bosnia...

The fire there threatens the emerging democracies of the region and our allies nearby. That is why -- now that the parties have committed themselves to peace -- we are determined to help them find a way back from savagery to civility....end the atrocities...and heal the wounds of this terrible war. That is why we are preparing our forces not fight a war but to secure the peace.

Standing here...thinking of the devastation in Bosnia and the long columns of hopeless refugees streaming from their homes...it is impossible not to recall the ravages that were visited on Ireland 150 years ago...not by war but by natural disaster...when the crops rotted black in the ground. Today still, the Great Famine is seared in the memory of the Irish nation and all caring peoples. The memory of a million dead....nearly two million more forced into exile by hunger...will forever remain vivid for all whose heritage is rooted here.

But as an American, I must also say that in that tragedy came the supreme gift of the Irish to my nation. The men, women and children who braved the coffin ships when Galway and Mayo emptied... when Kerry and Cork took flight...brought a life and spirit that enormously enriched the life of our United States.

The regimental banner brought by President Kennedy that hangs in this house reminds us of the nearly 200,000 Irishmen who took up arms in our Civil War. Many of them barely were barely off the ships when they joined the Union forces...and fought and died at Fredicksburg... Chancellorsville...Gettysburg. Theirs was only the first of countless contributions to our nation from those who fled the Famine.

The Irish have been building America...its cities...industries...culture...and public life...since their feet touched shore. And I am proud that the delegation that has accompanied me here includes members of the latest generation of Irish-American leaders...men and women who are devoted to increasing America's strength and safeguarding its liberty.

In the last century, it was often said that the Irish who fled the Great Hunger were searching for *caisleain oir* [cash-LOIN OH-er] -- castles of gold. I cannot say that they found them. But I can tell you that they built them -- in the prosperity and freedom of our nation. We are all profoundly grateful for what they did -- and for the deep ties to Ireland that they gave to us, their sons and daughters.

May the bounty of God be with you. Farewell.

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11/29/95 11:00 p.m.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12.1.95

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS TO THE PARLIAMENT
DUBLIN, IRELAND
DECEMBER 1, 1995**

• MITCHELL
• KENNEDY-SMITH

2

Acknowledgments: Ceann Comhairle [con-korla --
Speaker of the Dail]

Taoiseach [tee-shuck]

KUH HEER LOCK → Tanaiste [taw-nish-tah]

HEAD
OF
SENATE Members of the Dail [doyle]

and the Ceanad [sha-nod]
~~OFF~~

CO-DEL = CHAIRMAN CONG. JIM WALSH

Thank you for the honor of inviting me to speak with
you. I am especially pleased to be here at this
particular moment...before the elected representatives
of a strong, confident and democratic Ireland ...which
today plays a greater role on the international stage
than at any time in history. We live in times of
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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-5-95

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
PRESS STATEMENT WITH PRIME MINISTER
JOHN MAJOR
10 DOWNING STREET, LONDON, ENGLAND
NOVEMBER 29, 1995**

This is my sixth trip to Europe as President and the latest of many productive discussions with Prime Minister Major. Europe and the United States have unbreakable ties -- and the United States and the United Kingdom enjoy an enduring and special partnership.

For the last 50 years, the alliance between our two countries has helped bring our peoples unparalleled peace and prosperity. Together, we have won two World Wars and a Cold War. We have helped promote democracy, free markets, and human rights around the world.

Because of our leadership, the values we stand for are becoming, more and more, the ideals of humanity.

Today, Prime Minister Major and I discussed our ongoing efforts to reinforce our partnership to meet the challenges of a new era: reducing the threat of weapons of mass destruction, combating terrorism, international crime and drug trafficking, and advancing the global march of peace.

I began by congratulating the Prime Minister on the important initiative he and Prime Minister Bruton announced yesterday to bring peace to Northern Ireland. The “twin track” initiative will establish an international body to address the issue of decommissioning, while at the same time initiating preliminary political talks in which all parties will be invited to participate. This is an opportunity to begin a dialogue in which all views are represented and all voices are heard.

I want to express the admiration of the United States for Prime Minister Major's efforts to advance the search for a just and lasting peace. Tomorrow, I will visit a Northern Ireland that is closer to true peace than at any time in a generation -- and the risks Prime Minister Major has taken for peace are an important 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, and your diplomatic and military strength as members of the Contact Group and NATO.

Now the people of Bosnia have made a commitment to peace. We must all do our part to help it succeed.

This means participating in NATO's implementation force -- not to fight a war in Bosnia, but to help secure the peace. It means implementing the arms control provisions of the agreement -- while ensuring that the Bosnian Federation has the means to defend itself once NATO withdraws. And it means supporting reconstruction in Bosnia -- so that all of Bosnia's people share the benefits of peace... and so that peace becomes self-sustaining.

● **Securing the peace in Bosnia will bring us one step closer to our goal of a free, peaceful, undivided Europe. The Prime Minister and I discussed developments in Russia, including the upcoming parliamentary elections, and agreed that fuller integration of Russia in Europe remains a key goal.**

● **We also reaffirmed our joint determination to open NATO up to new members. Just as NATO provided stability for Western Europe after 1945, so it can give new democracies from Central Europe the confidence to consolidate their freedoms and strengthen their economies.**

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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 Transatlantic Action Agenda for the future.

We live in a time of remarkable opportunity -- for peace and prosperity, for open societies and open markets, for human dignity and human decency around the world. Together, the United States and the United Kingdom have helped to shape this hopeful moment in history. Together, I am confident we will seize it.

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UNITED KINGDOM

Successor to NATO SYG Claes

- Every member of NATO recognizes that the choice of the New Secretary General will have significant impact on the future of the Alliance at this critical juncture in its history.
- As you know, it is a decision that requires the consensus among all 16 members of the alliance. We will continue to consult until we reach agreement with our allies on this very important matter.

Nigeria

- The United States is outraged over the gravely flawed judicial process which led to the execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight others.
- These executions demonstrate to the world the Abacha regime's contempt for even the most basic international norms and universal standards of human rights.
- We have tightened our ban on visas, banned military sales and recalled our Ambassador. In addition, we are working with our allies and partners to find ways to put additional broad, international pressure on Nigeria and to move toward a democratic future and to respect the rights of its own citizens.
- We are ruling nothing in and nothing out. But any sanction must have broad international support to be effective.
- Pleased to hear that Ken Saro-Wiwa's brother, Owens Wiwa, escaped to Britain with help of Body Shop International (cosmetic retailing firm).

Russia/NIS

U.S. Stake in Relationship

- U.S. has vital stake in engaging Russia and supporting reform there. Matters greatly to us if Russia dictatorship or democracy, centrally planned or market-oriented economy.
- Long-term strategy. Transformation underway will be complex, protracted. Struggle going on between those who support reform and those who oppose or fear change.
- Engagement producing important successes: reducing nuclear threat, over 50% of Russian GDP now from private sector, no Russian troops in Central Europe or Baltics.
- President's productive meeting with Yeltsin at Hyde Park on October 23 underscored stability, inner strength of U.S.-Russia partnership.

Yeltsin

- Have exchanged messages with Yeltsin recently on Dayton agreement and on need to continue working closely together to bolster peace in Bosnia.
- Still in hospital but taking on increasingly active schedule..

December 17 Russian Elections to be Postponed?

- President Yeltsin, Prime Minister Chernomyrdin and other Russian officials have said parliamentary elections will go ahead as scheduled December 17. Regard these elections as important step in Russia's continuing process of building democracy.

Chechnya

- Have seen reports of attack against Chechen Prime Minister Zavgayev (Moscow-backed). Condemn attacks whose purpose is to further set back peace effort in Chechnya.
- While formal Russian-Chechen talks suspended, sides have held informal working meetings, and Moscow has reiterated its commitment to pursue negotiated settlement.
- Dispute in Chechnya can only be resolved by negotiated settlement. Urge sides to work together to implement military agreement and to find political solution.

Cuts in/Conditions on Bilateral Aid

- Have differences with Russians on important areas. Working hard to resolve these.
- But our assistance advances critical U.S. interests. It helps reformers succeed in building a democracy and a market economy, and it helps reduce nuclear threat to U.S. Not in our interest to cut this assistance.

Perry-Grachev on Russia and Bosnia IFOR

- Perry and Grachev agreed on November 8 on military framework under which Russian combat forces will participate in a Bosnia peace implementation operation. Warmly welcome this understanding, as we consider Russian participation in Bosnia peace implementation important and desirable.

Russian Concerns about NATO Enlargement

- Understand Russia has concerns about NATO enlargement. Intend to manage enlargement process in deliberate, transparent manner that threatens no country and strengthens security and stability of Europe as a whole.
- Russia a key player in building stable, undivided Europe. Our goal is to develop NATO-Russia relationship in parallel with NATO's process of taking in new members. Robust NATO-Russia relationship in interests of U.S., Europe and Russia.

Iran Reactor Sale

- President has discussed Bushehr reactor sale with Yeltsin. Vice President and Prime Minister Chernomyrdin continuing serious dialogue on issue.
- Have made clear and continue to stress our opposition to any nuclear cooperation with Iran, given Tehran's ambitions to acquire nuclear weapons capability.

NORTHERN IRELAND

Purpose of Trip

- First visit of a U.S. President will help focus on that achievement and foster confidence in the peace process as well as trade and investment.
- Visit will help celebrate 15 months of peace in Northern Ireland.
- Cease-fire has made a real difference in people's lives -- for the first time in a generation, people in Northern Ireland can walk streets without fear of gun or bomb. Major accomplishment of which they should be proud.
- Welcome the announcement of the twin track. Provides hopeful opportunity for parties to discuss way forward and address concern.
- Will continue to support all who take risks for peace.

U.S. Role

- Our role is threefold.
 - First, diplomacy -- have made clear we support those on both sides who are willing to compromise for sake of peace.

--Second, modalities -- willing to agree to have a distinguished American head the international commission to deal with disarmament issue. George Mitchell has agreed to take on that role.

--Third, economic support -- for International Fund for Ireland and for increased private trade and investment in Northern Ireland and border counties.

- U.S. has only one goal in Northern Ireland -- to support efforts to achieve a just and lasting peace based on consent.
- Have reached out to both communities to support those willing to take risks for peace.

International Fund for Ireland

- Believe the Fund is accomplishing its twin goals of promoting economic regeneration and reconciliation.
- Fund has invested in over 3000 projects, in rural and urban areas and in both communities. It has invested over \$250 million, which leveraged over \$1 billion in total new investment. It has created over 20,000 permanent jobs.

Decommissioning

- Parties observing cease-fire must take next step and begin to discuss serious decommissioning of weapons. Have made clear there must be movement on this issue. Twin track offers way forward.

Peace Talks

- Twin track provides opportunity to make progress on decommissioning issue and on talks.
- We support process and expect it to lead to substantive negotiations with all the parties and progress toward a just and lasting solution in Northern Ireland.

Elected Assembly

- I think all ideas for moving forward should be discussed. Political track of twin track would offer opportunity to do this.

Major Stalling?

- Prime Minister Major has amply demonstrated that he is committed to achieving a lasting peace in Northern Ireland.

Bruce Morrison Criticism of British?

[Note: Morrison gave an interview to a British television station in which he blamed London for the lack of progress in the peace process. He was identified on the TV as a “senior Administration official who also advises on Irish affairs” and in a Reuters report as Clinton’s advisor on Northern Ireland. His official position is Chairman of the Federal Housing Finance Board. His responsibilities do not include Northern Ireland.]

- I believe London and Dublin have made determined efforts to move forward with the peace process.
- Bruce was speaking in his capacity as a private citizen, not for the U.S. Government.

Other Members of the International Body?

- There are several names under discussion. Expect decision soon.

Explosives Found

- No, I do not think that the discovery of the explosives in a van near the border bodes ill for the cease-fire. Understand suspects associated with splinter group opposed to cease-fire.

Results of White House Trade and Investment Conference

- Number of significant results, including planned new investment by the private sector in high tech companies, a successful trade mission, and a program to bring 50 business people annually to work in U.S. companies to enhance their management skills and foster business ties.

Deportations

[NOTE: Irish-American groups mounting a campaign against deportation of former IRA members, some who are married to U.S. citizens and/or have U.S. children. U.S. law provides almost no flexibility in permitting permanent residency to those linked to terrorism. We are looking into possible legislative solutions.]

- Issue recently brought to our attention.
- Law provides little flexibility on many cases.

- Would not want to do anything that would be discriminatory vis-a-vis other groups.
- Continuing to review the issue.

Adams Living Up to Commitments?

- We have urged Sinn Fein and the loyalists to begin serious discussion of decommissioning issue.
- Believe twin track approach is vehicle to do that.

Expect British to Change Position on "Washington Three"?

[NOTE: Washington Three refers to the British insistence that the process of decommissioning weapons must begin before Sinn Fein can be invited to all-party political talks.]

- Our view is that twin track approach designed by British and Irish Governments offers the best basis for making progress in peace process.
- The two governments said in the communique they would consider carefully any recommendations it makes and give them due weight on their merits.

"Peace Talks Now" Rallies, Camps

[NOTE: It is possible that Sinn Fein will have rallies or set up camps to express support for calling talks without conditioning them on progress on decommissioning.]

- Recognize that Sinn Fein supporters expressing their view. Continue to think best way to get to talks is by launching twin track approach, and getting started on "talks about talks", which will be necessary in any case.

Punishment Beatings

- Welcome the statements by four leading religious leaders condemning punishment beatings.
- Agree that establishing trust between community and its police is important --expect that will be among issues to be discussed as people here come to grips with shaping their future.
- But I see no excuse for intimidating and beating people up for any reason.

Prisoners

- Support decisions taken to increase confidence in the peace process, such as recent change in law that allowed release of over 80 prisoners from jail in Britain.
- But such decision are the province of the governments involved.

Patrick Kelly -- IRA Prisoner with Skin Cancer

- We welcome the discussions between the British and Irish Governments on the possible transfer of eligible prisoners under the convention on the transfer of sentenced prisoners recently ratified in Dublin.
- This is really a decision for the British Government

Emergency Legislation

[NOTE: Emergency legislation that abridges rights of suspects for terrorist crimes, including denying trial by jury, is still in force in Northern Ireland and was recently rolled over by Parliament.]

- Desirable for citizens of Northern Ireland to enjoy same civil liberties guaranteed to citizens in other parts of UK. As situation normalizes, hope the British Government can restore a more normal criminal justice system in Northern Ireland.

Springvale Campus

- Decision whether to build new Springvale campus of University of Ulster up to government, since they will have to fund it. Understand they are conducting an economic appraisal of the project.

IRELAND

Ireland in Partnership for Peace?

- For people of Ireland to decide.
- Would point out that PFP is devoted to preservation of peace in Europe through trust and cooperation among members. Not a military alliance.

- Ireland too benefits from the stable, peaceful Europe PFP is designed to foster. Membership could improve Ireland's ability to act in concert with other European countries in peacekeeping missions.
- Would not compromise Ireland's neutrality. Not necessarily a step toward NATO membership.

Divorce Referendum

- People of Ireland have voted on this. It was their decision. No comment on outcome. Mention victory for government's efforts?

EU Presidency

- Look forward to working closely with Ireland during its EU Presidency in last half of 1996, when the Intergovernmental Conference of the EU will be underway.