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Editor's Note: The President was in Dublin, Ireland, on December 1, the closing date of this issue. Releases and announcements issued by the Office of the Press Secretary but not received in time for inclusion in this issue will be printed next week.

WEEKLY COMPILATION OF

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

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Week Ending Friday, December 1, 1995

The President's Radio Address

November 25, 1995

Good morning. All across our Nation this weekend, American families are coming together to give thanks for the good things in our lives. Hillary and I wish all of you a happy and healthy Thanksgiving weekend. As we rejoice in our blessings in the company of our loved ones, let's also give thanks for America's blessings and for all we have achieved as a nation.

This week, after a tough debate on the Federal budget, we made important strides toward what I hope will be common ground. Our Government is open again, and the Republican leaders in Congress have agreed to work with me to find a process so that we can establish our Nation's priorities together.

I hope we can balance the budget in a way that is true to our fundamental values: expecting responsibility from all our citizens but also providing opportunity so that we become a society in which everybody has a chance to win, not a winner-take-all society; honoring our obligations to our senior citizens through Medicare and Medicaid while also making investments for the next generation in education, environment, research, and technology; helping our families to be stronger and stay together; and ensuring that America remains the strongest force in the world for peace and freedom, democracy and prosperity.

All around the world we are seeing the results of America's willingness to work and to lead for peace. We see it in the Middle East, where even in the wake of the tragic loss of Prime Minister Rabin, Arabs and Israelis continue to turn the page on past conflict. We see it in Northern Ireland, where bombs and bullets have given way to hope for the future—where I will visit next week. And in this week of Thanksgiving, we have seen the results of America's leadership for peace in Bosnia.

After 4 years of terrible conflict, we have helped the people of Bosnia turn from the horror of war to the promise of peace. America's negotiating team, backed by NATO's resolve and air power, brokered a cease-fire. We got the parties to agree on the principles of the settlement and brought them to the peace table in Dayton, Ohio. And now, the skill and dedication of our negotiators, working with our European and Russian partners, has enabled them to reach a comprehensive peace agreement.

Peace in Bosnia is important to America, to both our values and our interests. The Bosnian people have suffered unspeakable atrocities: mass executions, ethnic cleansing, campaigns of rape and terror. Two hundred and fifty thousand people have died; two million have been driven from their homes, with over a million of them still homeless. The violence done to those innocent civilians does violence to the principles on which America stands. The only way to end the killing for good is to secure a commitment to peace. Now our conscience demands that we act.

Securing the peace will also prevent the war in Bosnia from reigniting and then from spreading, sparking an even wider and more dangerous conflict right in the heart of Europe in the Balkan regions where there is still a lot of tension and potential for conflict in areas near Bosnia. In 1914, a gunshot in Bosnia's capital, Sarajevo, launched the first of two World Wars that drew America in to make great sacrifices for freedom. We must not let this century close with gunfire ringing in Sarajevo.

The peace agreement preserves Bosnia as a single state within its present borders and with international recognition. It settles the territorial disputes over which the war began. Refugees can return to their homes. People will be able to move freely throughout the country. The parties have accepted strong safeguards for human rights. They've pledged to cooperate fully with the inter-

national war crimes tribunal so that those responsible for crimes against humanity can be brought to justice.

Now that all the parties, including the Bosnian Serbs, have made a serious commitment to peace, America must help them to make it work. All the parties have asked for a strong international force to give them the confidence and the breathing room they need to implement the peace agreement and to begin the hard task of rebuilding.

NATO, the alliance of democracies that has preserved our security since the end of World War II, is clearly that force. And America, as NATO's leader, clearly must participate. Without our support the hard-won peace would be lost, the terrible slaughter would resume, the conflict that already has claimed so many lives could spread like a cancer throughout the region.

In the days ahead I will review the NATO implementation plan and continue to consult closely with Congress. As of now, we expect that about a third of the NATO force will be American, approximately 20,000 troops. Two-thirds will be from our NATO allies in other supportive countries.

Our men and women will take their orders from the American general who commands NATO forces. They will have the authority to meet any threat to their safety or any violation of the peace agreement with immediate and decisive force. They will not be deployed until I am satisfied that the NATO mission is clear, limited, and achievable and until Congress has a chance to be heard.

I will discuss the peace agreement and the NATO mission in more detail when I speak to the Nation on Monday. I will also be visiting with American troops in Germany next week to talk directly with them about the important mission their Nation is asking them to carry out.

But on this Thanksgiving weekend, I ask my fellow Americans to think about who we are as a people, what we are as a nation. All around the world others look to us not just because of our economic and military might, because of what we stand for and what we're willing to stand against.

In Bosnia, our Nation has led the way from horror to hope, hope for no more Srebrenicas, no more shelling of children's playground, no more desperate winters, no more shattered lives. Now we have a responsibility to see this achievement for peace through. Our values, our interests, and our leadership are at stake.

So let us give thanks for America's role in bringing Bosnia's nightmare to an end, and let us share the blessing of our Nation's strength to secure a lasting peace.

May God bless the United States on this Thanksgiving weekend.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 9:30 a.m. on November 24 at Camp David, MD, for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on November 25.

Statement on Signing the Veterans' Compensation Cost-of-Living Adjustment Act of 1995

November 22, 1995

Today I have signed into law H.R. 2394, the "Veterans' Compensation Cost-of-Living Adjustment Act of 1995."

In signing H.R. 2394, I am pleased to extend a most deserved benefit to our Nation's service-disabled veterans and the surviving spouses and children of those who made the supreme sacrifice in defense of our freedom. In acting to maintain the value of these payments, we keep faith with those who have given so much in service to us all.

The Act provides a 2.6 percent increase in compensation and dependency and indemnity compensation benefits, effective December 1, 1995. This is the same percentage increase that Social Security beneficiaries and veterans' pension recipients will be receiving in January.

On Veterans Day, we paused to salute all men and women in uniform. Today, it is altogether fitting that we give tangible expression to our enduring commitment to honor our obligations to them.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
November 22, 1995.

NOTE: H.R. 2394, approved November 22, was assigned Public Law No. 104–57. This statement was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on November 27.

Remarks Announcing the Child Survival Initiative for Bosnia-Herzegovina and an Exchange With Reporters

November 27, 1995

The President. Ladies and gentlemen, I am honored to be here today, especially with Congressman Tony Hall, a longstanding champion of children in our own country and throughout the world and the leading fighter in the Congress and perhaps in the entire United States in combating hunger. After visiting Bosnia this fall, Representative Hall worked with UNICEF to design the important child survival initiative that we announce today. I thank UNICEF Director Carol Bellamy, not only for her work at UNICEF but for her previous service in our administration as the Director of the Peace Corps; and the USAID Administrator, Brian Atwood, who has been a tireless advocate of America's role in promoting sustainable development, in providing developmental assistance, and protecting the welfare of children throughout the world.

I want to especially welcome here two Bosnian families, the Kapetanovic family and the Mundzahasic family, who fled the fighting in their homeland and have been resettled as refugees here in the United States. Welcome to both of you.

These families know firsthand the terrible costs of war, the breakdown of basic human services, the lack of medical care, the forced closure of schools. They know how desperately the people of Bosnia need support and assistance from the international community right now.

Since the conflict in Bosnia began nearly 4 years ago, our Nation has played a major role in providing emergency assistance, including support for children, clean water and sanitation, food, shelter, and health care. But even with these efforts, the war in Bosnia has seriously harmed the most innocent and most vulnerable members of that society, its children.

Immunization rates have declined dramatically, putting tens of thousands of children at risk of potentially deadly whooping cough, measles, and diphtheria. The situation has been aggravated by the onset of harsh winters and overcrowded living conditions. Half of Bosnia's pre-war population was driven from their homes during the conflict, and even today, more than one million of them remain homeless.

In addition, the basic education systems in the region are in deep crisis. It is estimated that 40 percent of the primary schools in Croatia and 55 percent of those in Bosnia have been either damaged or destroyed.

Now that a lasting peace is at hand, we have to bring the Bosnian people the benefits of that peace, starting with the children. And that is exactly what USAID and UNICEF are doing. Together, they will lead a new, multinational initiative to immunize the children of Bosnia, Croatia, and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia who have not had access to decent health care during this war. Efforts should begin before Christmas. Most of the approximately 150,000 needy children in the region should be immunized within just 6 months.

This initiative will also provide support for basic education systems. Remember the comment of Zlata Filpovic, the Sarajevan girl who shared her experience of the war through her remarkable diary. "For me," she said, "the school is a symbol of normal life. When they take away my school, I said this really means something. They took my childhood, they took my school." With this program we can at least begin to give those children back their childhoods which were stolen.

USAID and UNICEF are finalizing plans for this $15 million initiative. The United States will devote $2 million to back the effort now, and our goal is to contribute $5 million. We'll also do our part to mobilize other donors. We hope our friends and our allies will join us in supporting this important program for the children of the former Yugoslavia.

We have just celebrated one of our most treasured holidays, Thanksgiving. All across our country, Americans came together to give thanks for the blessings in their lives and the lives of their families.

This Thanksgiving, our Nation helped to give the people of Bosnia a blessing as well: the first real hope of peace in nearly 4 years. I want to say a special thanks again to the

citizens of Dayton, Ohio, who welcomed the Balkan leaders to Dayton and who demonstrated on our behalf our vast and diverse Nation all committed to living together in peace.

Now we have a responsibility to see this achievement through. That is who we are as a people. That is what we stand for as a nation. The people of Bosnia, the children of Bosnia, have suffered unspeakable atrocities. We must not, and we will not, turn our backs on peace. And I am very proud to begin this very important day of discussion with the American people with this important announcement.

And again, I want to say a special word of thanks to Congressman Tony Hall for coming to me with this idea and helping me to develop it and push it through to the point where we could announce it today.

Thank you all, and thank you, Congressman.

President's Address to the Nation

Q. Mr. President, how hard a sell do you face tonight with your speech?

The President. I think the American people will respond. I believe that they're entitled to an explanation, that our values and our interests are very much at stake in the decision we make. And they're also entitled to an explanation about what exactly I propose to have our troops do there as part of the NATO mission. And I will do that this evening.

But I believe they will respond. This is an extraordinary opportunity and we have a very compelling responsibility, and I expect the American people to support it.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:44 p.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House.

Address to the Nation on Implementation of the Peace Agreement in Bosnia-Herzegovina

November 27, 1995

Good evening. Last week, the warring factions in Bosnia reached a peace agreement, as a result of our efforts in Dayton, Ohio, and the support of our European and Russian partners. Tonight, I want to speak with you about implementing the Bosnian peace agreement, and why our values and interests as Americans require that we participate.

Let me say at the outset, America's role will not be about fighting a war. It will be about helping the people of Bosnia to secure their own peace agreement. Our mission will be limited, focused, and under the command of an American general.

In fulfilling this mission, we will have the chance to help stop the killing of innocent civilians, especially children, and at the same time, to bring stability to Central Europe, a region of the world that is vital to our national interests. It is the right thing to do.

From our birth, America has always been more than just a place. America has embodied an idea that has become the ideal for billions of people throughout the world. Our Founders said it best: America is about life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. In this century especially, America has done more than simply stand for these ideals. We have acted on them and sacrificed for them. Our people fought two World Wars so that freedom could triumph over tyranny. After World War I, we pulled back from the world, leaving a vacuum that was filled by the forces of hatred. After World War II, we continued to lead the world. We made the commitments that kept the peace, that helped to spread democracy, that created unparalleled prosperity, and that brought victory in the cold war.

Today, because of our dedication, America's ideals—liberty, democracy, and peace—are more and more the aspirations of people everywhere in the world. It is the power of our ideas, even more than our size, our wealth, and our military might, that makes America a uniquely trusted nation.

With the cold war over, some people now question the need for our continued active leadership in the world. They believe that, much like after World War I, America can now step back from the responsibilities of leadership. They argue that to be secure we need only to keep our own borders safe and that the time has come now to leave to others the hard work of leadership beyond our borders. I strongly disagree.

As the cold war gives way to the global village, our leadership is needed more than ever because problems that start beyond our borders can quickly become problems within them. We're all vulnerable to the organized forces of intolerance and destruction; terrorism; ethnic, religious and regional rivalries; the spread of organized crime and weapons of mass destruction and drug trafficking. Just as surely as fascism and communism, these forces also threaten freedom and democracy, peace and prosperity. And they, too, demand American leadership.

But nowhere has the argument for our leadership been more clearly justified than in the struggle to stop or prevent war and civil violence. From Iraq to Haiti, from South Africa to Korea, from the Middle East to Northern Ireland, we have stood up for peace and freedom because it's in our interest to do so and because it is the right thing to do.

Now, that doesn't mean we can solve every problem. My duty as President is to match the demands for American leadership to our strategic interest and to our ability to make a difference. America cannot and must not be the world's policeman. We cannot stop all war for all time, but we can stop some wars. We cannot save all women and all children, but we can save many of them. We can't do everything, but we must do what we can.

There are times and places where our leadership can mean the difference between peace and war, and where we can defend our fundamental values as a people and serve our most basic, strategic interests. My fellow Americans, in this new era there are still times when America and America alone can and should make the difference for peace.

The terrible war in Bosnia is such a case. Nowhere today is the need for American leadership more stark or more immediate than in Bosnia. For nearly 4 years a terrible war has torn Bosnia apart. Horrors we prayed had been banished from Europe forever have been seared into our minds again: skeletal prisoners caged behind barbed-wire fences; women and girls raped as a tool of war; defenseless men and boys shot down into mass graves, evoking visions of World War II concentration camps; and endless lines of refugees marching toward a future of despair.

When I took office, some were urging immediate intervention in the conflict. I decided that American ground troops should not fight a war in Bosnia because the United States could not force peace on Bosnia's warring ethnic groups, the Serbs, Croats, and Muslims. Instead, America has worked with our European allies in searching for peace, stopping the war from spreading, and easing the suffering of the Bosnian people.

We imposed tough economic sanctions on Serbia. We used our air power to conduct the longest humanitarian airlift in history and to enforce a no-fly zone that took the war out of the skies. We helped to make peace between two of the three warring parties, the Muslims and the Croats. But as the months of war turned into years, it became clear that Europe alone could not end the conflict.

This summer, Bosnian Serb shelling once again turned Bosnia's playgrounds and marketplaces into killing fields. In response, the United States led NATO's heavy and continuous air strikes, many of them flown by skilled and brave American pilots. Those air strikes, together with the renewed determination of our European partners and the Bosnian and Croat gains on the battlefield convinced the Serbs, finally, to start thinking about making peace.

At the same time, the United States initiated an intensive diplomatic effort that forged a Bosnia-wide cease-fire and got the parties to agree to the basic principles of peace. Three dedicated American diplomats, Bob Frasure, Joe Kruzel, and Nelson Drew, lost their lives in that effort. Tonight we remember their sacrifice and that of their families. And we will never forget their exceptional service to our Nation.

Finally, just 3 weeks ago, the Muslims, Croats, and Serbs came to Dayton, Ohio, in America's heartland, to negotiate a settlement. There, exhausted by war, they made a commitment to peace. They agreed to put down their guns, to preserve Bosnia as a single state, to investigate and prosecute war criminals, to protect the human rights of all citizens, to try to build a peaceful, democratic future. And they asked for America's help as they implement this peace agreement.

America has a responsibility to answer that request, to help to turn this moment of hope into an enduring reality. To do that, troops from our country and around the world would go into Bosnia to give them the confidence and support they need to implement their peace plan. I refuse to send American troops to fight a war in Bosnia, but I believe we must help to secure the Bosnian peace.

I want you to know tonight what is at stake, exactly what our troops will be asked to accomplish, and why we must carry out our responsibility to help implement the peace agreement. Implementing the agreement in Bosnia can end the terrible suffering of the people, the warfare, the mass executions, the ethnic cleansing, the campaigns of rape and terror. Let us never forget a quarter of a million men, women, and children have been shelled, shot, and tortured to death. Two million people, half of the population, were forced from their homes and into a miserable life as refugees. And these faceless numbers hide millions of real personal tragedies. For each of the war's victims was a mother or daughter, a father or son, a brother or sister.

Now the war is over. American leadership created the chance to build a peace and stop the suffering. Securing peace in Bosnia will also help to build a free and stable Europe. Bosnia lies at the very heart of Europe, next-door to many of its fragile new democracies and some of our closest allies. Generations of Americans have understood that Europe's freedom and Europe's stability is vital to our own national security. That's why we fought two wars in Europe. That's why we launched the Marshall Plan to restore Europe. That's why we created NATO and waged the cold war. And that's why we must help the nations of Europe to end their worst nightmare since World War II, now.

The only force capable of getting this job done is NATO, the powerful, military alliance of democracies that has guaranteed our security for half a century now. And as NATO's leader and the primary broker of the peace agreement, the United States must be an essential part of the mission. If we're not there, NATO will not be there; the peace will collapse; the war will reignite; the slaughter of innocents will begin again. A conflict that already has claimed so many victims could spread like poison throughout the region, eat away at Europe's stability, and erode our partnership with our European allies.

And America's commitment to leadership will be questioned if we refuse to participate in implementing a peace agreement we brokered right here in the United States, especially since the Presidents of Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia all asked us to participate and all pledged their best efforts to the security of our troops.

When America's partnerships are weak and our leadership is in doubt, it undermines our ability to secure our interests and to convince others to work with us. If we do maintain our partnerships and our leadership, we need not act alone. As we saw in the Gulf war and in Haiti, many other nations who share our goals will also share our burdens. But when America does not lead, the consequences can be very grave, not only for others but eventually for us as well.

As I speak to you, NATO is completing its planning for IFOR, an international force for peace in Bosnia of about 60,000 troops. Already, more than 25 other nations, including our major NATO allies, have pledged to take part. They will contribute about two-thirds of the total implementation force, some 40,000 troops. The United States would contribute the rest, about 20,000 soldiers.

Later this week, the final NATO plan will be submitted to me for review and approval. Let me make clear what I expect it to include, and what it must include, for me to give final approval to the participation of our Armed Forces.

First, the mission will be precisely defined with clear, realistic goals that can be achieved in a definite period of time. Our troops will make sure that each side withdraws its forces behind the frontlines and keeps them there. They will maintain the cease-fire to prevent the war from accidentally starting again. These efforts, in turn, will help to create a secure environment, so that the people of Bosnia can return to their homes, vote in free elections, and begin to rebuild their lives. Our Joint Chiefs of Staff have concluded that this mission should and will take about one year.

Second, the risks to our troops will be minimized. American troops will take their orders from the American general who commands NATO. They will be heavily armed and thoroughly trained. By making an overwhelming show of force, they will lessen the need to use force. But unlike the U.N. forces, they will have the authority to respond immediately, and the training and the equipment to respond with overwhelming force to any threat to their own safety or any violations of the military provisions of the peace agreement.

If the NATO plan meets with my approval I will immediately send it to Congress and request its support. I will also authorize the participation of a small number of American troops in a NATO advance mission that will lay the groundwork for IFOR, starting sometime next week. They will establish headquarters and set up the sophisticated communication systems that must be in place before NATO can send in its troops, tanks, and trucks to Bosnia.

The implementation force itself would begin deploying in Bosnia in the days following the formal signature of the peace agreement in mid-December. The international community will help to implement arms control provisions of the agreement so that future hostilities are less likely and armaments are limited, while the world community, the United States and others, will also make sure that the Bosnian Federation has the means to defend itself once IFOR withdraws. IFOR will not be a part of this effort.

Civilian agencies from around the world will begin a separate program of humanitarian relief and reconstruction, principally paid for by our European allies and other interested countries. This effort is also absolutely essential to making the peace endure. It will bring the people of Bosnia the food, shelter, clothing, and medicine so many have been denied for so long. It will help them to rebuild—to rebuild their roads and schools, their power plants and hospitals, their factories and shops. It will reunite children with their parents and families with their homes. It will allow the Bosnians freely to choose their own leaders. It will give all the people of Bosnia a much greater stake in peace than war, so that peace takes on a life and a logic of its own.

In Bosnia we can and will succeed because our mission is clear and limited, and our troops are strong and very well-prepared. But my fellow Americans, no deployment of American troops is risk-free, and this one may well involve casualties. There may be accidents in the field or incidents with people who have not given up their hatred. I will take every measure possible to minimize these risks, but we must be prepared for that possibility.

As President my most difficult duty is to put the men and women who volunteer to serve our Nation in harm's way when our interests and values demand it. I assume full responsibility for any harm that may come to them. But anyone contemplating any action that would endanger our troops should know this: America protects its own. Anyone—anyone who takes on our troops will suffer the consequences. We will fight fire with fire and then some.

After so much bloodshed and loss, after so many outrageous acts of inhuman brutality, it will take an extraordinary effort of will for the people of Bosnia to pull themselves from their past and start building a future of peace. But with our leadership and the commitment of our allies, the people of Bosnia can have the chance to decide their future in peace. They have a chance to remind the world that just a few short years ago the mosques and churches of Sarajevo were a shining symbol of multiethnic tolerance, that Bosnia once found unity in its diversity. Indeed, the cemetery in the center of the city was just a few short years ago a magnificent stadium which hosted the Olympics, our universal symbol of peace and harmony. Bosnia can be that kind of place again. We must not turn our backs on Bosnia now.

And so I ask all Americans, and I ask every Member of Congress, Democrat and Republican alike, to make the choice for peace. In the choice between peace and war, America must choose peace.

My fellow Americans, I ask you to think just for a moment about this century that is drawing to close and the new one that will soon begin. Because previous generations of Americans stood up for freedom and because

we continue to do so, the American people are more secure and more prosperous. And all around the world, more people than ever before live in freedom. More people than ever before are treated with dignity. More people than ever before can hope to build a better life. That is what America's leadership is all about.

We know that these are the blessings of freedom. And America has always been freedom's greatest champion. If we continue to do everything we can to share these blessings with people around the world, if we continue to be leaders for peace, then the next century can be the greatest time our Nation has ever known.

A few weeks ago, I was privileged to spend some time with His Holiness, Pope John Paul II, when he came to America. At the very end of our meeting, the Pope looked at me and said, "I have lived through most of this century. I remember that it began with a war in Sarajevo. Mr. President, you must not let it end with a war in Sarajevo."

In Bosnia, this terrible war has challenged our interests and troubled our souls. Thankfully, we can do something about it. I say again, our mission will be clear, limited, and achievable. The people of Bosnia, our NATO allies, and people all around the world are now looking to America for leadership. So let us lead. That is our responsibility as Americans.

Goodnight, and God bless America.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House.

Remarks Prior to a Meeting With Congressional Leaders and an Exchange With Reporters

November 28, 1995

Bosnia

The President. Well, thank you very much for coming today. I just wanted to say, again, I appreciate the interest here in the Congress, the remarkable turnout. I'm looking forward to this meeting.

As I said last night, the United States faces an historic choice between peace and war. I believe we will choose peace. I'm looking forward to having the chance to answer these questions. I know there are many questions, and good questions, that have to be answered to the Members of Congress and on behalf of the American people coming through the Members of Congress. This is the first of many, many more meetings we will have in the aftermath of the talk I gave to the American people last night. And I'm looking forward to beginning it.

Thank you.

Q. What has been the response of the Republican leadership so far, Mr. President?

The President. We had—as you know, we had a meeting before this meeting with the Republican and Democratic leadership of the Congress to discuss scheduling of hearings, debate, and vote. And we had a very constructive meeting. I think I should let them speak for themselves, but I was very pleased by the meeting.

Q. What will you do to overcome public skepticism, Mr. President?

The President. Just more of what we're doing. We'll keep answering questions and reasserting what is at stake here in terms of the values, the interests of the American people, and the leadership of our country and our partnerships with our allies.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:03 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House. A portion of these remarks could not be verified because the tape was incomplete.

Statement on Signing the National Highway System Designation Act of 1995

November 28, 1995

Today I have signed into law S. 440, the "National Highway System Designation Act of 1995." This Act advances my Administration's continued commitment to strategic investment in our Nation's infrastructure. It releases immediately more than $5 billion in funding for highway and other transportation projects. It also implements my proposal for a "Zero Tolerance" policy toward drinking and driving by those under age 21.

I am disturbed, however, by the repeal of certain key safety measures and will work to mitigate the impact of their repeal.

This Act is the culmination of several years' work by all levels of government to identify highways of national significance—routes that will support our Nation's needs for efficient, safe, and reliable transportation. The designation of the National Highway System makes clear that transportation infrastructure should be viewed as a single system, with each mode complementing the others. Manufacturers and shippers rely on several modes of transportation to deliver their products to consumers in the most efficient manner possible. The National Highway System unites these different modes by providing access to major ports, airports, rail stations, and public transit facilities. The National Highway System also provides 53 critical connections to Canada and Mexico so that goods can move across our Nation's borders efficiently.

In 1992, I saw the way in which our Nation's highways reach all Americans. Vice President Gore and I traveled much of this great land in buses, and we met the American people where they live and where they work. Whether at a truck stop in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, or at dusk on U.S. Highway 51 in Sandoval, Illinois, we saw and heard what access and mobility mean to opportunity and economic well-being. It was during our first bus trip, from New York City to St. Louis, Missouri, that I made a commitment to rebuild America. And I'm proud to say, this National Highway System bill builds on all the work we have done in the last 3 years to do just that.

But the National Highway System is also something more. It is a prime example of the strategic investment of Federal resources. The National Highway System comprises only 4 percent of our Nation's highways, but these roads carry almost half of our highway traffic and most of our Nation's truck and tourist traffic. The improvements made to these roads will not only support our Nation's economic, national defense, and mobility needs, but directly and significantly improve the safety of these key national roadways. The funds released by this legislation and used to upgrade noninterstate highways will provide significant safety benefits.

This Act also includes an essential and commonsense highway safety measure. Last June, I called on the Congress to make ''Zero Tolerance'' the law of the land and require States to adopt a Zero Tolerance standard for drivers under the age of 21. It is already against the law for young people to consume alcohol. This national standard will reinforce these laws by making it effectively illegal for young people who have been drinking to drive an automobile.

Many States have already enacted Zero Tolerance laws. These laws work—alcohol-related crashes involving teenage drivers are down as much as 20 percent in those States. When all States have these laws, hundreds more lives will be saved and thousands of injuries will be prevented. I commend the Congress for heeding my call and making Zero Tolerance the standard nationwide for drivers under the age of 21.

S. 440 establishes innovative ways to attract new forms of investment in transportation and gives States greater flexibility and more options to utilize limited Federal transportation funds effectively. It also eliminates unnecessary Federal requirements such as those concerning highway building materials and program management. This will enable Federal transportation officials to focus their efforts on the most useful and cost-effective ways of achieving important safety aims and increase States' discretion to implement their highway programs in ways best suited to their own circumstances.

In approving S. 440, however, I must note that some of my most serious concerns with this legislation have not been remedied. I am deeply disturbed by the repeal of both the national maximum speed limit law and the law encouraging States to enact motorcycle helmet use laws. I am also disturbed that this Act could potentially exempt large numbers of small- to medium-sized trucks and their drivers from critical safety regulations governing driver qualifications and truck maintenance.

Without question, these laws have saved lives. The States, now given greater authority over issues of highway safety, must exercise this authority responsibly. I am, therefore, strongly committed to the requirement in this Act for Federal and State officials to work together to assess the costs and benefits of any change in speed limits. I have in-

structed the Secretary of Transportation to develop an action plan to promote safety consistent with my Administration's continuing commitment to highway safety. My Administration will redouble our efforts to protect those who travel on our Nation's highways.

Although I am disappointed by the Congress' actions on these important safety measures, I believe that this legislation will benefit the Nation by designating and funding the National Highway System, strengthening the backbone of our transportation system, providing jobs and economic opportunities, funding vital transportation projects in every State, and making Zero Tolerance the law of the land.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
November 28, 1995.

NOTE: S. 440, approved November 28, was assigned Public Law No. 104–59.

Message to the Congress on Iran

November 28, 1995

To the Congress of the United States:

I hereby report to the Congress on developments since the last Presidential report of May 18, 1995, concerning the national emergency with respect to Iran that was declared in Executive Order No. 12170 of November 14, 1979. This report is submitted pursuant to section 204(c) of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, 50 U.S.C. 1703(c) and section 505(c) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1985, 22 U.S.C. 2349aa–9(c). This report covers events through September 29, 1995. My last report, dated May 18, 1995, covered events through April 18, 1995.

1. On March 15 of this year by Executive Order No. 12957, I declared a separate national emergency pursuant to the International Emergency Economic Powers Act and imposed separate sanctions. Executive Order No. 12959, issued May 6, 1995, then significantly augmented those new sanctions. As a result, as I reported on September 18, 1995, in conjunction with the declaration of a separate emergency and the imposition of new sanctions, the Iranian Transactions Regulations, 31 CFR Part 560, have been comprehensively amended.

There have been no amendments to the Iranian Assets Control Regulations, 31 CFR Part 535, since the last report. However, the amendments to the Iranian Transactions Regulations that implement the new separate national emergency are of some relevance to the Iran-United States Claims Tribunal (the "Tribunal") and related activities. For example, sections 560.510, 560.513, and 560.525 contain general licenses with respect to, and provide for specific licensing of, certain transactions related to arbitral activities.

2. The Tribunal, established at The Hague pursuant to the Algiers Accords, continues to make progress in arbitrating the claims before it. Since my last report, the Tribunal has rendered four awards, bringing the total number to 566. As of September 29, 1995, the value of awards to successful American claimants from the Security Account held by the NV Settlement Bank stood at $2,368,274,541.67.

Iran has not replenished the Security Account established by the Accords to ensure payment of awards to successful U.S. claimants since October 8, 1992. The Account has remained continuously below the $500 million balance required by the Algiers Accords since November 5, 1992. As of September 29, 1995, the total amount in the Security Account was $188,105,627.95, and the total amount in the Interest Account was $32,066,870.62.

Therefore, the United States continues to pursue Case A/28, filed in September 1993, to require Iran to meet its obligations under the Accords to replenish the Security Account. Iran filed its Statement of Defense in that case on August 31, 1995. The United States is preparing a Reply for filing on December 4, 1995.

3. The Department of State continues to present other United States Government claims against Iran, in coordination with concerned government agencies, and to respond to claims brought against the United States by Iran, in coordination with concerned government agencies.

In September 1995, the Departments of Justice and State represented the United

States in the first Tribunal hearing on a government-to-government claim in 5 years. The Full Tribunal heard arguments in Cases A/15(IV) and A/24. Case A/15(IV) is an interpretive dispute in which Iran claims that the United States has violated the Algiers Accords by its alleged failure to terminate all litigation against Iran in U.S. courts. Case A/24 involves a similar interpretive dispute in which, specifically, Iran claims that the obligation of the United States under the Accords to terminate litigation prohibits a lawsuit against Iran by the McKesson Corporation from proceeding in U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia. The McKesson Corporation reactivated that litigation against Iran in the United States following the Tribunal's negative ruling on Foremost McKesson Incorporated's claim before the Tribunal.

Also in September 1995, Iran filed briefs in two cases, to which the United States is now preparing responses. In Case A/11, Iran filed its Hearing Memorial and Evidence. In that case, Iran has sued the United States for $10 billion, alleging that the United States failed to fulfill its obligations under the Accords to assist Iran in recovering the assets of the former Shah of Iran. Iran alleges that the United States improperly failed to (1) freeze the U.S. assets of the Shah's estate and certain U.S. assets of close relatives of the Shah; (2) report to Iran all known information about such assets; and (3) otherwise assist Iran in such litigation.

In Case A/15(II:A), 3 years after the Tribunal's partial award in the case, Iran filed briefs and evidence relating to 10 of Iran's claims against the United States Government for nonmilitary property allegedly held by private companies in the United States. Although Iran's submission was made in response to a Tribunal order directing Iran to file its brief and evidence "concerning all remaining issues to be decided by this Case," Iran's filing failed to address many claims in the case.

In August 1995, the United States filed the second of two parts of its consolidated submission on the merits in Case B/61, addressing issues of liability and compensation. As reported in my May 1995 Report, Case B/61 involves a claim by Iran for compensation with respect to primarily military equipment that Iran alleges it did not receive. The equipment was purchased pursuant to commercial contracts with more than 50 private American companies. Iran alleges that it suffered direct losses and consequential damages in excess of $2 billion in total because of the United States Government's refusal to allow the export of the equipment after January 19, 1981, in alleged contravention of the Algiers Accords.

4. Since my last report, the Tribunal has issued two important awards in favor of U.S. nationals considered dual U.S.-Iranian nationals by the Tribunal. On July 7, 1995, the Tribunal issued Award No. 565, awarding a claimant $1.1 million plus interest for Iran's expropriation of the claimant's shares in the Iranian architectural firm of Abdolaziz Farmafarmaian & Associates. On July 14, 1995, the Tribunal issued Award No. 566, awarding two claimants $129,869 each, plus interest, as compensation for Iran's taking of real property inherited by the claimants from their father. Award No. 566 is significant in that it is the Tribunal's first decision awarding dual national claimants compensation for Iran's expropriation of real property in Iran.

5. The situation reviewed above continues to implicate important diplomatic, financial, and legal interests of the United States and its nationals and presents an unusual challenge to the national security and foreign policy of the United States. The Iranian Assets Control Regulations issued pursuant to Executive Order No. 12170 continue to play an important role in structuring our relationship with Iran and in enabling the United States to implement properly the Algiers Accords. I shall continue to exercise the powers at my disposal to deal with these problems and will continue to report periodically to the Congress on significant developments.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
November 28, 1995.

Message to the Congress Transmitting the Railroad Retirement Board Report

November 28, 1995

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith the Annual Report of the Railroad Retirement Board for Fiscal Year 1994, pursuant to the provisions of section 7(b)(6) of the Railroad Retirement Act and section 12(1) of the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
November 28, 1995.

Remarks on Departure for the United Kingdom

November 28, 1995

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 dialog 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 25 years, children can walk to school without fear. Bomb-shattered shopfronts have both 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 and 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 peacemakers 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.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:26 p.m. on the South Lawn at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Prime Minister John Major of the United Kingdom and Prime Minister John Bruton of Ireland.

The President's News Conference With Prime Minister John Major of the United Kingdom in London, England

November 29, 1995

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 implementa-

tion force in Bosnia. Bosnia is, and has been for some years, a shared responsibility. British troops have been there now for something over 3 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 and 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 dialog 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.

Bosnia

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 6 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 2-to-1 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.

Ireland

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 [Helen Thomas, United Press International].

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.

NOTE: The President's 106th news conference began at 11:20 a.m., at 10 Downing Street. A reporter referred to Gerry Adams, leader of Sinn Fein. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this news conference.

Remarks to the Parliament of the United Kingdom in London

November 29, 1995

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 6 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 in 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 our 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 de-

stroyer, the United States Ship *Winston Churchill.*

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 Non-proliferation 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 dialog 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.

Despite all of the progress we have made in all these areas and despite the problems clearly still out 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.

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 4 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 than 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.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:38 p.m. in the Royal Gallery of Westminster Palace. In his remarks, he referred to Lord MacKay of Clashfern, Lord Chancellor; Speaker of the House of Commons Betty Boothroyd; Viscount Cranborne, Lord Privy Seal and Leader of the House of Lords; and Anthony Newton, Lord President of the Council and Leader of the House of Commons.

Remarks Prior to Discussions With British Labour Party Leader Tony Blair and an Exchange With Reporters in London

November 29, 1995

The President. Good afternoon. Let me say, first of all, I'm delighted to have this opportunity to meet with the British Labour leader, Tony Blair. I have followed his career with great interest, and I am anxious to have this time to visit with him about his views on conditions here and matters affecting both of our countries, especially the Bosnian question. And I don't know whether he was looking forward to coming here or not because he's just come from that question time that I referred to in my speech to the Parliament today.

Ireland

Q. Are you interested in his views on Ireland?

The President. Of course I am.

Q. What are they?

The President. Well, that's for him to say. I haven't had a chance to talk to him.

Mr. Blair. First of all, let me say, I'm absolutely delighted to meet the President and to express my admiration, not merely for his magnificent speech this morning that I think will have a great impact here and abroad but also for the work that he's done in bringing peace to Bosnia and the Middle East, to Ireland and to other parts of the world.

And our views on Ireland—in fact, today in the House of Commons, you wouldn't have seen any of the cut-and-thrust at all. It was one of these rare moments of agreement between myself and John Major. We've supported the government in that push for peace in Northern Ireland. We will continue to do so.

Q. Mr. President, what kind of advice are you giving Mr. Blair, and I'm wondering if Mr. Blair can explain what lessons you've learned from President Clinton?

The President. I have no advice to give him. And let me say, one of the things that I'm going to do privately—I might as well do it publicly—is to thank him for the position that he and his party have taken on this, the question of the initiatives of the British Government in Northern Ireland.

A country is always stronger when, in its foreign policy and its difficult decisions, it moves forward together so that the country can be strong, can be united, and the people essentially can both claim the credit and shoulder the responsibility. And I think this is a very exceptional act of statesmanship on his part, and I very much appreciate it.

Q. Which you'd like to see on the part of the Republicans?

Q. What's your message tomorrow going to be, sir?

The President. Well, we've already answered too many questions, I can tell now. [*Laughter*]

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:10 p.m. at the U.S. Ambassador's residence. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Statement on Congressional Action on Lobby Reform Legislation

November 29, 1995

I am delighted that Congress has passed lobby reform legislation. This bill will help change the way Washington does business. For too long, Washington's influence industry has operated out of the sunlight of public scrutiny. This new law will require professional lobbyists, for the first time, to fully disclose who they are working for and what legislation they are trying to pass or kill. Lobby reform will be good for American democracy and will help restore the trust of the people in their Government.

This is precisely the sort of change that the American people have demanded and that I championed during my campaign for the Presidency and as President. I am particularly pleased that a strong bipartisan coalition in both the House and Senate stood firm for reform. I want to especially thank Senator Carl Levin, who championed this legislation for many years, and the other Members for their leadership, including Senator Bill Cohen and Representatives Barney Frank, John Bryant, and Charles Canady.

Since I took office, I have challenged Congress to enact four significant political reform measures: legislation applying laws to Congress, a ban on gifts to lawmakers, lobby disclosure, and campaign finance reform. The Congress has now acted on the first three of these reform priorities. It is time to finish the job.

Message to the Congress Transmitting the EURATOM–United States Nuclear Energy Cooperation Agreement

November 29, 1995

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit to the Congress, pursuant to sections 123 b. and 123 d. of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended (42 U.S.C. 2153(b), (d)), the text of a proposed Agreement for Cooperation in the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy Between the United States of America and the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) with accompanying agreed minute, annexes, and other attachments. (The confidential list of EURATOM storage facilities covered by the Agreement is being transmitted directly to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House International Relations Committee.) I am also pleased to transmit my written approval, authorization and determination concerning the agreement, and the memorandum of the Director of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency with the Nuclear Proliferation Assessment Statement concerning the agreement. The joint memorandum submitted to me by the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Energy, which includes a summary of the provisions of the agreement and other attachments, including the views of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, is also enclosed.

The proposed new agreement with EURATOM has been negotiated in accordance with the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended by the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act of 1978 (NNPA) and as otherwise amended. It replaces two existing agreements for peaceful nuclear cooperation with EURATOM, including the 1960 agreement that has served as our primary legal framework for cooperation in recent years and that will expire by its terms on December 31 of this year. The proposed new agreement will provide an updated, comprehensive framework for peaceful nuclear cooperation between the United States and EURATOM, will facilitate such cooperation, and will es-

tablish strengthened nonproliferation conditions and controls including all those required by the NNPA. The new agreement provides for the transfer of nonnuclear material, nuclear material, and equipment for both nuclear research and nuclear power purposes. It does not provide for transfers under the agreement of any sensitive nuclear technology (SNT).

The proposed agreement has an initial term of 30 years, and will continue in force indefinitely thereafter in increments of 5 years each until terminated in accordance with its provisions. In the event of termination, key nonproliferation conditions and controls, including guarantees of safeguards, peaceful use and adequate physical protection, and the U.S. right to approve retransfers to third parties, will remain effective with respect to transferred nonnuclear material, nuclear material, and equipment, as well as nuclear material produced through their use. Procedures are also established for determining the survival of additional controls.

The member states of EURATOM and the European Union itself have impeccable nuclear nonproliferation credentials. All EURATOM member states are party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT). EURATOM and all its nonnuclear weapon state member states have an agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) for the application of full-scope IAEA safeguards within the respective territories of the nonnuclear weapon states. The two EURATOM nuclear weapon states, France and the United Kingdom, like the United States, have voluntary safeguards agreements with the IAEA. In addition, EURATOM itself applies its own stringent safeguards at all peaceful facilities within the territories of all member states. The United States and EURATOM are of one mind in their unswerving commitment to achieving global nuclear nonproliferation goals. I call the attention of the Congress to the joint U.S.-EURATOM "Declaration on Non-Proliferation Policy" appended to the text of the agreement I am transmitting herewith.

The proposed new agreement provides for very stringent controls over certain fuel cycle activities, including enrichment, reprocessing, and alteration in form or content and storage of plutonium and other sensitive nuclear materials. The United States and EURATOM have accepted these controls on a reciprocal basis, not as a sign of either Party's distrust of the other, and not for the purpose of interfering with each other's fuel cycle choices, which are for each Party to determine for itself, but rather as a reflection of their common conviction that the provisions in question represent an important norm for peaceful nuclear commerce.

In view of the strong commitment of EURATOM and its member states to the international nonproliferation regime, the comprehensive nonproliferation commitments they have made, the advanced technological character of the EURATOM civil nuclear program, the long history of extensive transatlantic cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy without any risk of proliferation, and the fact that all member states are close allies or close friends of the United States, the proposed new agreement provides to EURATOM (and on a reciprocal basis, to the United States) advance, long-term approval for specified enrichment, retransfers, reprocessing, alteration in form or content, and storage of specified nuclear material, and for retransfers of nonnuclear material and equipment. The approval for reprocessing and alteration in form or content may be suspended if either activity ceases to meet the criteria set out in U.S. law, including criteria relating to safeguards and physical protection.

In providing advance, long-term approval for certain nuclear fuel cycle activities, the proposed agreement has features similar to those in several other agreements for cooperation that the United States has entered into subsequent to enactment of the NNPA. These include bilateral U.S. agreements with Japan, Finland, Norway and Sweden. (The U.S. agreements with Finland and Sweden will be automatically terminated upon entry into force of the new U.S.-EURATOM agreement, as Finland and Sweden joined the European Union on January 1, 1995.) Among the documents I am transmitting herewith to the Congress is an analysis by the Secretary of Energy of the advance, long-term approvals contained in the proposed U.S. agreement with EURATOM. The analy-

sis concludes that the approvals meet all requirements of the Atomic Energy Act.

I believe that the proposed agreement for cooperation with EURATOM will make an important contribution to achieving our nonproliferation, trade and other significant foreign policy goals.

In particular, I am convinced that this agreement will strengthen the international nuclear nonproliferation regime, support of which is a fundamental objective of U.S. national security and foreign policy, by setting a high standard for rigorous nonproliferation conditions and controls.

It will substantially upgrade U.S. controls over nuclear items subject to the current U.S.-EURATOM agreement as well as over future cooperation.

I believe that the new agreement will also demonstrate the U.S. intention to be a reliable nuclear trading partner, and thus help ensure the continuation and, I hope, growth of U.S. civil nuclear exports to EURATOM member states.

I have considered the views and recommendations of the interested agencies in reviewing the proposed agreement and have determined that its performance will promote, and will not constitute an unreasonable risk to, the common defense and security. Accordingly, I have approved the agreement and authorized its execution and urge that the Congress give it favorable consideration.

Because this agreement meets all applicable requirements of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, for agreements for peaceful nuclear cooperation, I am transmitting it to the Congress without exempting it from any requirement contained in section 123 a. of that Act. This transmission shall constitute a submittal for purposes of both sections 123 b. and 123 d. of the Atomic Energy Act. The Administration is prepared to begin immediately the consultations with the Senate Foreign Relations and House International Relations Committees as provided in section 123 b. Upon completion of the 30-day continuous session period provided for in section 123 b., the 60-day continuous session period provided for in section 123 d. shall commence.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
November 29, 1995.

Remarks at a Dinner Hosted by Prime Minister Major in London

November 29, 1995

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." 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.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 8:05 p.m. at 10 Downing Street. In his remarks, he referred to Norma Major, wife of Prime Minister John Major. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks to Mackie International Employees in Belfast, Northern Ireland

November 30, 1995

This is one of those occasions where I really feel that all that needs to be said has already been said. I thank Catherine and David for introducing me, for all the schoolchildren of Northern Ireland who are here today, and for all whom they represent. A big part of peace is children growing up safely, learning together, and growing together. I thank Patrick Dougan and Ronnie Lewis for their remarks, for their work here, for all the members of the Mackie team who are with us today in welcoming us to this factory. I was hoping we could have an event like this in Northern Ireland at a place where people work and reach out to the rest of the world in a positive way, because a big part of peace is working together for family and community and for the welfare of the common enterprise.

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

And I'd like to ask the Members of Congress who have come all the way from Washington, DC, to stand up and be recognized. Would you all stand?

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

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

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

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

Here we lie along the peace line, the wall of steel and stone separating Protestant from Catholic. But today, under the leadership of Pat Dougan, you are bridging the divide, overcoming a legacy of discrimination where fair employment and integration are the watchwords of the future. On this shop floor, men and women of both traditions are working together to achieve common goals.

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

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

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

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

I want to honor those whose courage and vision have brought us to this point: Prime Minister Major, Prime Minister Bruton, and before him, Prime Minister Reynolds, laid the background and the basis for this era of reconciliation. From the Downing Street

Declaration to the joint framework document, they altered the course of history. Now, just in the last few days, by launching the twin-track initiative, they have opened a promising new gateway to a just and lasting peace. Foreign Minister Spring, Sir Patrick Mayhew, David Trimble, and John Hume all have labored to realize the promise of peace. And Gerry Adams, along with Loyalist leaders such as David Ervine and Gary McMichael, helped to silence the guns on the streets and to bring about the first peace in a generation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Let me say that of all the gifts we can offer in return, perhaps the most enduring and the most precious is the example of what is possible when people find unity and strength in their diversity. We know from our own experience even today how hard that is to do. After all, we fought a great Civil War over the issue of race and slavery in which hundreds of thousands of our people were killed.

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

I grew up in the American South, in one of the States that tried to break from the American Union. My forebears on my father's side were soldiers in the Confederate Army. I was reading the other day a book

about our first Governor after the Civil War who fought for the Union Army and who lost members of his own family. They lived the experience so many of you have lived. When this Governor took office and looked out over a sea of his fellow citizens who fought on the other side, he said these words: ''We have all done wrong. No one can say his heart is altogether clean and his hands altogether pure. Thus, as we wish to be forgiven, let us forgive those who have sinned against us and ours.'' That was the beginning of America's reconciliation, and it must be the beginning of Northern Ireland's reconciliation.

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

I am proud to be of Ulster Scots stock. I am proud to be, also, of Irish stock. I share these roots with millions and millions of Americans, now over 40 million Americans. And we rejoice at things being various, as Louis MacNeice once wrote. It is one of the things that makes America special.

Because our greatness flows from the wealth of our diversity as well as the strength of the ideals we share in common, we feel bound to support others around the world who seek to bridge their own divides. This is an important part of our country's mission on the eve of the 21st century, because we know that the chain of peace that protects us grows stronger with every new link that is forged.

For the first time in half a century now, we can put our children to bed at night knowing that the nuclear weapons of the former Soviet Union are no longer pointed at those children. In South Africa, the long night of apartheid has given way to a new freedom for all peoples. In the Middle East, Arabs and Israelis are stepping beyond war to peace in an area where many believed peace would never come. In Haiti, a brutal dictatorship has given way to a fragile new democracy. In Europe, the dream of a stable, undivided free continent seems finally within reach as the people of Bosnia have the first real hope for peace since the terrible fighting began there nearly 4 years ago.

The United States looks forward to working with our allies here in Europe and others to help the people in Bosnia, the Muslims, the Croats, the Serbs, to move beyond their divisions and their destructions to make the peace agreement they have made a reality in the lives of their people.

Those who work for peace have got to support one another. We know that when leaders stand up for peace, they place their forces on the line and sometimes their very lives on the line, as we learned so recently in the tragic murder of the brave Prime Minister of Israel. For, just as peace has its pioneers, peace will always have its rivals. Even when children stand up and say what these children said today, there will always be people who, deep down inside, will never be able to give up the past.

Over the last 3 years, I have had the privilege of meeting with and closely listening to both Nationalists and Unionists from Northern Ireland, and I believe that the greatest struggle you face now is not between opposing ideas or opposing interests. The greatest struggle you face is between those who deep down inside are inclined to be peacemakers and those who deep down inside cannot yet embrace the cause of peace, between those who are in the ship of peace and those who are trying to sink it. Old habits die hard. There will always be those who define the worth of their lives not by who they are but by who they aren't, not by what they're for but by what they are against. They will never escape the dead-end street of violence. But you, the vast majority, Protestant and Catholic alike, must not allow the ship of peace to sink on the rocks of old habits and hard grudges.

You must stand firm against terror. You must say to those who still would use violence for political objectives, ''You are the past. Your day is over. Violence has no place at the table of democracy and no role in the future of this land.'' By the same token, you must also be willing to say to those who re-

nounce violence and who do take their own risks for peace that they are entitled to be full participants in the democratic process. Those who do show the courage to break with the past are entitled to their stake in the future.

As leaders for peace become invested in the process, as leaders make compromises and risk the backlash, people begin more and more—I have seen this all over the world—they begin more and more to develop a common interest in each other's success, in standing together rather than standing apart. They realize that the sooner they get to true peace, with all the rewards it brings, the sooner it will be easy to discredit and destroy the forces of destruction.

We will stand with those who takes risks for peace in Northern Ireland and around the world. I pledge that we will do all we can, through the International Fund for Ireland and in many other ways, to ease your load. If you walk down this path continually, you will not walk alone. We are entering an era of possibility unparalleled in all of human history. If you enter that era determined to build a new age of peace, the United States of America will proudly stand with you.

But at the end of the day, as with all free people, your future is for you to decide. Your destiny is for you to determine. Only you can decide between division and unity, between hard lives and high hopes. Only you can create a lasting peace. It takes courage to let go of familiar divisions. It takes faith to walk down a new road. But when we see the bright gaze of these children, we know the risk is worth the reward.

I have been so touched by the thousands of letters I have received from schoolchildren here, telling me what peace means to them. One young girl from Ballymena wrote, and I quote, "It is not easy to forgive and forget, especially for those who have lost a family member or a close friend. However, if people could look to the future with hope instead of the past with fear, we can only be moving in the right direction." I couldn't have said it nearly as well.

I believe you can summon the strength to keep moving forward. After all, you have come so far already. You have braved so many dangers. You have endured so many sacrifices. Surely, there can be no turning back. But peace must be waged with a warrior's resolve, bravely, proudly, and relentlessly, secure in the knowledge of the single greatest difference between war and peace: In peace, everybody can win.

I was overcome today, when I landed in my plane and I drove with Hillary up the highway to come here, by the phenomenal beauty of the place and the spirit and the good will of the people. Northern Ireland has a chance not only to begin anew but to be a real inspiration to the rest of the world, a model of progress through tolerance.

Let us join our efforts together as never before to make that dream a reality. Let us join our prayers in this season of peace for a future of peace in this good land.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11 a.m. on the factory floor. In his remarks, he referred to Catherine Hamill and David Sterritt, students who introduced the President; Patrick Dougan, president, and Ronnie Lewis, senior shop steward, Mackie International; Richard Spring, T.D., Foreign Minister of Ireland; Sir Patrick Mayhew, M.P., Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, United Kingdom; David Trimble, M.P., leader, Ulster Unionist Party; John Hume, M.P., leader, Social Democratic and Labour Party; Gerry Adams, leader, Sinn Fein; David Ervine, leader, Progressive Unionist Party; and Gary McMichael, leader, Ulster Democratic Party. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks to Business Leaders in Belfast

November 30, 1995

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

I would like to make just three points very briefly. First, in the presence of the Members of Congress who are here, I want to thank them for funding the International Fund for Ireland. In the United States, it was

really a congressional initiative. For many years, the President—until I became President, no President ever even made a recommendation to spend the money because it was thought to be unusual. But I can tell you, now, even though this connection was never made before, we fund programs through the Agency for International Development around the world in countries much poorer than Northern Ireland which are essentially trying to do the same things.

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

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

We see it even in our own country—some places that others had given up on, thought, you know, where there would never be any economic opportunity there again—the most successful thing that has been done even in our own country is starting things like the International Fund for Ireland. But it works better here, what you are doing through these community groups, than almost any other place that I'm aware of in the world.

And you said it yourself, sir. I think you said you have in this consortium 200 companies with 900 employees; that's an average number of employees somewhere between four and five. But it you look at the cost—what did you say—13½ million pounds—I think I can still do exchange rates, even though I've been—Presidents are disabled from all practical things, you know. [*Laughter*] They don't get to buy food or drive cars or exchange money, but that's pretty low cost per job creation. And so I think that's very, very important. And I applaud all of you for what you're doing.

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

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

George, would you like——

[*At this point, George Mitchell, Special Assistant to the President for Northern Ireland, made brief remarks.*]

The President. Let me just say, I want to leave on a little bit lighter note. When I read my notes about what all of you do, and I was preparing for this and I knew I was bringing all the—the Ambassador for the United States to Great Britain and the British Ambassador to America, and all these other people, and especially all the politicians back there, and I saw that Lynn McGregor is the

owner of a company called Altered Images, and I thought to myself, she could become an overnight millionaire in Washington, DC—[*laughter*]—just by putting up an office. [*Laughter*] We all need to alter our image a little there.

Thank you very much. Congratulations to all of you. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:54 p.m. at the East Belfast Enterprise Park. In his remarks, he referred to Peter Thompson, board chairman, East Belfast Enterprise Park.

Remarks to the Community in Londonderry, Northern Ireland

November 30, 1995

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

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

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

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

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

I came here because you are making a home for peace to flourish and endure—a local climate responsible this week for the announcement of new business operations that offer significant new opportunities to you, as well as new hope. Let me applaud also the success of the Inner City Trust and Paddy Dogherty who have put people to work rebuilding bombed-out buildings, building new ones, and building up confidence and civic pride.

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

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

Philadelphia quickly became the main port of entry for immigrants from the north of Ireland who made the Protestant and Catholic traditions valuable parts of our treasured traditions in America. Today when he travels to the States, John Hume is fond of reminding us about the phrase that Americans established in Philadelphia as the motto of our Nation, E Pluribus Unum, out of many, one, the belief that back then Quakers and Catho-

lics, Anglicans and Presbyterians could practice their religion, celebrate their culture, honor their traditions, and live as neighbors in peace.

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

Over the last 3 years since I have had the privilege to be the President of the United States I have had occasion to meet with Nationalists and to meet with Unionists and to listen to their sides of the story. I have come to the conclusion that here, as in so many other places in the world, from the Middle East to Bosnia, the divisions that are most important here are not the divisions between opposing views or opposing interests. Those divisions can be reconciled. The deep divisions, the most important ones, are those between the peacemakers and the enemies of peace—those who, deep, deep down inside, want peace more than anything, and those who, deep down inside, can't bring themselves to reach out for peace. Those who are in the ship of peace and those who would sink it. Those who bravely meet on the bridge of reconciliation and those who would blow it up.

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

The world-renowned playwright from this city, Brian Friel, wrote a play called "Philadelphia, Here I Come." In it a character who is about to immigrate from Ireland thinks back on his past life and says to himself, "It's all over." But his alter ego reminds him of his future and replies, "And it's about to begin." It's all over, and it's about to begin. If only change were that easy.

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

Not far from this spot stands a new Statue of Reconciliation, two figures, 10 feet tall, each reaching out a hand toward the other, but neither quite making it across the divide. It is a beautiful and powerful symbol of where many people stand today in this great land. Let it now point people to the handshake of reconciliation. Life cannot be lived with the stillness of statues. Life must go on. The hands must come closer together or drift further apart.

Your great Nobel Prize winning poet, Seamus Heaney, wrote the following words—[*applause*]—wrote the following words that some of you must know already, but that for me capture this moment. He said:

History says, *Don't hope*
On this side of the grave,
But then, once in a lifetime
The longed-for tidal wave
Of justice can rise up,
And hope and history rhyme.

So hope for a great sea change
On the far side of revenge.
Believe that a further shore
Is reachable from here.
Believe in miracles
And cures and healing wells.

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

And so I ask you to build on the opportunity you have before you, to believe that the future can be better than the past, to work together because you have so much

more to gain by working together than by drifting apart. Have the patience to work for a just and lasting peace. Reach for it. The United States will reach with you. The further shore of that peace is within your reach.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:20 p.m. in the Guildhall Square. In his remarks, he referred to Lord Mayor John Kerr, and his wife, Corita Kerr; John Hume, MP, and his wife, Patricia Hume; and Jean Mayhew, wife of Sir Patrick Mayhew.

Remarks on the Inauguration of the Thomas P. O'Neill Chair for the Study of Peace in Londonderry

November 30, 1995

Mayor and Mrs. Kerr, Sir Patrick and Mrs. Mayhew, Mr. and Mrs. Hume; to the community and religious leaders who are here and to my fellow Americans who are here, Congressman Walsh and the congressional delegation; Senator Dodd, Senator Mack and others. Let me thank you all for the wonderful reception you have given to Hillary, and to me today and, through us, to the people of the United States. And let me thank Tom O'Neill for his incredibly generous remarks. I am honored to be here with him and with his family and with Loretta Brennan Glucksman and the other members of the American Ireland Fund to help inaugurate this Tip O'Neill Chair in Peace Studies. And thank you, Vice Chancellor Smith, for the degree. You know, I wonder how far it is from a degree to a professorship. [*Laughter*] See, I have this job without a lot of tenure, and I'm looking for one with more tenure.

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

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

He loved politics because he loved people but also because he knew it could make a difference in people's lives. And you have proved here that political decisions by brave people can make a difference in people's lives. Along with Senators Kennedy and Moynihan and former Governor Hugh Carey of New York, he was among the first Irish-American politicians to oppose violence in Northern Ireland. And though we miss him sorely, he will long be remembered in the United States and now in Ireland with this O'Neill Chair. It is a fitting tribute to his life and legacy, for he knew that peace had to be nurtured by a deeper understanding among people and greater opportunity for all.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

One young boy said—the young boy who introduced me said that he studied with and played with people who were both Protestant and Catholic, and he'd almost gotten to the point where he couldn't tell the difference. [*Laughter*] A beautiful young girl who introduced me, that beautiful child, started off by saying what her Daddy did for a living, and then she said she lost her first Daddy in The Troubles. And she thought about it every day; it was the worst day of her life; and she couldn't stand another loss.

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

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

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

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

We need it in the Middle East, where the Prime Minister of Israel just gave his life to a religious fanatic of his own faith because he dared to make peace and give the children of his country a better future. We need it in Bosnia, where the leaders have agreed to make peace, but where the people must now purge their heart of the hatred borne of 4 years of merciless slaughter. We need this everywhere.

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

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:48 p.m. in the Major Hall of Guildhall at Ulster University. In his remarks, he referred to Trevor Smith, vice chancellor, Ulster University.

Statement on Approval of the Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 1996

November 30, 1995

I have decided this evening to approve the Department of Defense appropriations bill.

This legislation is vital to fund our national defense, so that the United States remains the strongest force for peace in the world.

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

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

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

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

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

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

William J. Clinton

The White House,
November 30, 1995.

NOTE: H.R. 2126, became law without the President's signature on December 1, and it was assigned Public Law No. 104–61.

Proclamation 6853—National Drunk and Drugged Driving Prevention Month, 1995

November 30, 1995

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

For many young Americans, learning to drive is a significant step along the road to maturity and independence. There are serious responsibilities that accompany getting a driver's license, and it is essential to teach our youth—and all Americans—the terrible risks of drunk and drugged driving. Males aged 21–34 are among those most likely to drive under the influence of alcohol or drugs, and there is a critical need for additional prevention efforts aimed at this group.

Alcohol use played a role in 16,600 motor vehicle-related fatalities last year—nearly 41 percent of all such deaths. While the number of these tragedies has declined significantly over the past decade, the statistics are still devastating. We must continue our campaign of public education, provide increased law enforcement, and seek tougher laws and penalties for offenders.

Last June, I called on the Congress to make "Zero Tolerance" the law of the land and require States to adopt a Zero Tolerance standard for drivers under the age of 21. I am pleased that this provision was included in the "National Highway System Designation Act of 1995," which I signed this week. It is already against the law for young people to consume alcohol, and Zero Tolerance creates a national standard that will make it effectively illegal for young people who have been drinking to drive an automobile.

Many States have already enacted Zero Tolerance laws. These laws work—alcohol-related crashes involving teenage drivers are down as much as 20 percent in those States. When all States have these laws, hundreds more lives will be saved and thousands of injuries will be prevented. I commend the Congress for heeding my call and making Zero Tolerance the standard nationwide for drivers under the age of 21.

I am also proud that citizens across the Nation are working to spread the word about the dangers of impaired driving. Vital partnerships have formed among Federal, State, and local government agencies, private businesses, and community groups. Last year, on December 15, many Americans observed "Lights on for Life Day" by driving with their headlights illuminated in remembrance of the victims of drunk and drugged driving. I hope that caring citizens will commemorate the same day this month, doing their part to help ensure a safe holiday season.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim December 1995, as National Drunk and Drugged Driving Prevention Month. I urge all Americans to recognize the dangers of impaired driving; to take responsibility for themselves, their guests, and their passengers; to stop anyone under the influence of drugs or alcohol from getting behind the wheel; and to help teach children safe driving behavior.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this thirtieth day of November, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-five, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twentieth.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 4:40 p.m., November 30, 1995]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on December 4.

Proclamation 6854—World AIDS Day, 1995

November 30, 1995

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

Today the world pauses to remember the millions of men, women, and children who are living with HIV and AIDS and to honor the memory of those who have lost their lives to this insidious disease. We renew our commitment to searching for a cure to AIDS and a vaccine for HIV, rededicate ourselves to reducing the number of people who become infected with the virus, and devote our efforts to protecting the dignity and rights of all those affected by the AIDS epidemic.

The statistics are overwhelming. Around the world, more than 18 million people are believed to be infected with HIV. In America alone, over half a million people have been struck by AIDS, and more than 300,000 have already lost their lives. Nearly 80,000 of our fellow citizens are diagnosed with AIDS and more than 40,000 are dying of the disease each year—some 120 every day. In addition, there are an estimated 40,000 to 60,000 Americans who contract HIV annually. The impact of these numbers goes far beyond the individuals involved—each AIDS death devastates a family, weakens a community, and changes society as a whole. HIV and AIDS present extraordinary challenges to every nation and every person on our planet.

In the past year, there has been some encouraging progress. Researchers from many countries have combined their knowledge and skills to better understand the virus that causes AIDS and its effects on the human body; new AIDS drugs are being developed and approved faster than ever before; we are

beginning to find ways to rebuild immune systems destroyed by HIV so that those infected can live longer, healthier lives; and we are aggressively confronting this crisis with prevention programs at the grassroots and national levels.

But there is still much work to do. Half of all new infections occur among people under the age of 25, and one-fourth occur among teenagers. We must protect the next generation by continuing to improve the availability of health care services for those with HIV and AIDS. Since 1990, the Ryan White CARE Act has offered help and hope to hundreds of thousands of people, and we are working with the Congress to extend this vital program for an additional 5 years. However, while the CARE Act is an essential element of the safety net that protects people with HIV and AIDS, it cannot do the job alone. We must also maintain our 30-year commitment to the Medicaid program, which provides services to nearly half of all Americans living with AIDS and more than 90 percent of children with AIDS. Without the protection that Medicaid affords, these individuals and their families would lose all access to health care.

Let us also continue to ensure that our Nation responds aggressively and humanely to the needs of people living with HIV and AIDS. Throughout this epidemic, community organizations have taken the lead in the struggle against the disease and in efforts to provide compassionate care to those in need. Across this country and around the globe, generous people perform miracles every day—holding a hand, cooling a fever, listening, and understanding. Let us further support their efforts to build a better world by strengthening the partnership between communities and government in the work to stop AIDS.

The theme of this eighth observance of World AIDS Day, ''Shared Rights, Shared Responsibilities,'' is a call to fight against discrimination as strongly as we fight for a cure. When one human being is persecuted because of his or her HIV status, we all suffer. Let us pledge to stand together, united against HIV and AIDS and committed to ending ignorance and prejudice.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim December 1, 1995, as World AIDS Day. I ask the American people to join me in reaffirming our commitment to combatting HIV and AIDS and in reaching out to all those whose lives have been affected by this disease.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this thirtieth day of November, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-five, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twentieth.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 4:41 p.m., November 30, 1995]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on December 4.

Remarks on Lighting the City Christmas Tree in Belfast, Northern Ireland

November 30, 1995

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

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

To all of you whose support enabled me to join you tonight and turn the Christmas tree on, I give you my heartfelt thanks. I

know here in Belfast you've been lighting the Christmas tree for more than 20 years. But this year must be especially joyous to you, for you are entering your second Christmas of peace.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Despite the extraordinary hardships so many of these children have faced, their letters were full of hope and love and humor.

To all of you who took the time to write me, you've brightened my holiday season with your words of faith and courage, and I thank you. To all of you who asked me to do what I could do to help peace take root, I pledge you America's support. We will stand with you as you take risks for peace.

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

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

Merry Christmas, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 7:45 p.m. outside Belfast City Hall. In his remarks, he referred to Lord Mayor Eric Smyth of Belfast, and his wife, Frances Smyth.

Remarks at a Reception Hosted by Sir Patrick Mayhew in Belfast

November 30, 1995

The President. Thank you.

Audience member. Four more years!

The President. The plane for America leaves tomorrow morning. I want you to be on it. [*Laughter*] We'll take you back.

Thank you, Sir Patrick and Lady Mayhew. And thank you, Sir Patrick, for your tireless efforts for peace in Northern Ireland.

I want to thank the Vice Chancellor, Sir Gordon Beveridge, and everyone here at Queen's University for allowing us to meet at this wonderful place in the year of its sesquicentennial celebration. I am delighted to be here. And I'm also delighted that it was given to me the honor to make a little announcement involving Queen's. Under the auspices of the Fulbright program, named after the late Senator from my home State, J. William Fulbright, who gave me my first job in public life, we are establishing a distinguished Fulbright lecturer program here at Queen's University to bring distinguished Americans to share their experiences and their ideas with their academic colleagues here and to reach out to the community throughout Northern Ireland.

Let me say that Hillary and I are delighted to be here with a very large contingent of Americans from all walks of life and from both political parties. I am delighted to be the first American President ever to visit Northern Ireland while serving as President. And I think all of you here know that I would, given the choice, never miss a chance to go to an exciting place and make new friends. But the real reason I'm here is because of the hard work and the tough choices that many of you in this room have made to advance the cause of peace and reconciliation in this land. And I thank you for that.

I will take away from this visit a lot of enduring memories, a lot of lasting impressions of peace. When we were at the Mackie plant this morning, it really struck me as a symbol of Northern Ireland's rebirth since the ceasefire. On the shop floor, men and women who come to the plant by separated gates still, work together side by side with common goals for their families and their communities.

I went to the Enterprise Park in East Belfast, and I met with tenants and managers who were making the most of their ideas, their potential, assisted, among other things, by the International Fund for Ireland.

I went to Londonderry where we had an extraordinary crowd, and I saw the splendor of that beautiful old city wall, and also the remarkable Statue of Reconciliation there, which is also a sharp reminder. If you've seen it, you know there are two tall figures with their hands outstretched, but they're not quite touching yet. And of course, tonight

at the Christmas tree lighting, for Hillary and for me it was an especially poignant moment not only because it reaffirmed the ties between our two lands with the President's Prize and the Christmas tree from your sister city of Nashville and because of those remarkable letters that those children wrote but also because of what I saw and felt in that vast throng of people.

And when I was shaking hands in the crowd there when there were no microphones on and no cameras shining, person after person after person that I shook hands with said, "We're glad you're here. We're trying to do this. Please stay with us, we haven't finished yet. The peace is not certain yet. We have to do this." Person after person. Person after person said, "Surely we'll never go back to the way it used to be." Just people in the crowd with their passion and energy and intensity.

I will remember this day for as long as I live, with great gratitude. And let me say what I have said all day, I am proud that the United States stands with the peacemakers here. We respect each tradition equally. We believe peace can be built here on the basis of mutual consent and, in fact, only on that basis. We continue to stand with those who take risks. And we want to see that there are clear, concrete benefits to peace through trade and investments and new jobs and new futures. We will do everything we can to work with all of you to sustain the momentum that Northern Ireland has at this point.

Let me finally say that I have taken a strict and unyielding position about the role of the United States as a force for peace throughout the world. Whether in the Middle East or in Bosnia or here, it is that we cannot, and we could not even if we wanted to, impose a peace on anyone. People must make their own peace from their heads and from their hearts. All we can do is to do the very best we can to create the best conditions in which people can make peace, to give the greatest encouragement to the process of peace, and to offer the hope of every reward we can possibly help to provide.

That is our role. That will remain our role. The details, the direction, and the question of whether you will go forward, that my friends, is all up to you. But if you do, we will be proud to walk with you.

Thank you, and Merry Christmas.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:27 p.m. in Whitla Hall at Queens University.

Remarks to the Community in Dublin, Ireland

December 1, 1995

Thank you very much. First, let me say to all of you Dubliners and all Ireland, Hillary and I have loved our trip to your wonderful country. To the Taoiseach and Mrs. Bruton; Lord Mayor Loftus and Lady Loftus; City Manager Frank Feely; to all the aldermen who conferred this great honor on me. To the Americans in the audience, welcome to all of you. Are there any Irish in the audience? I want to say also how pleased I am to be here with a number of Irish-American Members of the United States Congress; and the Irish-American Director of the Peace Corps, Mark Gearan; the Irish-American Secretary of Education, Richard Riley; and the Secretary of Commerce, Ron Brown, who wishes today he were Irish-American. Thank you all for being here.

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

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

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

Let me say that, as a lot of you know, because of events developing in Bosnia and the prospect of peace there, I had to cut short

my trip. But there are a few signs out there I want to respond to. I will return to Ballybunion for my golf game. [*Laughter*]

I am also pleased to announce that President Robinson has accepted my invitation to come to the United States next June to continue our friendship.

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

Years ago, Americans learned about Dublin from the stories of James Joyce and Sean O'Casey. Today, America and the world still learn about Dublin and Ireland through the words of Sebastian Barry, Paula Meehan, Roddy Doyle; through the films of Jim Sheridan, Neil Jordan; through the voices of Mary Black and the Delores Keane; and yes, through the Cranberries and U2. I hear all about how the world's global culture is becoming more American, but I believe if you want to grasp the global culture you need to come to Ireland.

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

I understand that there are some Cassidys out in the audience today. And if they are, I want to say in my best Arkansas accent, *céad mile failte—beatha saol agus slainte.*

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

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

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

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

Ireland is helping beat back the forces of hatred and destruction all around the world, the spread of weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, ethnic hatreds, religious fanaticism, the international drug trade. Ireland is helping to beat back these forces that wage war against all humanity. You are an inspiration to people around the world. You have made peace heroic. Nowhere are the people of Ireland more important in the cause of peace today than right here at home.

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

Waging peace is risky. It takes courage and strength that is a hard road. It is easier, as I said yesterday, to stay with the old grudges and the old habits. But the right thing to do is to reach for a new future of peace, not

because peace is a document on paper or even a handshake among leaders but because it changes people's lives in fundamental and good ways.

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

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

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

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

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

And to you, this vast, wonderful throng of people here, and all of the people of Ireland, I say: America will be with you as you walk the road of peace. We know from our own experience that making peace among people of different cultures is the work of a lifetime. It is a constant challenge to find strength amid diversity, to learn to respect differences instead of run from them. Every one of us must fight the struggle within our own spirit. We have to decide whether we will define our lives primarily based on who we are or who we are not, based on what we are for or what we are against. There are always things to be against in life, and we have to stand against the bad things we should stand against.

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

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

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

Thank you, Ireland, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:10 p.m. outside the Bank of Ireland at College Green. In his remarks, he referred to Prime Minister John Bruton, and his wife, Fionnuala; and Lord Mayor Sean D. Loftus, and his wife, Patricia. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks to the Parliament of Ireland in Dublin

December 1, 1995

Mr. Speaker Comhaile, you appear to be someone who can be trusted with the budget. [*Laughter*] Such are the vagaries of faith which confront us all. [*Laughter*]

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

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

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

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

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

George Bernard Shaw, with his wonderful Irish love of irony, said, "Peace is not only better than war but infinitely more arduous." Well today I thank Prime Minister Bruton and former Prime Minister Reynolds and Deputy Prime Minister Spring and Britian's Prime Minister Major, and others, but especially these, for their unfailing dedication to the arduous task of peace.

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

Today I renew America's pledge. Your road is our road. We want to walk it together. We will continue our support, political, financial, and moral, to those who take risks for peace. I am proud that our administration was the first to support in the executive budget sent to the Congress the International Fund for Ireland, because we believe that those on both sides of the border who have been denied so much for so long should see that their risks are rewarded with the tangible benefits of peace. In another context a long time ago, Mr. Yeats reminded us that too long a sacrifice can make a stone of the heart. We must not let the hearts of the young people who yearn for peace turn to stone.

I want to thank you here, not only for the support you've given your leaders in working for peace in Northern Ireland but for the extraordinary work you have done to wage peace over war all around the world. Almost 1,500 years ago, Ireland stood as a lone beacon of civilization to a continent shrouded in darkness. It has been said, probably without overstatement, that the Irish, in that dark period, saved civilization. Certainly you saved the records of our civilization, our shared ideas, our shared ideals, our priceless recordings of them.

Now, in our time, when so many nations seek to overcome conflict and barbarism, the light still shines out of Ireland. Since 1958, almost 40 years now, there has never been a single, solitary day that Irish troops did not stand watch for peace on a distant shore. In

Lebanon, in Cyprus, in Somalia, in so many other places, more than 41,000 Irish military and police personnel have served over the years as peacekeepers, an immense contribution for a nation whose Armed Forces today number fewer than 13,000.

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

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

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

Standing here, thinking about the devastation in Bosnia, the long columns of hopeless refugees streaming from their homes, it is impossible not to recall the ravages that were visited on your wonderful country 150 years ago, not by war, of course, but by natural disaster when the crops rotted black in the ground. Today, still, the Great Famine is seared in the memory of the Irish nation and all caring peoples. The memory of a million dead, nearly 2 million more forced into exile, these memories will remain forever vivid to all of us whose heritage is rooted here.

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

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

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

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

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

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

God bless you, and thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:30 p.m. in the Dail Chamber at Leinster House. In his remarks, he referred to Chairman of the House of Deputies

Sean Tracey. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

The following list includes the President's public schedule and other items of general interest announced by the Office of the Press Secretary and not included elsewhere in this issue.

November 26

In the afternoon, the President and Hillary and Chelsea Clinton returned to the White House from Camp David, MD.

November 27

In the afternoon, the President had a telephone conversation with Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich on Bosnia. In the evening, he had telephone conversations with former President George Bush and former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Colin Powell on Bosnia.

The President announced his intention to nominate H. Martin Lancaster to be the Assistant Secretary of the Army for Civil Works.

The President announced his intention to nominate James E. Johnson to be the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Enforcement.

The President announced his intention to nominate LeVar Burton to be a member of the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science.

November 28

In the afternoon, the President attended a luncheon on Capitol Hill with Senate Democratic leaders.

In the evening, the President and Hillary Clinton traveled to London, England.

November 29

In the morning, the President planted a tree at the U.S. Ambassador's residence. Later, the President and Hillary Clinton toured Westminster Abbey, where the President laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior.

In the afternoon, the President and Hillary Clinton had tea with Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip at Buckingham Palace.

The President announced his intention to nominate Luis Rovira to serve as a member of the Board of Trustees to the Harry S Truman Scholarship Foundation.

November 30

In the morning, the President and Hillary Clinton traveled to Belfast, Northern Ireland; in the afternoon, they traveled to Londonderry, Northern Ireland; and in the early evening, they returned to Belfast.

In the evening, the President had meetings with Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams and Democratic Unionist Party leader Ian Paisley at Queens University, and Ulster Unionist Party leader David Trimble at the Europa Hotel.

The President announced his intention to appoint J. Robert Beyster to the President's National Security Telecommunications Advisory Committee.

The President announced his intention to reappoint Susan R. Baron as a member of the Board of Directors for the National Corporation for Housing Partnerships.

December 1

In the morning, the President and Hillary Clinton traveled to Dublin, Ireland, where they met with President Mary Robinson and Mr. Robinson at Áras an Uachtaráin, the President's residence.

In the late afternoon, the President had meetings with Fiana Fáil party leader Bertie Ahern, Nobel Prize winner Seamus Heaney, and Progressive Democrats Party leader Mary Harney.

In the evening, the President and Hillary Clinton attended a dinner hosted by the Irish Government in the Ballroom of Dublin Castle.

The President announced his intention to appoint Thomas L. Baldini as the U.S. Commissioner of the U.S.-Canada International Boundary Commission.

The President announced his intention to reappoint Joseph John DiNunno as a member to the Defense Nuclear Facilities Safety Board.

The President announced the appointment of Thomas P. Cross to the Presidential

Advisory Committee on Gulf War Veterans' Illnesses.

The President announced seven individuals to the Presidential Advisory Council on HIV/AIDS: Stephen N. Abel, Tonio Burgos, Jerry Cade, B. Thomas Henderson, Helen M. Miramontes, Robert Michael Rankin, and Richard W. Stafford.

Nominations Submitted to the Senate

The following list does not include promotions of members of the Uniformed Services, nominations to the Service Academies, or nominations of Foreign Service officers.

Submitted November 27

Ann L. Aiken,
of Oregon, to be U.S. District Judge for the District of Oregon, vice James H. Redden, retired.

Joseph A. Greenaway,
of New Jersey, to be U.S. District Judge for the District of New Jersey, vice John F. Gerry, retired.

Faith S. Hochberg,
of New Jersey, to be U.S. District Judge for the District of New Jersey, vice H. Lee Sarokin, elevated.

Ann D. Montgomery,
of Minnesota, to be U.S. District Judge for the District of Minnesota, vice Diana E. Murphy, elevated.

Submitted November 28

LeVar Burton,
of California, to be a member of the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science for a term expiring July 19, 2000, vice Kay W. Riddle, term expired.

James E. Johnson,
of New Jersey, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, vice Ronald K. Noble.

H. Martin Lancaster,
of North Carolina, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Army, vice Nancy Patricia Dorn, resigned.

Submitted November 30

John R. Lacey,
of Connecticut, to be a member of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States for a term expiring September 30, 1998 (reappointment).

Luis D. Rovira,
of Colorado, to be a member of the Board of Trustees of the Harry S Truman Scholarship Foundation for a term expiring December 10, 2001, vice Lorraine Mindy Meiklejohn, term expiring.

Checklist of White House Press Releases

The following list contains releases of the Office of the Press Secretary that are neither printed as items nor covered by entries in the Digest of Other White House Announcements.

Released November 27

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Mike McCurry

Announcement of nomination for four U.S. District Court Judges

Released November 28

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Mike McCurry

Statement by Press Secretary Mike McCurry announcing that the President signed S. 395, ending the ban on exporting oil from Alaska's North Slope

Statement by Press Secretary Mike McCurry announcing that the President signed H.R. 440, releasing more than $5 billion for transportation projects

Released November 29

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Mike McCurry

Transcript of remarks by George Mitchell, Special Assistant to the President and Secretary of State for Economic Initiatives in Ireland

Statement by Press Secretary Mike McCurry on House action on the VA/HUD appropriations bill

Released November 30

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Mike McCurry

Released December 1

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Mike McCurry

Statement by Press Secretary Mike McCurry on the situation in Burma

Acts Approved by the President

Approved November 28

S. 395 / Public Law 104–58
To authorize and direct the Secretary of Energy to sell the Alaska Power Administration, and to authorize the export of Alaska North Slope crude oil, and for other purposes

S. 440 / Public Law 104–59
National Highway System Designation Act of 1995

S. 1328 / Public Law 104–60
To amend the commencement dates of certain temporary Federal judgeships

Approved December 1

H.R. 2126 / Public Law 104–61
Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 1996