

Weekly Compilation of  
**Presidential  
Documents**



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## WEEKLY COMPILATION OF

## PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

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## Week Ending Friday, December 8, 1995

### **Exchange With Reporters Prior to Discussions With President Mary Robinson of Ireland in Dublin**

*December 1, 1995*

#### ***President's Visit***

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

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

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

**The President.** More of the same. [Laughter]

#### ***Bosnia***

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

**The President.** I'm very gratified by it. I appreciate it very much.

NOTE: The exchange began at 11:07 a.m. at Áras an Uachtaráin, the President's residence. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

### **Exchange With Reporters Prior to Discussions With Prime Minister John Bruton of Ireland in Dublin**

*December 1, 1995*

#### ***President's Visit***

**Q.** Welcome to Ireland.

**The President.** Thank you. I'm delighted to be here.

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

**The President.** Very, very much.

#### ***Irish Peace Process***

**Q.** How significant do you think it's going to be for the peace process, your visit to Bel-

fast yesterday? Both of you, would you answer briefly?

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

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

**Q.** Taoiseach, what do you think of yesterday?

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

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

**Q.** Mr. President, do you believe that your visit and indeed all-party talks can begin by the February deadline? Would you be very anxious that those talks would begin?

**The President.** Well, of course, I hope that the process will succeed. I support it strongly. The Taoiseach and the Prime Minister took some risks, both of them did, to try to keep the peace process going. It is

plainly in the interest of the citizens of Northern Ireland and of all those who wish them well here in Ireland and, frankly, throughout Great Britain and throughout the world. It's a very important thing. So of course, I hope it will work, and I'm going to do everything I can to be supportive.

[At this point, one group of reporters left the room, and another group entered.]

### **Bosnia**

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

**The President.** I expect we will, yes.

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

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

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

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

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

**Q.** [Inaudible]—to generate support in the House as well as the Senate?

**The President.** Well, I take it one step at a time. I think we're making progress. I think we're in better shape as days go by, and I think that the decision by Senator Dole and Senator McCain will help immeasurably,

I think, to build the kind of bipartisan support that we need to make this an American effort.

I can tell you this: As I have been in London and Ireland, I can see that, in addition to the overwhelming preoccupation we've all had with our efforts in Northern Ireland, the ability of the United States to play a leading role in partnership with Europe in dealing with the world's problems in the years ahead is certainly heavily dependent upon our doing our part here in Bosnia, especially after we hosted and did so much to broker the peace.

### **Irish Peace Process**

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

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

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

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

**The President.** Sure. But that's why they—

**Q.** How do you do it?

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

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

And as I said in Derry, if you look at that statue—those two Statues of Reconciliation there, they're reaching out, and they're not quite touching. But people are not statues. When you get close like this, you don't stay in that position. You either shake hands, or you drift apart. They've given this process a chance to move to a handshake, and that's all we can hope for. Now we just have to redouble our efforts and keep our attitudes proper and remember the message of the people in the streets, which is that they want this done. They're not interested in all the last details. They want it worked out so they can live on equal and honorable terms and live in peace. And I think that's what the rest of us have to try to give them.

**Prime Minister Bruton.** I just want to say the key word is that this is a process, a process in which people can move closer together, a process in which people can give as well as take.

NOTE: The exchange began at 12:29 p.m. at the Government Buildings. In his remarks, the President referred to Gen. George A. Joulwan, USA, Supreme Allied Commander, Europe. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

## **The President's News Conference With Prime Minister John Bruton of Ireland in Dublin**

*December 1, 1995*

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

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

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

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

heard. And I certainly hope that it will be successful.

Let me also say, as you know, it establishes a means to address the issue of decommissioning, and I am gratified that my good friend Senator George Mitchell is going to lead the international body to deal with that issue. He is seizing this opportunity already. He has begun to organize the effort with other members, and I expect him to be at work shortly.

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

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

Let me also say that we had the opportunity to discuss the situation in Bosnia, and I described as best I could the terms of the peace agreement and what we intend to do in the United States with our allies to implement it in a military way and what non-military tasks have to be undertaken. I am very hopeful that after the peace agreement is signed in Paris in just a couple of weeks, we will see a dramatic change in that war-torn land.

Let me say that the kind of thing that the international community is going to have to do in Bosnia is consistent with what Ireland has done every day for nearly 40 years now. Irish peacekeepers have helped people to live in peace from Cyprus to Somalia, to feed the hungry, to do so much that most people in the world don't even know that the people of Ireland have done. And again, I want to say on behalf of the American people, I am very, very grateful for that.

So we had a good meeting, we've got a wonderful relationship, the Sun is shining,

and I hope it's a good omen for peace in Northern Ireland.

Thank you.

### **Irish Peace Process**

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

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

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

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

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

going to stay committed. And we'll be there until the work is finished.

**Prime Minister Bruton.** Now an American journalist.

### **Balkan Peace Process**

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

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

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

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

**The President.** No. Well, first of all, I don't think it's going to be at 3 billion but we—the numbers keep getting bandied around here. Some people who count the money in Europe would be double-counting it. Some of this money is going to be spent

anyway. I don't think we should count as a cost of the operation in Bosnia, for example, the salary of someone who's going to get paid their salary whether they're there or not.

The 25,000, let me say—well, I have always said we would have 20,000 people in the theater. We have been asked how many people are necessary to support them. And we will have—we'll have another roughly 5,000 people outside of Bosnia in support of those who are in Bosnia, but they will not be in the Bosnian theater. There may be some extra costs associated with them that are sizeable enough, and they ought to be included in the bill that we tell Congress we expect to pay here.

But if you look at it, again I will say, this is an appropriate level of contribution. This is no more than a third—may wind up being considerably less than a third of the total contribution, depending on how many other nations participate. You heard the British Prime Minister say 2 days ago that he expected that Great Britain, a country with a population of roughly—well, less than a fourth of ours, is going to send 13,000 troops to the theater. So the Europeans are going to take the major load, and we should support them.

### **Irish Peace Process**

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

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

### **Balkan Peace Process**

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

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

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

**The President.** And I just want to mention one other thing, too. I want you to think about these points: Number one, at the end of World War II, we established NATO, recognizing that we would try to stay together dealing with common security concerns. Admittedly, at the time, we thought those concerns might play themselves out in Central Europe in the contest between what was then the Soviet Union and the Western bloc, the NATO bloc. But we understood that we had shared concerns that would manifest themselves first on the Continent of Europe but could become much more immediate for us.

Now, the NATO powers have voted among themselves to work with others through the United Nations and on our own in brokering this peace agreement and trying to imple-

ment it. This is consistent with what we have done since World War II.

The second thing I'd like to ask every American is how you would have felt—I would like to ask every American how would you have felt when President Bush sent out the call for help in Desert Storm, which was a war, not a peacekeeping measure, if they said, "You handle that. You have more money, more soldiers, more interests there. You're concerned about the oil. You waste more oil than the rest of us do. You guys handle that"? Or think about all the countries that helped us in Haiti who didn't say, "I'm sorry. That's not our problem. That's your problem. You have the refugees in the United States. We don't have them. They're on your shore. They're your problem. We can't be bothered with that." But instead, we have had dozens of countries rally to the United States to work with us in common cause when their values were violated by things that were of more immediate concern to us. That's what they did in Desert Storm. That's what they did in Haiti.

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

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

**Prime Minister Bruton.** Thank you. We must respect the timetable. I'm sorry. Thank you very much, indeed. Thank you.

NOTE: The President's 108th news conference began at 1:20 p.m. on the steps of the Government Buildings. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

### **Remarks at a Dinner Hosted by Prime Minister John Bruton in Dublin**

*December 1, 1995*

To the Taoiseach and Mrs. Bruton and to all of our hosts: Hillary and I are honored

to be here tonight with all of you and to be here in the company of some of America's greatest Irish-Americans, including Senator George Mitchell, who has taken on such a great and difficult task; a bipartisan congressional delegation headed by Congressman Walsh; many members of the Ambassador's family, including Kathleen Kennedy Townsend, Lieutenant Governor of Maryland; the mayors of Chicago and Los Angeles; Secretary Riley, the Secretary of Education; Mark Gearan, Director of the Peace Corps. And as I said, we have the Secretary of Commerce, Ron Brown, tonight, who wishes more than ever before in his life that he were Irish. [Laughter] I think he is, down deep inside. I thank you also for—I see the mayor of Pittsburgh here. I know I've left out some others—my wonderful stepfather, Dick Kelley, who thought it was all right when I got elected President, but when I brought him home to Ireland he knew I had finally arrived. [Laughter]

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

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

I want to thank the Taoiseach for the courage he showed in working with the Prime Minister of Great Britain, from the day he took office, taking up from his predecessor, Albert Reynolds, right through this remarkable breakthrough that he and Prime Minister Major made on the twin tracks that he helped to forge just 2 days ago. This is an astonishing development really because it is the first formulation anyone has come up with that permits all views to be heard, all voices to speak, all issues to be dealt with, without requiring people to give up the positions they have taken at the moment. We are very much in your debt.

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

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

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

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

I am honored that at this moment in the history of the world the United States has had the great good fortune to stand for the future of children in Ireland, in Bosnia, in

the Middle East, in Haiti, and on the toughest streets of our own land. And I thank you here in Ireland for taking your stand for those children's future as well.

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

And as I leave you, I feel so full of hope for the situation here in Ireland and so much gratitude for you, for what you have given to us. And I leave you with these words, which I found as I was walking out the door from the Ambassador's Residence. The Ambassador made it possible for Hillary and me to spend a few moments this evening with Seamus Heaney and his wife, since I have been running around the country quoting him for 2 days. *[Laughter]* I might say, without his permission. *[Laughter]* And he gave Hillary an inscribed copy of his book "The Cure At Troy." And as I skimmed through it, I found these words, with which I leave you:

Now it's high water mark  
And floodtide in the heart  
And time to go . . .  
What's left to say?  
Suspect too much sweet talk  
But never close your mind.  
It was a fortunate wind  
That blew me here. I leave  
Half-ready to believe  
That a crippled trust might walk  
And the half-true rhyme is love.

Thank you, and God bless you.

I thought I had done something for a moment to offend the Taoiseach—he was forcing me on water instead of wine. *[Laughter]*

Let me now, on behalf of every American here present, bathed in the generosity and the hospitality of Ireland, offer this toast to

the Taoiseach and Mrs. Bruton and to the wonderful people of this great Republic.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 8:40 p.m. at Dublin Castle. In his remarks, he referred to U.S. Ambassador to Ireland Jean Kennedy Smith and Mayors Richard M. Daley of Chicago, IL, Richard Riordan of Los Angeles, CA, and Tom Murphy of Pittsburgh, PA. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

### **Remarks to Troops in Baumholder, Germany**

*December 2, 1995*

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

I am immensely proud to be here today with the men and women of the 1st Armored Division. You truly are America's Iron Soldiers. Previous generations of Iron Soldiers have answered our Nation's call with legendary skill and bravery. Each time before, it was a call to war. From North Africa to Italy, they helped freedom triumph over tyranny in World War II. Then for 20 years, their powerful presence here stood down the Soviet threat and helped to bring victory in the cold war.

And just 4 years ago, when Saddam Hussein attacked Kuwait, the 1st Armored Division's awesome power turned back Iraq and protected the security of the Persian Gulf. I know many of you were there. But I would like to remind you that in just 89 hours of combat, you destroyed 440 enemy tanks, 485 armored personnel carriers, 190 pieces of artillery, and 137 air defense guns. You should be very proud of that remarkable record.

Now America summons you to service again, this time not with a call to war but a call to peace. The leaders of Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia have agreed to end 4 long years of war and atrocities. They have asked for our help to implement their peace agreement. It is in our Nation's interest and consistent with our values to see that this peace succeeds and endures. And we are counting on you, the men and women of Task Force Eagle, to get that job done.

For 3 years I refused to send our American forces into Bosnia where they could have been pulled into war. But I do want you to go there on a mission of peace. After speaking to your commanders and looking at all of you and listening to you, there is not a doubt in my mind this task force is ready to roll. Your mission: to help people exhausted from war make good on the peace they have chosen, the peace they have asked you to help them uphold.

Just 2 weeks ago in Dayton, Ohio, the warring parties in Bosnia agreed to put down their arms, to pull back their armies and their heavy weapons, to hold free elections, to start rebuilding their homes, their towns, and their lives. But they need help to do that, and they have asked America and our NATO allies and other willing countries to provide it.

They need that help because, after nearly 4 years of terrible brutality, trust is in short supply in Bosnia, and they all trust you to do the job right. Each side wants NATO to help them live up to the commitments they've made, to make sure each army withdraws behind the separation line and stays there, to maintain the cease-fire so that the war does not start again, and give all the parties the confidence they need to keep their word—and also to give them the trust that the other side will keep its word as well.

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

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

You will take your orders from General Joulwan, who commands NATO. There will be no confusing chain of command. You are superbly prepared. You will be heavily

armed. The reputation that you—[*ap-  
plause*—I didn't want anyone to think there was a division of the house on that point. [*Laughter*]

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

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

This morning, after 2 days of working for peace in Northern Ireland, I met at the airport in Dublin with Zlata Filipovic, the young Bosnian girl whose now famous diary of her wartime experience in Sarajevo has moved so many millions of people around the world. She's my daughter's age, just 15, but she has seen things that no one 3 or 4 times her age should ever have to witness. I thanked her for a powerful letter of support for our efforts for peace in Bosnia that she wrote me just a few days ago. And then I told her I was on my way to visit with all of you. This is what she said: "Mr. President, when you're in Germany, please thank the American soldiers for me. I want to go home." She also asked me to thank you and all the American people for, in her words, "opening the door of the future for her and for all the children of Bosnia."

Without you, the door will close, the peace will collapse, the war will return, the atrocities will begin again. The conflict then could

spread throughout the region, weaken our partnership with Europe, and undermine our leadership in other areas critical to our security. I know that you will not let that happen.

As you prepare for your mission, I ask you to remember what we have all seen in Bosnia for the last 4 years: ethnic cleansing, mass executions, the rape of women and young girls as a tool of war, young men forced to dig their own graves and then shot down in the ground like animals, endless lines of desperate refugees, starving people in concentration camps. Images of these terrible wrongs have flooded our living rooms all over the world for almost 4 years. Now the violence has ended. We must not let it return.

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

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

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

Men and women of Task Force Eagle, I know the burden of our country's leadership now weighs most heavily on you and your families. Each and every one of you who have

volunteered to serve this country makes hard sacrifices. We send you a long way from home for a long time. We take you away from your children and your loved ones. These are the burdens that you assume for America, to stand up for our values, to serve our interests, to keep our country strong in this time of challenge and change.

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

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

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

God bless you all, and God bless America.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:35 p.m. in the Smith Barracks at the Baumholder Army Base. In his remarks, he referred to Maj. Gen. William L. Nash, Commanding General, 1st Armored Division; Gen. William W. Crouch, Commanding General, U.S. Army Europe; and Secretary of the Army Togo D. West, Jr.

**Remarks Following Discussions With  
Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany  
and an Exchange With Reporters in  
Baumholder**

*December 2, 1995*

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

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

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

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

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

**Chancellor Kohl.** Mr. President, I would like to bid you once again a very warm welcome here to our country. This has been a very impressive day that we shared here today. And I must say that I'm gratified that I'm yet again able to say this here in

Baumholder, to say once again what, for us here in Germany, the Alliance has meant these past four decades.

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

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

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

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

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

We, ourselves, have made a decisive step in the right direction; 4,000 German soldiers will go, will be sent to the region. And I

would like to wish all of the troops going into the region—American troops, British troops, French troops, German troops, from whatever nation they may be sent—I would like to wish them Godspeed and a safe return back to their families.

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

Thank you.

### **Bosnia**

**Q.** How many Americans will be spending Christmas in Bosnia?

**The President.** You'll have to ask General Joulwan that. I don't know that. We will—obviously, under the peace agreement, deployments have to begin shortly after the signing of the agreement. But it will take some considerable amount of time for a full buildup. So I would think there would be probably fewer than half of the total force could be there by Christmas, maybe even less than that. That's a question you should ask General Joulwan. Right now it's strictly a matter of military planning.

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

**The President.** The timeframe is for the military mission, not specifically for the American troops. It is the military mission. Because of the specific functions delegated to the military, as opposed to the civilians—keep in mind, what the military is supposed to do is maintain the cease-fire, separate the forces, create the zone of separation, supervise the transfer of property and the redeployment of forces, and then maintain a secure environment so there can be free movement throughout the country, so the refugees can go home and the reconstruction can

begin and the elections can be held. It is believed by all of our planners and agreed to by the people who signed the peace treaty that that should be done in about a year. And it's completely different from the civilian practices.

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

Any German press have a question? No—

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

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

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

Once again, the United States has no hidden or dark motives here. We simply want to restore peace and democracy and a decent life to those people.

Thank you.

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

**The President.** I think that the support is building in the United States, and I think that the support for the troops and their mission will be universal. It always has been, and I believe it will be now.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:40 p.m. in the Rheinlander Building at the Baumholder Army Base. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

### **The President's Radio Address** *December 2, 1995*

Good morning. Today I am speaking to you from Germany, and I am with the men and women of the United States Army's 1st Armored Division. For the last 4 days, I have been on a journey of peace that has taken me from Britain to Ireland to Germany. I have shaken the hands, heard the voices, and seen the faces of those all over Europe who long for peace, peace in Northern Ireland and peace in Bosnia.

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

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

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

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

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

Over the last 4 years, a quarter of a million Bosnians have been killed. More than half of Bosnia's people have been driven from their homes; a million of them are still refugees. We have seen parents divided from their children, children deprived of their dreams, people caged like animals in concentration camps, women and young girls subject to systematic rape. We have seen unbelievable horrors. But now we have a chance to end this misery for good, and we have a responsibility to act.

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

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

ican and other forces and civilian personnel participating in the implementation force.”

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

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

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

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

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

The mission is clear and so are the stakes, for the Bosnian people, for the security of

Europe, and for America’s leadership around the world.

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

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

Thanks for listening.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:06 p.m. from the Rose Room at the Rheinlander Club, U.S. Army Base/Smith Barracks, Baumholder, Germany.

### **Interview With Joe Garvey of the Armed Forces Network in Baumholder**

*December 2, 1995*

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

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

Now, because of the training they’ve had in Germany, they believe that the training probably will be harder than the mission, and of course, we all hope it will be. So I think every American should feel an immense

sense of pride and gratitude that people like the men and women of the 1st Armored Division are out there serving our country.

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

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

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

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

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

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

And so when we make a decision, when I make a decision, like the decision to deploy our troops to carry out the peace mission in Bosnia, it's a family decision, it affects families, and I am very mindful of that. And one of the things that I really appreciate is the extent to which caring for the families, think-

ing about their needs, making sure that they're treated in the proper way is a big part of the mission now. And I think that's something that we have gotten better at and something I hope we will continue to get better at, because if we're going to have a volunteer Army, we want the very best people in it and we want people to be able to succeed in uniform but also in their family roles. And that is very, very important to me—especially at Christmastime I guess I'm thinking a lot about it, but all year long we have to be better and better and better at that, because this is a family commitment as well as an American commitment.

**Mr. Garvey.** Thank you. I appreciate your time.

**The President.** Thank you.

NOTE: The interview began at 4:40 p.m. at the Rheinlander Club.

## Statement on the Death of General Maxwell R. Thurman

December 2, 1995

We mourn the passing yesterday of Gen. Maxwell R. Thurman, USA, Ret., whose dedicated and exceptional service is cherished by everyone who knew of his extraordinary courage, enduring vision, and selfless service. During a distinguished career which culminated in his service as commander in chief of the U.S. Southern Command, General Thurman achieved prominence as a disciplined thinker, organizer, and leader. His foresight and leadership in a succession of key recruiting, personnel, military doctrinal development, and training assignments during the 1970's and eighties helped shape the post-Vietnam Army and transform it into the high-quality, ready-to-fight force of today.

To General Thurman's family and friends and to the Army community, I extend my heartfelt condolences. We will remember him as one of America's finest soldiers and most capable military leaders.

### **The President's News Conference With European Union Leaders in Madrid, Spain**

*December 3, 1995*

**Prime Minister Gonzalez.** Thank you very much. It is our pleasure to welcome to Madrid President Clinton, as well as the President of the Commission. And as you have seen, we have just finished signing the new transatlantic agenda, along with an action plan. Thanks to this document and this summit between the European Union and the United States, we hope to be taking a new step forward, a quantitative leap forward, and to undertake new common action. This is enshrined in the documents we have just signed.

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

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

the two communities of Bosnia and the former Yugoslavia.

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

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

Mr. Santer.

**President Santer.** Presidents, ladies and gentlemen, I would just like to add some comments on what President Gonzalez has said. In my inaugural speech to the European Parliament on January 17th this year, I emphasized the importance of transatlantic links. I stressed that the EU's commitment should be reaffirmed, and I concluded that I was personally in favor of a transatlantic treaty. So today, I believe, is an historic moment for transatlantic relations, and that I think for three reasons.

Firstly, because it shows that Europe and America now have the means and the will to provide the joint leadership that the world so urgently needs. We will not lead by threatening or excluding our partners, we will lead by example. And take Bosnia. You, President Clinton, have shown such an example in Dayton, Ohio. Europeans and Americans are taking the courageous decision to send troops to enforce a peace in Bosnia. This shows that Europe and America can act together to promote peace, stability, democracy, and freedom. Moreover, we have already committed \$2 billion to help the victims, and we are ready to give more in order to rebuild that shattered country. I am confident that our partners will help us share the burden.

Secondly, this is an historic moment for the people of Europe and America. This is not just an agenda for politicians and civil servants. We are determined to fight side by side in order to tackle those issues that most affect the lives of ordinary people. And together, we will see that the drug traffickers and criminals have nowhere to hide within our borders. Together, we will fight poverty

and disease, and we will bring our citizens themselves closer together, students, academics, professionals, artists, and others. We want to ensure that our common cultural heritage remains the glue that binds our two continents together.

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

Thank you.

**President Clinton.** Thank you very much. Let me begin by thanking Prime Minister Gonzalez for hosting this meeting and for the very energetic leadership that he has provided to the European Community and to the partnership between the European Community and the United States. I want to thank President Santer for his consistent, firm direction to the Community, and both of them for working with me over the last 6 months to launch this new partnership between the United States and the Community.

As the cold war gives way to the global village, we have new opportunities and new security threats. We know what those security threats are. We see them every day, the ethnic and religious hatred, the reckless aggression of rogue states, the terrorism, the drug trafficking, the weapons of mass destruction that are increasingly threatening us all.

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

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

I'd like to highlight just a few of the areas in which we have agreed to work more closely together; some have been mentioned al-

ready. First, we will together lead a global effort to organize the postwar reconstruction of Bosnia. After 4 years of war, the Bosnian leaders have agreed to peace. But now the Bosnian people need the support of the international community to revitalize their economy, to rebuild their lives, in short, to realize the promise of peace.

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

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

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

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

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

All these actions will further strengthen the transatlantic community, united around democracy, free markets, and respect for human rights. Our destiny in America is still linked to Europe. This action agenda makes it clear that we will remain as firmly engaged with Europe in the post-cold-war era as we have for the last 50 years. It also makes clear

that our partnership is evolving, that we recognize new challenges but that we have to meet them together.

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

**Prime Minister Gonzalez.** Thank you. And now we will have questions. Please tell us who you are asking the question of.

#### **Bosnia and NATO Forces**

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

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

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

Mr. President, sir.

**President Clinton.** If I might say that the most important thing is that we have enough troops and the right troops to perform the defined military mission. And we estimate that we need about 60,000. The United States has committed about 20,000; the British, about 13,000; the French, I think between 9,000 and 10,000. We have over two dozen other countries who want to contribute. Spain has made a very, very valuable contribution already, including the NATO contribution with the Spanish pilots which should not be overlooked. And so from my point of view, I think we'll be able to work

together and achieve the kind of force we need.

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

**Q.** Two questions, Mr. President. Have you given the order for 700 American troops in the NATO force to go into Bosnia? And also, the Bosnian Serb military leader, Mladic, says that—is demanding changes in the peace agreement, and there are also some other questions being made by the French military—

**President Clinton.** Can you repeat the question?

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

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

The answer to your second question is no, I don't think the treaty is in trouble, and no, I don't think it should be renegotiated. President Milosevic made strong commitments which he will have to fulfill to secure the support of the Bosnian Serb leaders for this agreement. And I would remind you that, of course, the Bosnian Serbs aren't happy with everything in the agreement; neither are the Croats; neither are the Muslims and the others in the Bosnian Government. That's what—when you make a peace agreement,

not everybody is happy with it. So only those who were at the table have fully reconciled themselves, perhaps, to that, although a lot of the Bosnian Serb political leadership have endorsed this treaty.

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

### **European Union-U.S. Trade**

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

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

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

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

And in terms of the Dayton peace treaty, I think that that reflects—the positive European response there reflects a very high level of cooperation between the United States

and Europe in foreign policy and security matters.

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

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

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

### **NATO Secretary General**

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

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

### **Bosnia and the Budget**

**Q.** Mr. President, you've spent now almost a week on this side of the Atlantic, and you're about to get back to Washington. How, if at all, has this experience in Europe affected

your thinking in regards to selling—Bosnia once to get back to a skeptical Congress and—American public, especially—and also the spill-over, if any, on how you will deal with the December 15th looming deadline with the budget? Is there any relationship between Bosnia and the budget?

**The President.** Let me answer the first question, and then I'll attempt to answer the second one. [*Laughter*] I know I can answer the first one.

I have seen again, from the address I made to the Parliament in London, to the people in the streets in Belfast and Derry, to the teeming throng in the streets of Dublin, to the Irish Parliament, and then on to a meeting with Chancellor Kohl as we met with the American troops, and then coming here and having my meeting with Prime Minister Gonzalez and President Santer today, the importance of American leadership and American partnership in Europe.

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

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

You know, when those people turned out in the streets in Ireland—all those young people, Protestant and Catholic alike—demanding the right to be heard on behalf of peace and their future, responding to an

American President, it was because of everything America has stood for over 200 years, not just the initiatives of our administration and the things I have personally done to promote peace there but everything we represent. And I would hope that because we have the chance to do good things, and because we have the chance to do it in a way that minimizes our risks and relies on our strengths, that the American people and the Congress would respond.

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

The lesson I draw as an American from this trip in terms of the budget negotiations is that if we're going to be strong abroad, we have to be strong at home. And the policy we are following is working. The economy is better than it was 3 years ago. We're making progress on our social problems. We should not take a radical detour from the disciplined direction we have gone to grow the economy, to expand the middle class, to shrink the under class. And we should do nothing that would send the signal to the world that we are less successful economically, that we are promoting inequality, that we are being less humane and less caring and less sensitive as a country to our own people within our borders. That is what I know.

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

**Prime Minister Gonzalez.** Thank you. I have promised firmly to keep on schedule, and we've reached the end. Thank you.

NOTE: The President's 109th news conference began at 11:50 a.m. at the Moncloa Palace. The President met with Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez of Spain, in his capacity as President of the European Council, and Jacques Santer, President of the European Commission. Prime Minister Gonzalez spoke in Spanish, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. In his remarks, the

President referred to President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia and Sir Leon Brittan, Vice President of the European Commission.

### **Remarks at the Kennedy Center Honors Reception**

*December 3, 1995*

I am delighted to see you here. I am delighted to see you here on this, what is really the first day of our Christmas season. It is true that Hillary saw these decorations a couple of hours ago, but I went up and crashed. You saw them all before I did. *[Laughter]*

This is a happy time at the White House, and this is an appropriate way to begin. As all of you know, we've just come home from Europe, from a trip to London, Belfast, Dublin, to see our forces in Germany, and to Madrid.

I was especially moved again, as I think every person who goes to Ireland is, by the incredible power of the art of Ireland. The Irish playwright John Millington Synge wrote of artists that they know the stars, the flowers and the birds, and converse with the mountains, moors, and ferns. Today we honor five such artists, and I am delighted to see so many more in the audience tonight joining us. I think all of us know that our Nation and our world are in a period of profound change, perhaps the most sweeping period of change in the way we work and live and relate to one another in a hundred years. We know that there is an enormous amount of possibility in this period and still a great deal to trouble the soul.

At such a time we have to do everything we can to imagine the right kind of future and to remember what is best and constant about human nature throughout all ages. And so at this time we need our artists in a special way, in a profound way. And so, especially at this Christmas season, I welcome all of you to the White House.

Joseph Jacques d'Amboise was a natural athlete and a tough street kid in New York City. He discovered his true gift one day when he took his sister to ballet class and discovered the new sport of dance. Ever since that day he has taken ballet into the neighborhoods and consciousness of America in a way that no other performer has. He

has made ballet strong as well as beautiful. Through his performances in "Carousel," "Seven Brides for Seven Brothers," and "Stars and Stripes," a distinctively American ballet created especially for him. He danced until he was 50, which may be young in some careers, but not in ballet; I'm not so sure it's young in others, as well. *[Laughter]* Today we thank you for sharing your talents by teaching dance to a whole new generation of performers. We thank you for your work as a performer and choreographer, and for giving new dimension to the world of ballet.

Marilyn Horne made her professional debut at the age of four when she sang at a fundraiser for President Roosevelt—that's Franklin Roosevelt—*[laughter]*—and it was very late in his term of service. *[Laughter]* Showing good judgment in art and politics, she still had a glitch or two in the road. Her career didn't exactly take off in a straight line. In fact, she was rejected from her grade school glee club because her voice was too powerful. By age 17, however, she was back on track giving a solo recital in the Hollywood Bowl and dubbing the music for the title role in the film "Carmen Jones." She went on to form a legendary partnership with Joan Sutherland, to record remarkable Christmas carols and, most of all, to light up the opera houses of the world with a spirit as magnificent as her songs. And today as she continues to perform, she is passing on her sheer love of music and her generous spirit.

In addition, Marilyn, to thanking you on behalf of the American people, let me thank you again for your several years of friendship to me and to Hillary and for gracing our inauguration with your beautiful voice.

Thank you.

Riley B. King was known during his days on Memphis's Beale Street as "the blues boy." Eventually he became known to all America simply as B.B. King. For generations of Americans the music and the man are synonymous. Like nearly everyone else my age, I grew up listening to "Three O'Clock Blues." B.B. King was a troubadour on the American road. He spent decades touring, perfecting, and inventing. The sounds he created became the soul of a new music, with Jerry Garcia, Eric Clapton, and the Rolling Stones all modeling their music

after his. He has traveled the world to represent our country, and set hands clapping from London to Lagos. He still averages—listen to this—275 performances a year. Music is his life, and yes, the blues is B.B. King.

When Sidney Poitier left Cat Island in the Bahamas for Miami at the age of 15, he was stunned at the signs of segregation, signs that read “colored” and “white.” More than any other person, he would remove those signs from the world of film. He broke these barriers by sheer force of his powerful presence on screen. From the start he was a leading man, and his performances have become landmarks in America’s consciousness of itself. When he filmed “Cry, The Beloved Country,” he had to enter South Africa as an indentured servant to the director. But we are all grateful to him and in his service for the way he has graced the screen with films like “To Sir, With Love,” “Guess Who’s Coming To Dinner,” “A Raisin In The Sun,” and many, many others. He has captivated us with his performances and reminded us that excellence comes in all colors.

Thank you for entertaining and educating America with dignity, strength, and grace, Sidney Poitier.

Marvin Neil Simon’s humor distills the essence of his life and our lives, sometimes whether we like it or not. [*Laughter*] He has written the lines behind the laughs of Phil Silvers, Victor Borge, Buddy Hackett, and Jackie Gleason. He collaborated with Sid Caesar on what many people hailed as “the best show ever on television.” He has written a string of magnificent hit plays unprecedented in the history of the American theater.

Audiences found them so funny that at first, that few people noticed the gentle, deep, and sometimes sharp truths behind the comedy. Felix and Oscar became American archetypes. We saw what it was to grow up in “Brighton Beach Memoirs” and to grow older in “The Sunshine Boys.” We saw flaws and foibles and faults, but always, through them all, the indomitability of the human spirit. Neil Simon takes his work seriously, but he challenges us and himself never to take ourselves too seriously.

Thank you for the wit and the wisdom.

Today we meet at the summit of five lives of artistic grace and greatness. Jacques d’Amboise, Marilyn Horne, B.B. King, Sidney Poitier and Neil Simon, we are pleased to honor all of you for your work. But more importantly, we honor you for your spirit and your heart.

Thank you, and congratulations.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:03 p.m. in the East Room at the White House.

### **Remarks on Signing the Human Rights Proclamation**

*December 5, 1995*

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

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

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

These people and so many more like them are the human faces of the war in Bosnia. They are the story behind the unbelievable numbers of a quarter of a million dead, 2 million people displaced, more than half the population of pre-war Bosnia.

Many of you have actually witnessed and documented the war’s atrocities firsthand, the executions, the ethnic cleansing, the rape

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

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

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

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

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

The climate of security NATO creates in Bosnia will allow a separate, broad international relief effort for relief and reconstruction to begin. That's where many of you come in. I cannot overstate the importance of that effort. For peace to endure, the people of Bosnia must receive the tangible benefits of peace. They must have the food, the

medicine, the shelter, the clothing so many have been denied for so long. Roads must be repaired, the schools and hospitals rebuilt, the factories and shops refurbished and reopened. Families must be reunited and refugees returned home. Elections must be held so that those devoted to reconciliation can lead their people to a future together. And those guilty of war crimes must be punished, because no peace will long endure without justice.

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

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

Sunday is International Human Rights Day, the anniversary of the adoption by the United Nations of the universal declaration of human rights in 1948. For nearly 4 years the war in Bosnia did terrible violence to the principles of that declaration. It destroyed hundreds of thousands of lives. It ruined countless futures.

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

I am now very pleased to sign this proclamation designating December 10th, 1995 as Human Rights Day, and December 10th through 16th as Human Rights Week. Let us make sure that for the next year, it will be a human rights year in Bosnia.

Thank you very much.

[At this point the President signed the proclamation.]

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

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:42 a.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building.

**Proclamation 6855—Human Rights Day, Bill of Rights Day, and Human Rights Week, 1995**

*December 5, 1995*

*By the President of the United States of America*

**A Proclamation**

More than 200 years ago, America's founders adopted the Bill of Rights to ensure the protection of our individual liberties. Enshrined in our Constitution are the fundamental guarantees to freedom of conscience, religion, expression, and association, as well as the rights to due process and a fair trial. Our Nation was formed on the principle that the protection and promotion of these rights are essential to a free and democratic society.

Peoples throughout the world look to the United States for leadership on human rights. In the aftermath of the Holocaust and the devastation of two world wars, our country led the international effort toward adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. For the nearly 50 years since December 10, 1948, this document has served as the standard for internationally accepted behavior by nations toward their citizens.

This year, our work to promote peace in areas of conflict and to support human rights, democracy, and the rule of law have continued to make a difference around the globe. Most recently, our efforts to foster a settlement to the terrible conflict in Bosnia resulted in an agreement that contains clear

protections for human rights and humanitarian principles.

In Bosnia, and throughout the world, we have paid special attention to the most vulnerable victims of abuse—women and children. At the Fourth World Conference on Women in September of this year, the First Lady underscored our commitment to defending the rights of women and families, and we have undertaken a range of initiatives to raise awareness of child exploitation, to oppose child labor, and to assist young victims of war.

We live in an era of great advances for freedom and democracy. Yet, sadly, it also remains a time of ongoing suffering and hardship in many countries. As a Nation long committed to promoting individual rights and human dignity, let us continue our efforts to ensure that people in all regions of the globe enjoy the same freedoms and basic human rights that have always made America great.

**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 10, 1995, as Human Rights Day, December 15, 1995, as Bill of Rights Day, and December 10 through December 16, 1995, as Human Rights Week. I call upon the people of the United States to celebrate these observances with appropriate programs, ceremonies, and activities that demonstrate our national commitment to the Constitution and the promotion of human rights for all people.

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

**William J. Clinton**

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 4:35 p.m., December 5, 1995]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on December 7.

**Executive Order 12981—  
Administration of Export Controls**  
*December 5, 1995*

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including but not limited to the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 *et. seq.*) (“the Act”), and in order to take additional steps with respect to the national emergency described and declared in Executive Order No. 12924 of August 19, 1994, and continued on August 15, 1995,

**I, William J. Clinton**, President of the United States of America, find that it is necessary for the procedures set forth below to apply to export license applications submitted under the Act and the Export Administration Regulations (15 C.F.R. Part 730 *et. seq.*) (“the Regulations”) or under any renewal of, or successor to, the Export Administration Act of 1979, as amended (50 U.S.C. App. 2401 *et. seq.*) (“the Export Administration Act”), and the Regulations. Accordingly, it is hereby ordered as follows:

**Section 1. License Review.** To the extent permitted by law and consistent with Executive Order No. 12924 of August 19, 1994, the power, authority, and discretion conferred upon the Secretary of Commerce (“the Secretary”) under the Export Administration Act to require, review, and make final determinations with regard to export licenses, documentation, and other forms of information submitted to the Department of Commerce pursuant to the Act and the Regulations or under any renewal of, or successor to, the Export Administration Act and the Regulations, with the power of successive re-delegation, shall continue. The Departments of State, Defense, and Energy, and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency each shall have the authority to review any export license application submitted to the Department of Commerce pursuant to the Act and the Regulations or under any renewal of, or successor to, the Export Administration Act and the Regulations. The Secretary may refer license applications to other United States Government departments or agencies for review as appropriate. In the event that a department or agency determines that certain

types of applications need not be referred to it, such department or agency shall notify the Department of Commerce as to the specific types of such applications that it does not wish to review. All departments or agencies shall promptly respond, on a case-by-case basis, to requests from other departments or agencies for historical information relating to past license applications.

**Section 2. Determinations.** (a) All license applications submitted under the Act and the Regulations or any renewal of, or successor to, the Export Administration Act and the Regulations, shall be resolved or referred to the President no later than 90 calendar days after registration of the completed license application.

(b) The following actions related to processing a license application submitted under the Act and the Regulations or any renewal of, or successor to, the Export Administration Act and the Regulations shall not be counted in calculating the time periods prescribed in this order:

(1) *Agreement of the Applicant.* Delays upon which the Secretary and the applicant mutually agree.

(2) *Preliminary Checks.* Preliminary checks through government channels that may be required to establish the identity and reliability of the recipient of items controlled under the Act and the Regulations or any renewal of, or successor to, the Export Administration Act and the Regulations, provided that:

(A) the need for such preliminary check is established by the Secretary, or by another department or agency if the request for preliminary check is made by such department or agency;

(B) the Secretary requests the preliminary check within 5 days of the determination that it is necessary; and

(C) the Secretary completes the analysis of the result of the preliminary check within 5 days.

(3) *Requests for Government-To-Government Assurances.* Requests for government-to-government assurances of suitable end-use of items approved for export under the Act and the Regulations or any renewal of, or successor to, the Export Administration Act and the Regulations, when failure to ob-

tain such assurances would result in rejection of the application, provided that:

(A) the request for such assurances is sent to the Secretary of State within 5 days of the determination that the assurances are required;

(B) the Secretary of State initiates the request of the relevant government within 10 days thereafter; and

(C) the license is issued within 5 days of the Secretary's receipt of the requested assurances. Whenever such prelicense checks and assurances are not requested within the time periods set forth above, they must be accomplished within the time periods established by this section.

(4) *Multilateral Reviews.* Multilateral review of a license application as provided for under the Act and the Regulations or any renewal of, or successor to, the Export Administration Act and the Regulations, as long as multilateral review is required by the relevant multilateral regime.

(5) *Consultations.* Consultation with other governments, if such consultation is provided for by a relevant multilateral regime or bilateral arrangement as a precondition for approving a license.

**Sec. 3. Initial Processing.** Within 9 days of registration of any license application, the Secretary shall, as appropriate:

(a) request additional information from the applicant. The time required for the applicant to supply the additional information shall not be counted in calculating the time periods prescribed in this section.

(b) refer the application and pertinent information to agencies or departments as stipulated in section 1 of this order, and forward to the agencies any relevant information submitted by the applicant that could not be reduced to electronic form.

(c) assure that the stated classification on the application is correct; return the application if a license is not required; and, if referral to other departments or agencies is not required, grant the application or notify the applicant of the Secretary's intention to deny the application.

**Sec. 4. Department or Agency Review.** (a) Each reviewing department or agency shall specify to the Secretary, within 10 days of receipt of a referral as specified in subsection

3(b), any information not in the application that would be required to make a determination, and the Secretary shall promptly request such information from the applicant. If, after receipt of the information so specified or other new information, a reviewing department or agency concludes that additional information would be required to make a determination, it shall promptly specify that additional information to the Secretary, and the Secretary shall promptly request such information from the applicant. The time that may elapse between the date the information is requested by the reviewing department or agency and the date the information is received by the reviewing department or agency shall not be counted in calculating the time periods prescribed in this order. Such information specified by reviewing departments or agencies is in addition to any information that may be requested by the Department of Commerce on its own initiative during the first 9 days after registration of an application.

(b) Within 30 days of receipt of a referral and all required information, a department or agency shall provide the Secretary with a recommendation either to approve or deny the license application. As appropriate, such recommendation may be with the benefit of consultation and discussions in interagency groups established to provide expertise and coordinate interagency consultation. A recommendation that the Secretary deny a license shall include a statement of the reasons for such recommendation that are consistent with the provisions of the Act and the Regulations or any renewal of, or successor to, the Export Administration Act and the Regulations and shall cite both the statutory and the regulatory bases for the recommendation to deny. A department or agency that fails to provide a recommendation within 30 days with a statement of reasons and the statutory and regulatory bases shall be deemed to have no objection to the decision of the Secretary.

**Sec. 5. Interagency Dispute Resolution.** (a) *Committees.* (1)(A) *Export Administration Review Board.* The Export Administration Review Board ("the Board"), which was established by Executive Order No. 11533 of June 4, 1970, and continued in Executive Order No. 12002 of July 7, 1977, is hereby

continued. The Board shall have as its members, the Secretary, who shall be Chair of the Board, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of Energy, and the Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Director of Central Intelligence shall be nonvoting members of the Board. No alternate Board Members shall be designated, but the acting head or deputy head of any member department or agency may serve in lieu of the head of the concerned department or agency. The Board may invite the heads of other United States Government departments or agencies, other than the departments or agencies represented by the Board members, to participate in the activities of the Board when matters of interest to such departments or agencies are under consideration.

(B) The Secretary may, from time to time, refer to the Board such particular export license matters, involving questions of national security or other major policy issues, as the Secretary shall select. The Secretary shall also refer to the Board any other such export license matter, upon the request of any other member of the Board or the head of any other United States Government department or agency having any interest in such matter. The Board shall consider the matters so referred to it, giving due consideration to the foreign policy of the United States, the national security, the domestic economy, and concerns about the proliferation of armaments, weapons of mass destruction, missile delivery systems, and advanced conventional weapons and shall make recommendations thereon to the Secretary.

(2) *Advisory Committee on Export Policy.* An Advisory Committee on Export Policy ("ACEP") is established and shall have as its members the Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Export Administration, who shall be Chair of the ACEP, and Assistant Secretary-level representatives of the Departments of State, Defense, and Energy, and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Appropriation representatives of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and of the Nonproliferation Center of the Central Intelligence Agency shall be nonvoting members of the ACEP. Representatives of the departments or agen-

cies shall be the appropriate Assistant Secretary or equivalent (or appropriate acting Assistant Secretary or equivalent in lieu of the Assistant Secretary or equivalent) of the concerned department or agency, or appropriate Deputy Assistant Secretary or equivalent (or the appropriate acting Deputy Assistant Secretary or equivalent in lieu of the Deputy Assistant Secretary or equivalent) of the concerned department or agency. Regardless of the department or agency representative's rank, such representative shall speak and vote at the ACEP on behalf of the appropriate Assistant Secretary or equivalent of such department or agency. The ACEP may invite Assistant Secretary-level representatives of other United States Government departments or agencies, other than the departments and agencies represented by the ACEP members, to participate in the activities of the ACEP when matters of interest to such departments or agencies are under consideration.

(3)(A) *Operating Committee.* An Operating Committee ("OC") of the ACEP is established. The Secretary shall appoint its Chair, who shall also serve as Executive Secretary of the ACEP. Its other members shall be representatives of appropriate agencies in the Departments of Commerce, State, Defense, and Energy, and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. The appropriate representatives of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Nonproliferation Center of the Central Intelligence Agency shall be nonvoting members of the OC. The OC may invite representatives of other United States Government departments or agencies, other than the departments and agencies represented by the OC members, to participate in the activities of the OC when matters of interest to such departments or agencies are under consideration.

(B) The OC shall review all license applications on which the reviewing departments and agencies are not in agreement. The Chair of the OC shall consider the recommendations of the reviewing departments and agencies and inform them of his or her decision on any such matters within 14 days after the deadline for receiving department and agency recommendations. As described below, any reviewing department or agency

may appeal the decision of the Chair of the OC to the Chair of the ACEP. In the absence of a timely appeal, the Chair's decision will be final.

(b) *Resolution Procedures.* (1) If any department or agency disagrees with a licensing determination of the Department of Commerce made through the OC, it may appeal the matter to the ACEP for resolution. A department or agency must appeal a matter within 5 days of such a decision. Appeals must be in writing from an official appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, or an officer properly acting in such capacity, and must cite both the statutory and the regulatory bases for the appeal. The ACEP shall review all departments' and agencies' information and recommendations, and the Chair of the ACEP shall inform the reviewing departments and agencies of the majority vote decision of the ACEP within 11 days from the date of receiving notice of the appeal. Within 5 days of the majority vote decision, any dissenting department or agency may appeal the decision by submitting a letter from the head of the department or agency to the Secretary in his or her capacity as the Chair of the Board. Such letter shall cite both the statutory and the regulatory bases for the appeal. Within the same period of time, the Secretary may call a meeting on his or her own initiative to consider a license application. In the absence of a timely appeal, the majority vote decision of the ACEP shall be final.

(2) The Board shall review all departments' and agencies' information and recommendations, and such other export control matters as may be appropriate. The Secretary shall inform the reviewing departments and agencies of the majority vote of the Board within 11 days from the date of receiving notice of appeal. Within 5 days of the decision, any department or agency dissenting from the majority vote decision of the Board may appeal the decision by submitting a letter from the head of the dissenting department or agency to the President. In the absence of a timely appeal, the majority vote decision of the Board shall be final.

**Sec. 6.** The license review process in this order shall take effect beginning with those license applications registered by the Sec-

retary 60 days after the date of this order and shall continue in effect to the extent not inconsistent with any renewal of the Export Administration Act, or with any successor to that Act.

**Sec. 7. Judicial Review.** This order is intended only to improve the internal management of the executive branch and is not intended to, and does not, create any rights to administrative or judicial review, or any other right or benefit or trust responsibility, substantive or procedural, enforceable by a party against the United States, its agencies or instrumentalities, its officers or employees, or any other person.

**William J. Clinton**

The White House,  
December 5, 1995.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 2:31 p.m., December 6, 1995]

NOTE: This Executive order was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on December 6, and it was published in the *Federal Register* on December 8.

### **Message to the Congress on Administration of Export Controls** *December 5, 1995*

*To the Congress of the United States:*

In order to take additional steps with respect to the national emergency described and declared in Executive Order No. 12924 of August 19, 1994, and continued on August 15, 1995, necessitated by the expiration of the Export Administration Act on August 20, 1994, I hereby report to the Congress that pursuant to section 204(b) of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, 50 U.S.C. 1703(b) ("the Act"), I have today exercised the authority granted by the Act to issue an Executive order (a copy of which is attached) to revise the existing procedures for processing export license applications submitted to the Department of Commerce.

The Executive order establishes two basic principles for processing export license applications submitted to the Department of Commerce under the Act and the Regulations, or under any renewal of, or successor to, the Export Administration Act and the

Regulations. First, all such license applications must be resolved or referred to me for resolution no later than 90 calendar days after they are submitted to the Department of Commerce. Second, the Departments of State, Defense, and Energy, and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency will have the authority to review any such license application. In addition, the Executive order sets forth specific procedures including intermediate time frames, for review and resolution of such license applications.

The Executive order is designed to make the licensing process more efficient and transparent for exporters while ensuring that our national security, foreign policy, and non-proliferation interests remain fully protected.

**William J. Clinton**

The White House,  
December 5, 1995.

NOTE: This message was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on December 6.

**Remarks to the Committee for  
American Leadership in Bosnia and  
an Exchange With Reporters**

*December 6, 1995*

**The President.** I want to welcome this distinguished group of Americans to the White House. Each of you has worked very hard throughout your career to preserve and to project America's leadership around the world. Today you have joined across partisan lines to make a strong case for America's leadership in Bosnia, and I thank you for that.

I welcome the support that you and others, including Presidents Bush and Ford, have shown for our troops and our efforts to secure a peace in Bosnia. All of you represent a spirit that has helped to keep our country strong. Regardless of party or political differences, you've stood up for America's leadership on behalf of our interests and our values.

Many of you have been working for peace in Bosnia since that terrible war began. Now that the Balkan leaders have made a commitment to peace, you know that we must help that peace take hold. You understand the importance of our action and the costs of our

failure to act, something, I might add, that has been under-discussed in the public arena in the last few weeks. Our conscience demands that we seize this chance to end the suffering, but our national security interests are deeply engaged as well.

Europe's security is still inextricably tied to America's. We need a strong Europe as a strong partner on the problems from terrorism to the spread of weapons of mass destruction. Europe's stability is threatened as long as this war burns at its center. We have to stand with the Europeans on Bosnia if we're going to stand with them and if we expect them to stand with us, on the whole range of other issues we clearly are going to face together in the years ahead.

Our engagement in Bosnia is also essential for the continued viability of NATO. All the parties, all the parties there, asked for NATO's help in securing this peace. If we're going to be NATO's leader, we have to be part of this mission. If we turn our backs on Bosnia now, our allies will do the same; the peace will fail, the conflict could spread, the slaughter will certainly resume. NATO would be shaken at its core. Its ability to shape a stable, undivided Europe would be thrown into doubt, and our leadership in Europe and around the world would pay a terrible, terrible price.

For 50 years, the bipartisan consensus for our leadership in the world has been a source of America's progress and strength. At the dawn of the post-cold-war era, that consensus is being questioned. But I believe that vision and unity are still called for.

During my recent trip to Europe, everywhere I went and every person with whom I talked, from people on the street to prime ministers, said the very same thing: American leadership matters; American leadership is welcome; American leadership is necessary. But leadership is not a spectator sport. In Bosnia, our leadership can make a difference between peace and war. It demands our participation.

I have to tell you that I knew how the European leaders felt, and I thought I knew how the people in the street felt. But the personal expression of support for America's willingness to help broker this peace agreement in Dayton and then to help participate

in the peace mission in Bosnia was more intense, more persistent, and more urgent than I had imagined, from the Prime Minister of Great Britain to the Prime Minister of Germany, to the Prime Minister of Spain, to the Prime Minister of Ireland, everyone else I talked to. This is a very, very, very important thing in terms of our relationships with Europe and what we expect in terms of a partnership with Europe in the years ahead.

Let me say to those of you who come here from both parties, I understand that bipartisanship in foreign policy has never meant agreement on every detail of every policy. And while we may differ from time to time on the specifics of our policies, we still must agree and we have never fundamentally disagreed on our purpose: to defend our interests, to preserve peace, to protect human rights, to promote prosperity around the world.

That does not mean that we can solve every problem. We cannot be the world's policeman. But when our leadership can make a difference between war and peace and when our interests are engaged, we have a duty to act. We have seen the dividends of that from the Persian Gulf to the Middle East, from North Korea to Northern Ireland to Haiti. American leadership can also produce those dividends and more in Bosnia, because we can make a difference there.

I'm convinced that this mission is clear; it's achievable. Our troops will have strong rules of engagement. They will operate under an American general. They will be fully trained and heavily armed. Our commanders have done all they can to minimize the risks and to maximize their ability to carry out a clearly defined mission with a clear end point. There will be no mission creep.

The peace agreement has given these parties a real opportunity to have a peaceful future. But they can't do it alone, and they're looking to us to help.

America is seen by all of them as an honest broker and a fair player. Each of you has played a role in creating that image, and I want to thank you for that as much as anything else. The thing that has constantly impressed me as I have dealt with people all around the world is that people believe we

are a nation with no bad motives for them or their future.

That is what has made this moment possible in Bosnia, that is what has also imposed upon us our responsibilities at this moment. For all that you have done to bring that about and for your support today, I thank you very, very much.

Thank you.

**Q.** Do you think you can bring the House along with you, Mr. President?

**The President.** Well, one thing at a time. I think we're better off today than we were yesterday. We're working on it day-by-day. I'm encouraged. I had a good visit with the Speaker about it yesterday, and I talked with several Members who were here last night at the annual congressional ball. And we're working at it.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10 a.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House.

## Remarks to the White House Conference on HIV and AIDS

December 6, 1995

**The President.** First of all, thank you, Sean, and thank you, Eileen. Thank you, Patsy Fleming and Secretary Shalala, Secretary Cisneros. Thank you, Dr. Scott Hitt, and all the members of the President's advisory council. I think most of them were actually sitting in the overflow room so the rest of you can be here. But I thank them—[*Laughter*]. We heard them. Let's give them a hand; maybe they can hear us. [*Applause*] Thank you. I thank Dr. Varmus, Dr. Kessler, all the others here who are involved in the dramatic effort that they are making in the fight against AIDS. Most of all, I thank all of you for coming and for giving us a chance to have this first-ever White House Conference on HIV and AIDS.

So much has been said by the speakers who have spoken before, and so much is still to be said by the panelists and perhaps by some of you in the audience, but I'm going to do what I can to shorten my remarks, because I want to spend most of my time listening to you and focusing on where we go from

here. But there are a few things that I would like to say.

First of all, this is a disease, and we have never before had a disease we could not conquer. We can conquer this. I believe that—in my lifetime, we've eliminated smallpox from the planet and polio from our hemisphere. We can do better, and we can do better until we prevail.

The threat of AIDS, just the very threat of it, has changed the lives of millions of people. And you heard from the talk about prevention, about which I want to say more in moment, it needs to change the lives of millions of more Americans. It has taken too many friends and loved ones from every one of us in this room. For millions of people it has shaken their very faith in the future.

But it's also inspired a remarkable community spirit. One of the people on this program today, Demetri Moshoyannis, who is right behind me, grew up in a typical American—I think he's still there—[*Laughter*—grew up in typical American suburb in a typical American community. He attended college, became politically active. With a quick mind and an active spirit, he was clearly a rising star. After graduating, he joined the Corporation for National Service to help us start AmeriCorps.

While he was working for AmeriCorps, he found out he was HIV positive at the ripe old age of 23. He took the news as a challenge, to use his communications skills, his organizational skills, and his leadership skills to educate and support his peers and help them escape the threat. He represents the combination of heartbreak and hope that makes this epidemic so unique. I am grateful to him, grateful to Sean, grateful to Eileen, grateful to every one of you who also represents that remarkable combination. We have to be worthy of your continuing courage.

Twelve days ago, the Centers for Disease Control reported that our Nation reached another sad milestone in the AIDS epidemic: A half million Americans have now been diagnosed with AIDS, and more than 300,000 have died. On this very day, and on every day from this day forward until we do something to change it, 120 more Americans will lose their lives, another 160 people will be

diagnosed with the disease, nearly 140 will become infected with HIV.

That's why this meeting is important. It gives us an opportunity to say to America what the facts are, to rally our troops, to search our minds and hearts, to leave here with more weapons than we came to make progress in this battle.

Our common goal must ultimately be a cure, a cure for all those who are living with HIV and a vaccine to protect all the rest of us from the virus. A cure and a vaccine: That must be our first and top priority.

When I ran for President, I said that I would do everything I could to pull together the necessary resources and to organize them and to exercise real direction toward this goal. At a time of dramatic spending cuts, as Secretary Shalala said, we have nonetheless increased overall AIDS funding by about 40 percent. If my budget passes—and on this item, it actually might pass this year—we'll have a 26 percent increase in research. For the first time since the beginning of the epidemic, there is now one person in charge of the Nation's entire NIH AIDS research program, Dr. William Paul. And though more budget cuts are coming, we have got to protect the research budget and the Office of AIDS Research. I will oppose any effort to undermine the research effort or the Office of AIDS Research.

I want all our fellow Americans to know that this investment in science has paid tremendous dividends. Today people with AIDS live twice as long as they did just 10 years ago, especially those who seek early treatment. AIDS-related conditions that used to mean a quick and often very painful death for people living with HIV can now be treated and even prevented.

Since this administration began, I also want to compliment Dr. Kessler and the FDA. In record time they are now approving new classes of AIDS drugs that will help to restore the damaged immune systems of people with HIV. Indeed, there was a study released last week which says that the United States is now approving drugs faster than any European nation. And a drug company executive was recently quoted as saying that we are now 2 years ahead of Europe in the ap-

proval of AIDS drugs. Thank you; bring on more. This is a good direction.

Again, we have a lot to look forward to. Combination drug therapies are showing great promise as a means for controlling the virus in the human body. And just last year, we found that the use of drug therapy could actually block HIV transmission from mother to child. Our scientists tell me it's within our grasp to virtually eliminate pediatric AIDS by the end of the decade by offering all pregnant women HIV counseling and testing and guaranteeing that they have access to the treatment they need to protect their unborn children. We can give a generation of Americans the freedom of being born without HIV. We can do it, and we will.

I think all of us know we have to do more. And you may have ideas for us. In the end—I want to emphasize this over and over again—whenever we have these conferences, it's important for the President to speak, but it's also important for the President and the administration to hear. And you don't learn much when you're talking. So I want to urge you all here during this meeting today and afterward in following up, we are combing the country and the world for the best ideas about what to do next.

To move the search for a cure forward and to accelerate the pace, I have asked the Vice President to convene a meeting of scientists and leaders of the pharmaceutical industry to identify all the ways in which we might accelerate the development of vaccines, therapeutics, and microbicides that can protect people from HIV and the infections it causes. There are no guarantees in science, of course, but the collective will of government and industry can overcome huge obstacles as we have seen just in the last few years.

Second, let me say I am very pleased that the decision that was made at the NIH to put Dr. Paul in charge of coordinating the AIDS research of the NIH, for the first to have it all reconciled, coordinated, and directed, has worked out very well. But we need to extend this effort Government-wide. That's why I have asked Patsy Fleming to coordinate an inter-departmental working group that will be chaired by Dr. Paul to develop a coordinated plan for HIV and AIDS research all across every single Department

of our Government, including developing a coordinated research budget. And I want a report in the next 90 days. That is the next important step to move forward.

We can't afford any unnecessary delays or missed opportunities. And I'm convinced that these two steps will help us to avoid those.

In addition to the work in research, we have to continue to do what we can to assure that those who are living with HIV and AIDS get the support and the care they need. And I want to talk about this in some detail.

For people with AIDS, the current debate over how to balance the Federal budget is far more than a question of political rhetoric. It is a matter of survival, primarily because of Medicaid. Even if we are successful, and I believe we will be, in reauthorizing the Ryan White CARE Act, at higher levels of funding—and as you heard the Secretary say, we've increased funding by, I believe, 108 percent in the last 3 years—that is less than 20 percent of the total money spent to care for people with HIV and AIDS.

Medicaid is the lifeline of support. It provides health care for nearly half of the 190,000 Americans living with AIDS, including 90 percent of the children. It provides access to doctors, to hospitals, to drugs, to home care, the things that allow people to live their lives more fully. It pays for the drugs that keep HIV under control for longer and longer periods of time. And it pays for drugs that prevent the infections that often end the lives of those with AIDS. Medicaid pays for the care that allows families to stay together.

Yet today, Medicaid, a program that par-enthetically also is eligible to cover one in five American children—that's how many—22 percent of our children are living in such difficult circumstances that they are eligible for Medicaid. And one of the things about the congressional budget that I objected to so strongly is that it slashes spending on Medicaid by over \$160 billion and turns it into a block grant, thus eliminating a 30-year national commitment we have made to the poor, especially to poor children, which I might say has given us the lowest infant mortality rate in our history. It is the one thing we have done that has helped us to drive

down infant mortality among poor people who otherwise never see doctors. It has given elderly people, millions of them, a dignified life in nursing home or getting home care. And it has helped people with disabilities, not just people with HIV and AIDS but millions and millions of families on limited incomes with children born with cerebral palsy, children born with spina bifida, families that could never afford to buy a decent wheelchair for their children, much less send them to camp in the summertime or have them in an appropriate living setting. And it is the lifeline for people with HIV and AIDS.

I say again, the Ryan White health care act is important. I'm proud of the fact that we have doubled the funding. I am fighting for more funding this year. I am proud of the fact that it enjoys some bipartisan support in the Congress. I am proud of the fact that when there was an attempt in the Senate to eviscerate it and turn it into a political football, the Senate almost unanimously turned it back.

But be not deceived; we could double it. And if this Medicaid budget goes through, it is a stake in the heart of our efforts to guarantee dignity to the people with AIDS in this country. *[Applause]* Thank you.

I want to say one other thing. I want to thank the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development for the work that he has done to increase opportunities in housing for people living with AIDS. We have taken some tremendous hits in the HUD budget, some of them we have inflicted in an attempt to get the deficit down. And there will doubtless be further reductions which will require reorganization on an unprecedented scale at the Department. But Henry Cisneros and I were together on the day before Thanksgiving at a shelter serving food, and he told me again the one thing that we must not do is to undermine the ability of the Department of Housing and Urban Development to try to provide dignified, adequate, compassionate housing opportunities for people living with AIDS.

So I say to you, when we talk about balancing the budget, I'd like to remind you that our administration has cut the deficit nearly in half in ways that were honorable and fair and enabled us to increase our investment

in things that mattered, not just the war against AIDS but education, technology, medical research, the environment, to bring the deficit down and lift the society up. And that's the way we ought to approach this.

I want to say more about this in a minute, but this budget debate, because it requires tough choices, will inevitably require us to define what kind of people we really are. When times are easy and you can just dole out money to everybody that shows up at the door, it's pretty hard to tell what your values are. When times are tough and you have to say yes some places and no others, it becomes far, far clearer.

So I ask you to help us in the fight against the Medicaid cuts, to help us to preserve Secretary Cisneros's ability to support housing opportunities.

I got the message. I heard what you said about prevention. I would point out that in the last 2 years we have asked for increases in our prevention budget. But I am very worried about what's happening there because of what has already been said.

We have to set a goal. And I hope you will suggest one coming out of this conference. We have to reduce the number of new infections each and every year until there are no more new infections. And we all have to do that.

We know that for this to work it has to be targeted and it has to be sustained, as the gay community demonstrated in the 1980's. We know now we have to pay particular attention to young people and those who abuse drugs. There is a lot of evidence that huge numbers of our young teenagers continue to be completely heedless of the risks of their behavior.

I was pleased to see the public service announcements that Secretary Shalala released to educate young people and to urge them to take responsibility to protect themselves. I would say we ought to go further, and you need to help us. We have to educate these kids, but we also have to tell them they cannot be heedless of the consequences of their behavior.

It is not enough to know; they must act. It is in the nature—it is one of the joys of childhood that children think they will live forever. It is one of the curses of childhood

in some of our meanest neighborhoods that children think they won't live to be much beyond 25 anyway. In a perverse way, both of those attitudes are contributing to the problems, because one group of our children thinks that they are at no risk because nothing can ever happen to them; they're bullet-proof. Another group believed that no matter what they do, they don't have much of a future anyway. And they are bound together in a death spiral when it comes to this. This is crazy. We have got to find some way to tell them: You must stop this.

We are doing what we can to make those toughest neighborhoods safer. Believe it or not, amidst all the talk here in Washington, you could hardly know it, but out there in America in almost every community, the crime rate is down, the welfare rolls are down, the food stamp rolls are down, the poverty rolls have dropped for the first time in over a decade. Why? Because if you invest in people and their future and jobs are created and people go to work and hope begins to be infused in people's lives, all the problems we talk about here in Washington give way to opportunities in the lives of people.

But we see with this problem, whether there is an atmosphere of opportunity or an atmosphere of hopelessness, too many teenagers are ignoring the responsibility they have to protect themselves. We have to find better ways, and maybe more help from different people, to get inside their minds, to shake their spirits, to make them know we care about them and we want them to have a future. But we cannot do the one thing that only they can do, which is to control their own decisions. And we have to do more. And if you've got any better ideas for me, believe me, I am all ears.

I want to say, too, just a little word about the importance of trying to tie our prevention efforts with HIV and AIDS to our prevention efforts with drugs and substance abuse, because that's the second big problem area of populations. In 1993 and again in the crime bill in 1994, we increased our Federal investment with drug treatment. And I'm working to try to convince Congress to do even more. We know that the right kind of treatment programs work. We know that the right kind

of prevention programs work. And we know that we can marry the two.

I've asked the CDC to convene a meeting of State and local people involved in both public health and drug prevention to develop an action plan that integrates HIV prevention and substance abuse prevention. And I hope that we can do that and do it now, because I think it will make a significant difference.

I have to tell you that I am very worried that what we see with the HIV rates among juveniles is now being mirrored in drug use. Last year's statistics showed unbelievably that drug use among people 18 to 34 was going down but casual drug use among people 12 to 17 was going up. I think it is clearly because there are too many kids out there raising themselves, thinking nobody cares about them, and not thinking there's much of a future. So we have to deal with these two things together.

And while we search for a cure, work to improve treatment, strive to prevent new cases and to protect the hard-won gains of the past, I'd also like to say just a word about the basic human rights of people living with HIV and AIDS.

AIDS-related discrimination unfortunately remains a problem that offends America's conscious. The Americans with Disabilities Act now offers more than 40 million Americans living with physical or mental disabilities, including those living with HIV and AIDS, protection against discrimination. And the Justice Department, the Department of Health and Human Services, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, they have been vigorously enforcing the ADA. We're about to launch a new effort to ensure that health care facilities provide equal access to people with HIV and AIDS.

We simply cannot let our fears outweigh our common sense or our compassion. And as Sean said, we can't let our bigotry—to use his word, we can't let our homophobia blind us to our obligations. I say that for two reasons. One is that the fastest growing group of people with the HIV virus are not gay men. This is not a disease that fits into the homophobic world view. But the second reason is that regardless of sexual orientation or race or income or even whether a person has sadly fallen victim to drug abuse—as some-

one who has lived in a family with an alcoholic and with a drug abuser—every person—I say this with clear knowledge, experience, and conviction—every person with HIV or AIDS is somebody's son or daughter, somebody's brother or sister, somebody's parent, somebody's grandparent.

And when we forget this, when we forget that all the people who deal with this are our fellow Americans and that most of them share our values and our hopes and our dreams and deserve dignity and decency in the treatment we give them, we forget a very great thing that makes this a special country. And we forget it at our own peril.

In one way or another nearly every person in America at one time in his or her life has been subject to some sort of scorn. Woodrow Wilson once said that you could break a person with scornful words just as surely as with sticks and beat him. And I think that's an important thing, too, to remember.

The American people need to know that everybody in this country and, indeed, throughout the world, is now vulnerable to this disease. We need to identify what our responsibilities are in this country and our responsibilities to developing countries are to deal with the problem, to search for a cure, to search for a vaccine, to deal with the treatment issues. But I'm not sure it doesn't begin with dealing with our own hearts and minds on this. That's where you have to come in.

Frederick Douglass said, during the great struggle against slavery, that it was not light that is needed, but fire; not the gentle shower, but thunder; the feeling of the Nation must be quickened, the conscience of the Nation must be roused. That's what you came here to do.

Don't forget this: Most Americans are good people. The great burden we have as Americans is that when we have to deal with something new, too often we can't deal with it from imagination and empathy, we have to actually experience it first. I do not want to wait until every single family has somebody die before we have a good policy.

So I ask you—I understand anger and frustration, but I will never understand it until someday and something happens to me, and I know the sand is running out of my hourglass. So I can't totally understand it. But I

ask all of you to remember this: This is fundamentally a good country. Alexis de Tocqueville said in the 1830's that this was a great country because we are a good country. And if we ever stop being a good country, we would no longer be a great country.

So I ask you to use this moment to give America a chance to be great about this issue, give our people a chance to feel this the way you feel it, to see it the way you see it, to know it the way you know it.

When I was getting ready for the conference yesterday, I called Bob Hattoy, sitting back there in the room. I said, "What do you think I ought to say tomorrow? What do you think is going to happen?" We were talking, and he said, "I think you ought to think about all the people who waged this battle with us in 1992 who aren't around anymore." And so we just went through them name by name.

And then right before I came over here I looked at the picture of little Ricky Ray that I keep on my desk at the White House in the Oval Office. And I remembered his family and the members that are still struggling with it.

Give the country a chance to be great about this. Shake them up. Shake me up. Push us all hard. But do it in a way that remembers this is fundamentally a good country. Every now—when we stray, we get off the track a little bit, but we're still around for more than 200 years because most of the time, when the chips are down, we do the right thing. And I am convinced that people like you can get this country, starting here in Washington, to do the right thing.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

[At this point, Dr. Renslow Sherer, director of the AIDS clinic at Cook County Hospital in Chicago, IL, discussed methods for improving primary care for HIV patients.]

**The President.** Thank you.

I want to ask one brief question, if I might. One of the difficulties that we have in dealing responsibly with this issue involves the dilemma that you just laid out when you said we ought to have voluntary testing, not mandatory testing. And the issue is most clearly represented with the whole question of pregnant women now given the advances that

have been shown. I've studied the CDC guidelines; I think they're—they make sense to me. I think the rest of us who don't know the facts ought to follow people that we hire to make these judgments. You know, if there's—it makes a lot of sense to me.

But you just said that there were 34,000 people that needed your services, and only 10,000 were getting them, and we had to find a way to get more people to get voluntarily tested. So how do we close the gap between 10 and 34? What can we do? What can you do? What can the rest of us do? That's what's driving this whole mandatory testing thing. It's not the notion that people are out there hiding, trying to avoid getting tested; it's that there's this huge gap and that society is being burdened by it and so are these people. So how do we close that gap?

**Dr. Sherer.** I know other speakers today will address this, but let me start. Mandatory testing not only will not address this problem, it will further drive people away and be a disincentive to their coming into care.

**The President.** So how do you do it?

[At this point, representatives continued to report on the HIV/AIDS issues that were discussed by the nine working groups that comprised the conference.]

**The President.** I would like to say just one thing before I go.

First of all, I have learned a lot. I even learned some things about some bills in Congress I thought I already knew all about. [Laughter] And I would like to encourage you to make sure that through our AIDS office or through the advisory council and Scott Hitt that we have an actual record of every question asked and every issue raised. I think it's very, very important that we do a systematic followup on every issue raised, every question asked.

**Q.** Mr. President, why didn't you do a systematic followup on the two previous Presidential commissions on AIDS? You promised in your campaign to adopt the recommendations. Why has it taken another year for you to—[inaudible].

**The President.** Didn't you listen to what we said before about what we've done the last 2 years? Most of the—

**Q.** I heard you talk about—[inaudible].

**The President.** Do you want me to answer, or do you want to keep talking?

**Q.** —I did not hear you talk about specific actions that will save lives today. And there's a list of 50 that have been followed by a range of New York organizations that have been submitted to officials in your administration. And it has taken 2 years, and now—

**The President.** First of all, that's not accurate. We implemented a lot of those recommendations, as you know. So I think that's a little unseemly for you to say. We had a set of recommendations we got when we got here, most of which have been implemented. I am very sorry—I am very sorry—now, wait a minute. I listened to you, now you listen to me. I listened to you.

Look, I am very sorry that there is not a cure. I am very sorry that there is not a vaccine. I regret that not everything I have asked for has been approved by the Congress. In the context of what has happened in this country in the last 3 years, I believe we have gone a long way toward doing what we said we would do. But I will never be satisfied, and you won't, and you shouldn't be, until we have solved the problem. That is what this meeting is about, and that's what I am trying to do. And I think all of us should do what we can to be constructive.

**Q.** [Inaudible]

**The President.** Well, that's a matter of dispute. You have your version of the facts and I have mine, and I'll leave it to others to make a judgment.

**Q.** [Inaudible]

**The President.** Let me just say, I believe this has been a good meeting. I think most people are glad they came, and I think most people believe they're better off than they were 4 years ago.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:10 p.m. in the Cash Room at the Treasury Department. In his remarks, he referred to Sean Sasser, member, board of directors, AIDS Policy Center for Children, Youth & Families; Eileen Matzman, board member, Mothers' Voices; and Dr. Scott Hitt, Chair, and Bob Hattoy, member, Presidential Advisory Council on HIV/AIDS.

**Remarks on Vetoing Budget Reconciliation Legislation and an Exchange With Reporters**

*December 6, 1995*

**The President:** Throughout our history, American Presidents have used the power of the veto to protect our values as a country. In that spirit today, I am acting to protect the values that bind us together in our national community.

My goals as President have been to preserve the American dream for all of our people, to bring the American people together, and to keep America the world's strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity. In pursuit of that strategy, I have sought to grow the economy, to shrink the Government but leave it strong enough to do the job, and most important, to elevate mainstream values that all Americans share: opportunity and responsibility, work and family, and bringing our community together so that we can be stronger.

I have consistently said that if Congress sends me a budget that violates our values, I'll veto it. Three decades ago, this pen you see here was used to honor our values when President Johnson used it to sign Medicare into law. Today, I am vetoing the biggest Medicare and Medicaid cuts in history, deep cuts in education, a rollback in environmental protection, and a tax increase on working families. I am using this pen to preserve our commitment to our parents, to protect opportunity for our children, to defend the public health and our natural resources and natural beauty, and to stop a tax increase that actually undercuts the value of work.

We must balance the budget, but we must do it in a way that honors the commitments that we all have and that keeps our people together.

Therefore, today, I am vetoing this Republican budget because it would break those commitments and would lead us toward weakness and division when we must move toward strength and unity.

*[At this point, the President signed the veto message.]*

Can you bring me some more ink, boys? Here, Todd, I knew you had some. It's a

small well. Leave it here and see if I need it.

**Q.** Mr. President, what happens next?

**The President.** I'm about to say. As I have said repeatedly, America must balance its budget. It's wrong to pass a legacy of debt onto our children. Our long-term growth depends on it. But we must do it in a way that is good for economic growth and for our values.

The budget I have vetoed in a very real sense, in very concrete ways, undermines our values and would restrict the future of families like the ones that are here with me today. American families want to make the most of their own lives and to pass opportunity onto their children. They deserve our respect and our support. Above all, we shouldn't make it harder for them to fulfill their dreams.

When it comes to health care, we owe a duty to our parents. We have to secure Medicare, and I've spelled out how to do that. But the budget I just vetoed would turn Medicare into a second-class system. The Medicare system has served all senior citizens well for 30 years; it would be over.

This budget would end Medicaid's guarantee that no senior citizen and no American in need would be denied medical care, including poor children and children with disabilities. It would deny care for hundreds of thousands of pregnant women and disabled children. It would repeal standards that ensure quality for nursing homes.

Education means opportunity, and opportunity is the key to the American dream. But this budget cuts education by \$30 billion, even in this high technology age when education is more important than ever before. It would essentially end the direct student loan program. It would deny college scholarships to 360,000 deserving students. It would deny preschool opportunities to 180,000 children in the Head Start program.

We must protect the Earth that God gave us and guarantee our children safe food and clean water. This budget would give oil companies the right to drill in the last unspoiled arctic wilderness in Alaska. And it is loaded with special-interest provisions that squander our natural resources. Already, short-term budget cuts have forced us to pull back enforcement of clean air, clean water, even in-

spectations of toxic waste sites in our neighborhoods.

People who work hard and save for retirement ought to be able to retire with dignity. We worked hard last year to secure the pension benefits of 40 million Americans with landmark reform legislation. This bill would give companies the green light to raid pension funds and put those retirements at risk again.

Americans know we have to reform the broken welfare system. But cutting child care that helps mothers move from welfare to work, cutting help for abused and disabled children, cutting school lunch, that's not welfare reform. Real welfare reform should be tough on work and tough on responsibility but not tough on children or tough on parents who are responsible and who want to work. We shouldn't lose this historic chance to end welfare as we know it by using the words welfare reform as just another cover to violate our values.

No one who works hard should be taxed into poverty. In 1993, we nearly doubled the earned-income tax credits so that we could say, "If you work 40 hours a week, you've got children in the home, you won't be taxed into poverty. The tax system will help lift you out of poverty." But this budget raises taxes on our hardest pressed working people, even as it gives unnecessarily large income tax relief and other tax relief to those who need it least. Nearly 8 million working families would pay more in new taxes than they would receive from any tax cut in this bill.

Beyond our principles, let me just say this budget is bad for the economy. No business on the edge of the 21st century would cut its investment in education and training, in research. No business would do that. No business would cut back on technology on the edge of the 21st century. The Japanese are in a recession, and they recently doubled their research budget. We are voting in this budget, if I were to allow it to become law, to cut our research budget by a year when we're in a period of economic growth, while another country, looking to the future in a recession, is doubling theirs. So this not only violates our values, it is bad, bad economics.

Now, with this veto, the extreme Republican effort to balance the budget through

wrongheaded cuts and misplaced priorities is over. Now, it's up to all of us to go back to work together to show we can balance the budget and be true to our values and our economic interests.

Tomorrow, I will present to the congressional leadership a plan that does balance the budget in 7 years, but it also protects health care, education, and the environment, and it does not raise taxes on working families. It is up to the Republicans now to show that they, too, want to protect these principles, as they pledged to do.

Let me say again, our country is on the move; our economy is growing; many of our most difficult social problems are beginning to yield to the effort and commonsense values of the American people. We have proved again that we are a model for the entire world of peace and reconciliation. With all of our difficult problems, we are moving in the right direction. Now is not the time to derail this movement.

I have vetoed the budget. Now, the question is: Will we get together and balance the budget in a way that is consistent with our values? It's time to finish the job of balancing the budget and do it in the right way.

Thank you.

**Q.** Mr. President,—[inaudible]—Medicare and Medicaid, how are you going to—where are you going to find—

**The President.** Tune in tomorrow.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:36 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to White House Staff Secretary Todd Stern.

### **Message Returning Without Approval to the House of Representatives Budget Reconciliation Legislation** *December 6, 1995*

*To the House of Representatives:*

I am returning herewith without my approval H.R. 2491, the budget reconciliation bill adopted by the Republican majority, which seeks to make extreme cuts and other unacceptable changes in Medicare and Medicaid, and to raise taxes on millions of working Americans.

As I have repeatedly stressed, I want to find common ground with the Congress on a balanced budget plan that will best serve the American people. But, I have profound differences with the extreme approach that the Republican majority has adopted. It would hurt average Americans and help special interests.

My balanced budget plan reflects the values that Americans share—work and family, opportunity and responsibility. It would protect Medicare and retain Medicaid's guarantee of coverage; invest in education and training and other priorities; protect public health and the environment; and provide for a targeted tax cut to help middle-income Americans raise their children, save for the future, and pay for postsecondary education. To reach balance, my plan would eliminate wasteful spending, streamline programs, and end unneeded subsidies; take the first, serious steps toward health care reform; and reform welfare to reward work.

By contrast, H.R. 2491 would cut deeply into Medicare, Medicaid, student loans, and nutrition programs; hurt the environment; raise taxes on millions of working men and women and their families by slashing the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC); and provide a huge tax cut whose benefits would flow disproportionately to those who are already the most well-off.

Moreover, this bill creates new fiscal pressures. Revenue losses from the tax cuts grow rapidly after 2002, with costs exploding for provisions that primarily benefit upper-income taxpayers. Taken together, the revenue losses for the 3 years after 2002 for the individual retirement account (IRA), capital gains, and estate tax provisions exceed the losses for the preceding 6 years.

Title VIII would cut Medicare by \$270 billion over 7 years—by far the largest cut in Medicare's 30-year history. While we need to slow the rate of growth in Medicare spending, I believe Medicare must keep pace with anticipated increases in the costs of medical services and the growing number of elderly Americans. This bill would fall woefully short and would hurt beneficiaries, over half of whom are women. In addition, the bill introduces untested, and highly questionable, Medicare "choices" that could increase risks

and costs for the most vulnerable beneficiaries.

Title VII would cut Federal Medicaid payments to States by \$163 billion over 7 years and convert the program into a block grant, eliminating guaranteed coverage to millions of Americans and putting States at risk during economic downturns. States would face untenable choices: cutting benefits, dropping coverage for millions of beneficiaries, or reducing provider payments to a level that would undermine quality service to children, people with disabilities, the elderly, pregnant women, and others who depend on Medicaid. I am also concerned that the bill has inadequate quality and income protections for nursing home residents, the developmentally disabled, and their families, and that it would eliminate a program that guarantees immunizations to many children.

Title IV would virtually eliminate the Direct Student Loan Program, reversing its significant progress and ending the participation of over 1,300 schools and hundreds of thousands of students. These actions would hurt middle- and low-income families, make student loan programs less efficient, perpetuate unnecessary red tape, and deny students and schools the free-market choice of guaranteed or direct loans.

Title V would open the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) to oil and gas drilling, threatening a unique, pristine ecosystem, in hopes of generating \$1.3 billion in Federal revenues—a revenue estimate based on wishful thinking and outdated analysis. I want to protect this biologically rich wilderness permanently. I am also concerned that the Congress has chosen to use the reconciliation bill as a catch-all for various objectionable natural resource and environmental policies. One would retain the notorious patenting provision whereby the government transfers billions of dollars of publicly owned minerals at little or no charge to private interests; another would transfer Federal land for a low-level radioactive waste site in California without public safeguards.

While making such devastating cuts in Medicare, Medicaid, and other vital programs, this bill would provide huge tax cuts for those who are already the most well-off. Over 47 percent of the tax benefits would

go to families with incomes over \$100,000—the top 12 percent. The bill would provide unwarranted benefits to corporations and new tax breaks for special interests. At the same time, it would raise taxes, on average, for the poorest one-fifth of all families.

The bill would make capital gains cuts retroactive to January 1, 1995, providing a windfall of \$13 billion in about the first 9 months of 1995 alone to taxpayers who already have sold their assets. While my Administration supports limited reform of the alternative minimum tax (AMT), this bill's cuts in the corporate AMT would not adequately ensure that profitable corporations pay at least some Federal tax. The bill also would encourage businesses to avoid taxes by stockpiling foreign earnings in tax havens. And the bill does not include my proposal to close a loophole that allows wealthy Americans to avoid taxes on the gains they accrue by giving up their U.S. citizenship. Instead, it substitutes a provision that would prove ineffective.

While cutting taxes for the well-off, this bill would cut the EITC for almost 13 million working families. It would repeal part of the scheduled 1996 increase for taxpayers with two or more children, and end the credit for workers who do not live with qualifying children. Even after accounting for other tax cuts in this bill, about eight million families would face a net tax increase.

The bill would threaten the retirement benefits of workers and increase the exposure of the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation by making it easy for companies to withdraw tax-favored pension assets for non-pension purposes. It also would raise Federal employee retirement contributions, unduly burdening Federal workers. Moreover, the bill would eliminate the low-income housing tax credit and the community development corporation tax credit, which address critical housing needs and help rebuild communities. Finally, the bill would repeal the tax credit that encourages economic activity in Puerto Rico. We must not ignore the real needs of our citizens in Puerto Rico, and any legislation must contain effective mechanisms to promote job creation in the islands.

Title XII includes many welfare provisions. I strongly support real welfare reform that strengthens families and encourages work

and responsibility. But the provisions in this bill, when added to the EITC cuts, would cut low-income programs too deeply. For welfare reform to succeed, savings should result from moving people from welfare to work, not from cutting people off and shifting costs to the States. The cost of excessive program cuts in human terms—to working families, single mothers with small children, abused and neglected children, low-income legal immigrants, and disabled children—would be grave. In addition, this bill threatens the national nutritional safety net by making unwarranted changes in child nutrition programs and the national food stamp program.

The agriculture provisions would eliminate the safety net that farm programs provide for U.S. agriculture. Title I would provide windfall payments to producers when prices are high, but not protect family farm income when prices are low. In addition, it would slash spending for agricultural export assistance and reduce the environmental benefits of the Conservation Reserve Program.

For all of these reasons, and for others detailed in the attachment, this bill is unacceptable.

Nevertheless, while I have major differences with the Congress, I want to work with Members to find a common path to balance the budget in a way that will honor our commitment to senior citizens, help working families, provide a better life for our children, and improve the standard of living of all Americans.

**William J. Clinton**

The White House,  
December 6, 1995.

**Proclamation 6856—National Pearl Harbor Remembrance Day, 1995**

*December 6, 1995*

*By the President of the United States of America*

**A Proclamation**

America's involvement in World War II began 54 years ago as dawn was shattered by a surprise attack on our forces stationed at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. In the words of

President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, “December 7, 1941—a date which will live in infamy” began at 7:55 a.m. when Japan launched an offensive to destroy the United States Pacific Fleet. The losses suffered that day shocked our Nation with the realization that American soil was not immune to the ravages of war—at the end of the attack, more than 3,000 Americans were dead, missing, or wounded. We resolved to boldly defend our shores against further devastation. Just 4 years later, the same fleet that the Japanese had attempted to destroy at Pearl Harbor sailed triumphantly into Tokyo Bay.

The attack of Pearl Harbor marked the beginning of America’s total mobilization against a common enemy, and the United States soon became the world’s “Arsenal of Democracy.” Citizens worked together toward a common goal as the “We Can Do It” attitude spread across the country. The landscape of American business was forever changed as over 19 million women and many minority workers took high-skill jobs to contribute to the war effort.

The courageous veterans who fought selflessly to bring an end to the war in the Pacific deserve our highest respect and our most profound gratitude. Today we honor the sacrifices that led to the ultimate victory—the triumph of freedom over tyranny. We also pay tribute to the families who contributed so much with their support, sacrifices, and prayers from the home front. A grateful Nation will long remember those who came home and those who did not.

In the post-Cold War era, it is vital that we pass along the lessons learned from Pearl Harbor to a new generation of Americans. We must never allow our country to be unprepared, and we must never again isolate ourselves from the problems of the world. This is the legacy we leave to our young people, and it is our responsibility to continue to teach them those lessons. By doing so, we reaffirm the values of democracy, freedom, and leadership that have made America great.

The Congress, by Public Law 103–308, has designated December 7, 1995, as “National Pearl Harbor Remembrance Day.”

**Now Therefore, I, William J. Clinton,** President of the United States of America,

do hereby proclaim December 7, 1995, as National Pearl Harbor Remembrance Day. I urge all Americans to observe this day with appropriate programs, ceremonies, and activities in honor of the Americans who served at Pearl Harbor. I also ask all Federal departments and agencies, organizations, and individuals to fly the flag of the United States at half-staff on this day in honor of those Americans who died as a result of the attack on Pearl Harbor.

**In Witness Whereof,** I have hereunto set my hand this sixth day of December, 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, 10:57 a.m., December 7, 1995]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on December 8.

### **Remarks on Lighting the National Christmas Tree**

*December 6, 1995*

Thank you so much. To John Betchkal, the Pageant of Peace Chairman; Reverend John Tavlarides; to the Sherando High School Choir, congratulations, you guys were great tonight; to Brendan and Bridget Walsh; the Washington Ballet; to Denyce Graves and Jack Jones and Kathie Lee Gifford, and the Navy Band; and of course, to Santa Claus. I would come here every year just to see Santa Claus.

We gather to begin our Nation’s celebration of the Christmas season with the lighting of this magnificent tree, a symbol, as evergreens have always been, of the infinite capacity of nature and people to renew themselves. We give gifts, and we count our blessings.

My fellow Americans, I have just returned from a very moving trip to Europe, to England and to Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland, to Germany to see our troops, and to Spain. And I can tell you that among the things that I feel most grateful for at this Christmas time is the way people around the

world look at our America. They see a nation graced by peace and prosperity, a land of freedom and fairness. And even though it imposes extra burdens on us, they trust us to work with them to share the blessings of peace.

This is my second Christmas tree lighting of the season, for just a few days ago I was in Belfast with the people of Northern Ireland, Protestant and Catholic alike, searching, yearning, longing for peace, celebrating their second Christmas of peace. I'm proud that I was introduced there by two children, a little Catholic girl named Catherine Hamill, and a young Protestant boy named David Sterritt, who joined hands and told the world of their hopes for the future, a future in which the only barriers they face are the limits of their dreams. That is the future we should want for our children and for all the children of the world.

I'm very pleased that Catherine Hamill, who touched the whole world with the story of her suffering and her family's losses in Northern Ireland, and her family are here with us tonight to celebrate this lighting of the Christmas tree. And I'd like to ask her to stand up right down here and ask all of you to give her a fine hand. She has come all the way from Northern Ireland.

Remember at this Christmas time we celebrate the birth of a homeless child, whose only shelter was the straw of a manger, but who grew to become the Prince of Peace. The Prince of Peace said, "Blessed are the peacemakers." Let us bless the peacemakers at this Christmas time from the Middle East to Northern Ireland to our own troops in Bosnia. Let us pray especially for our peacemakers, those who will go to Bosnia and those who are soon to come home from Haiti.

And let us resolve, my fellow Americans, to be peacemakers. For just as so many nations around the world and so many children around the world cry for peace, so do we need peace here at home in our toughest neighborhoods, where there are children, so many children who deserve to have their childhood and their future free and peaceful.

And let us remember from the example of the Prince of Peace how even the humblest of us can do, through acts of goodness

and reconciliation, extraordinary things. And as we light this wonderful Christmas tree, let us all remember that together a million small lights add up to make a great blaze of glory, not for ourselves but for our families, our Nation and the world, and for the future of our children.

Merry Christmas, and blessed are the peacemakers.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:45 p.m. on the Ellipse during the annual Christmas Pageant of Peace. In his remarks, he referred to Rev. John Tavlarides, who recited the Christmas prayer; Brendan and Bridget Walsh, Camp Fire Boys and Girls, Pittsburgh, PA; entertainers Denyce Graves, Jack Jones, and Kathie Lee Gifford; and television weatherman Willard Scott.

### **Letter to Congressional Leaders on Bosnia**

*December 6, 1995*

*Dear Mr. Speaker: (Mr. President:)*

I last reported to the Congress on September 1, 1995, concerning the use of U.S. aircraft in support of United Nations and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) efforts in the former Yugoslavia. In that report I noted our diplomatic efforts to assist the parties to reach a negotiated settlement to the conflict. I am gratified to report that those efforts have borne fruit.

On November 21, 1995, the Presidents of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republic of Croatia, and, on behalf of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the President of the Republic of Serbia initialed a peace agreement to end the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. The agreement has 11 annexes including, among others, Military Aspects, Regional Stabilization, Elections, Human Rights, Refugees and Displaced Persons, and Civilian Implementation. These annexes were also signed or initialed by the state parties, and where appropriate, by officials from the Republika Srpska and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This is the first step in a process that will lead to formal signing of the agreement on December 14 in Paris.

As a result of this important first step, consistent with our consultations with the Con-

gress, and pursuant to the North Atlantic Council (NAC) decision of December 1, 1995, I have ordered the deployment of approximately 1,500 U.S. military personnel to Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia as part of a NATO "enabling force" to lay the groundwork for the prompt and safe deployment of the NATO-led Implementation Force (IFOR). United States personnel participating in the enabling force will be under NATO operational control and rules of engagement. To date, I have also authorized the deployment of approximately 3,000 additional U.S. military personnel to Hungary, Italy, and Croatia in order to establish forward U.S. support infrastructure for the enabling force and the IFOR. These personnel will deploy in the very near future and will remain under U.S. command and control and rules of engagement.

As I have indicated before, now that I have approved the NATO operation plan for implementation, I will be requesting an expression of support from the Congress.

The enabling force will join previously deployed NATO communications personnel in Croatia as well as various national forces currently part of the United Nations Protection Force; these other national forces will come under NATO operational control when the IFOR main force is deployed. The enabling force consists of headquarters and administrative staff, communications units, movement control teams, logistics units, special forces units and civil affairs personnel under NATO operational control. The enabling force will have combat capability for force protection. These forces will be fully authorized and equipped to defend themselves, and will be backed by U.S. and NATO forces in the theater of operations, including U.S. air assets supporting Deny Flight and an amphibious reaction force in the Adriatic that are ready and able to counter any threat to their safety. In addition, British and other elements of the U.N. Protection Force/Rapid Reaction Force (UNPROFOR/RRF) in Bosnia will be available to protect U.S. forces. It is envisioned that the IFOR main body will begin to deploy following the signature of the peace agreement in Paris and the issuance of final NATO and U.S. orders. The

enabling force will thereafter remain as part of the IFOR.

The U.S. forces participating in the enabling force being deployed to Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia are drawn largely from U.S. forces stationed in Germany. Among the nations providing forces to the enabling force are the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and Canada. In total, approximately 2,600 troops will be deployed as part of the enabling force.

I authorized these deployments in conjunction with our NATO allies following NAC decisions to permit implementation of the peace agreement following its formal signing. I have directed the participation of U.S. forces in these operations pursuant to my constitutional authority to conduct the foreign relations of the United States and as Commander in Chief and Chief Executive.

I am providing this report as part of my efforts to keep the Congress fully informed about developments in the former Yugoslavia, consistent with the War Powers Resolution.

Sincerely,

**William J. Clinton**

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Strom Thurmond, President pro tempore of the Senate. This letter was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on December 7.

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

*December 7, 1995*

#### ***Bosnia and the Budget***

**The President.** I'd like to just say a couple of opening words. First, I want to welcome the bipartisan delegation of House Members who are here and thank them for coming as we continue to discuss the question of our mission in Bosnia and search for unity on that.

I also want to say that I took a step today which I hope will help us to find unity on the budget. I presented a budget that is a 7-year balanced budget that protects Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environ-

ment, doesn't raise taxes on working families, and meets the conditions that were set out in the resolution to which we all agreed. And I hope it will be taken as a gesture in good faith that will start us on the road to real negotiations over this budget, and that will bring about a constructive resolution for the American people.

So I'm very hopeful about that, and I'm looking forward to having the opportunity to have a discussion about Bosnia with the Members who are here present. And some of them I think have recently returned from a trip of their own to Bosnia, so I think we'll have a lot to discuss. And I thank you for being here. And I thank you for being here.

**Q.** Mr. President, Chairman Kasich said late today your budget came up there 400 in the hole. And he said by submitting this document you have breached the contract you signed with them a few days ago.

**The President.** Well, I disagree with that. You know, if you look at—we thought there would be new budget estimates coming out of the Congressional Budget Office by now, but they haven't been. That's fine, and I haven't attacked them for not doing it, even though they said they would. And I don't think that's very constructive.

Our budget—let me point out two things. All this is is a—the balanced budget plan is a plan over 7 years. No one can know what will happen between now and then, but we do know what's happened for the last 3 years. For the last 3 years, both the Congressional Budget Office and the Office of Management and Budget have underestimated the deficit reduction as a result of the 1993 economic plan, although we have been closer to accurate than the CBO.

We know that our plan was submitted based on basically splitting the difference of all the experts in America who predict what the economy will do. And therefore, it is mainstream, and it's good, and it's a good place to start discussions. And I think that's the attitude they ought to take. And if they have a—I've made a proposal; now I'd like to see what theirs is.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:05 p.m. in the Indian Treaty Room at the Old Executive Office Building.

## **Letter to Congressional Leaders on Proposed Legislation to Protect Retirement Plans**

*December 7, 1995*

Dear \_\_\_\_\_:

Since the beginning of this Administration, we have worked together to protect the retirement savings of hard-working Americans. Last year, Congress passed legislation proposed by the Administration that secured the retirement promises made to over 40 million workers in traditional pension plans.

Now we must all act to ensure that the savings of the 22 million American workers who put their hard-earned money into 401(k) plans are safe. We need to make certain the government has the tools to assure American workers they can put their savings—and their trust—into a system that will be there when they need it most.

I urge you to swiftly approve legislation we sent to Congress in July that would give both private auditors and the government new strength and more effective tools with which to enforce the law and prevent abuse of employee retirement savings by unscrupulous employers.

My Administration has consistently urged Americans to save for their retirement—a message echoed by financial planners, consumer groups and virtually everyone who has considered this issue. But Americans need to know their savings are safe if they are to follow this sound advice.

While the vast majority of employers fully respect and protect their employees' savings, some employers are abusing that trust. Last week, the Department of Labor, which protects private pensions, urged consumers to watch for warning signs to protect their 401(k) investments. The Department of Labor's Pension and Welfare Benefits Administration has begun a nationwide enforcement initiative that has already uncovered the misuse of millions of dollars of contributions by workers. Over \$3.5 million has already been returned to workers; 310 investigations remain open, and more cases are coming.

On July 6, Secretary of Labor Reich transmitted to Congress the "ERISA Enforcement Improvement Act." Our legislation would help in early identification of potential

abuses, strengthen pension plan auditing and subject abusers to new penalties. Since July, we have worked with members of Congress and the financial community to develop a bipartisan consensus to protect our workers.

I am sure you agree with the 22 million Americans who place their faith and trust in 401(k) plans that this is an issue of protection, not partisanship.

I strongly urge you to give this important legislation your immediate attention, and urge that it be enacted before the end of the year. America's workers shouldn't be asked to wait a day longer.

Sincerely,

**Bill Clinton**

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Senators Robert Dole, Thomas Daschle, Paul Simon, Edward M. Kennedy, Nancy Kassebaum, and Representatives Newt Gingrich, Dick Gephardt, Patsy T. Mink, Harris W. Fawell, William F. Goodling, William Clay, and Matthew G. Martinez.

### **Remarks Prior to a Meeting With Democratic Governors and an Exchange With Reporters**

*December 8, 1995*

#### **Medicaid**

**The President.** Good morning. I am delighted to be here with a number of Governors from around our country to talk about the budget debate now in Washington. All these Governors who are here present and all those who are not have to balance the budget, but they're accountable for doing so in a way that increases opportunity for their people and holds the people together, maintains the bonds of community. That's what we're trying to do here.

Yesterday I gave the Congress a budget that balances in 7 years without devastating cuts in Medicare and Medicaid, education and the environment and that does not raise taxes on working families.

There are many differences between the budget that I vetoed, which Congress passed, and the one that I've presented. But perhaps the starkest one of all is the different treatment of Medicaid. The Republican budget would be a disaster for States and for the

people who depend upon Medicaid. It would ask the States to do more and more and more for the elderly, for the disabled, for poor children and pregnant women and give them less help to do it. It would force them to make unconscionable and unnecessary choices between senior citizens and disabled people, between people with AIDS and nursing home residents.

The plan would end the guarantee of quality medical care that now exists for 26 million Americans, a guarantee that has been on the books for three decades now. The Republicans are insisting that we repeal the guarantee that no poor child, pregnant mother, poor senior citizen, or disabled person will be denied quality medical care. That would eliminate the guarantee of nursing home care for as many as 300,000 people. All told, if current patterns of coverage prevail, some 8 million people could be denied health care coverage under Medicaid, nearly half of them children. No one would want to do this in any State, but many States would have no choice under the budget now pending.

So I just want to be clear about this. I very much want to work with the Republican Congress to get a balanced budget. But I will not—I will not permit the repeal of guaranteed medical coverage for senior citizens, for disabled people, for poor children and pregnant women. That would violate our values. It is not necessary, and therefore, if it continues to be a part of the budget, if necessary, I would veto it again.

We cannot, we must not do this. This would do more harm to more people and do more to undermine the stability of State governments and the life of the States in our country than any other provision of this budget, in all probability, and we just cannot do it. So I want to make that clear.

On the other hand, let me say again, I am reaching out the hand of cooperation to Congress. I did yesterday. I do so again today. But there are some things that we cannot and should not change and back away from. That resolution that was passed that permitted the Government to go forward said that we would protect Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment. That's what it said. I've done my part. I've offered a 7-year budget. We cannot destroy Medicaid.

**FED Chairman Alan Greenspan**

**Q.** Mr. President, are you going to re-appoint Alan Greenspan, as the New York Times says?

**The President.** Did they say that? [*Laughter*] To be honest with you, that's very premature. I haven't even given much thought to it, one way or the other. We've had a few other things on the griddle here.

**Balkan Peace Process**

**Q.** Speaking of that, Mr. President, do you think you'll have a resolution of support on Bosnia before the treaty signing in Paris next week?

**The President.** Will we have one? Well, I hope so. I don't know. I'm working on it, but I hope so.

**Q.** What do you think about half of the House Members signing a letter opposing the deployment?

**The President.** I hope that both Houses will vote to do it. It's the responsible thing to do, and those who paid any attention to the trip that I made to Europe last week know that all of the people in Europe are looking to see whether the United States will continue our 50-year partnership with Europe for security, will continue our leadership in NATO, and will do our part. They have only asked us to do a part. They, after all, are doing two-thirds of the work on the ground in Bosnia. They have asked us as the leader of NATO and the Alliance to send about a third of the troops. And in every nation I visited, people came up to me and said that America had been able to make peace in Bosnia, and they were desperately hoping we would participate so that we could prevent any kind of a resumption of the slaughter there, prevent the conflict from spreading, and prove that Europe and the United States are still partners for security in the post-cold-war era. I feel far more strongly about it even than I did before I went last week.

It's clear to me that our Nation's ability to work with these European countries on every other security issue—reducing the nuclear threat, fighting terrorism, you name it—depends upon our partnership here. That is the issue of the day for them and for millions and millions and millions of them. And

I think we have to do our part, and I'm going to do what I can to persuade the Congress of that.

**Q.** Is there any possibility, sir, that the Paris signing next week will slide because of what's going on there?

**The President.** I know of no plans to delay it. I believe it's going to go forward on time.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:38 a.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

**Remarks Prior to Discussions With President Jose dos Santos of Angola and an Exchange With Reporters**

December 8, 1995

**Angolan Peace Process**

**President Clinton.** Hello. I'd like to say that I'm very pleased to welcome President dos Santos and his party here to Washington. He's taken some bold steps to move the peace process forward, and we understand this has made possible some changes in our relationship with Angola.

It's obvious that some further things will have to be done in light of the recent cease-fire violations. But we know that President dos Santos is critical to the success of the peace process, and we look forward to a good relationship with a reconciled, peaceful, and stable Angola.

**Q.** Do you think there can be peace in your country, Mr. President?

**President dos Santos.** I believe so. But first of all, I would like to thank the—of welcome by President Clinton, to thank also for the kind invitation to visit the United States at this time of year.

I would like to restate our commitment to the peace process. We will do our best for this process to become irreversible, and to—[*inaudible*—possible. And we are convinced that with assistance from the United States of America and from the international community in general, peace will be consolidated and a new page will be opened in Angola.

We mark our presence here with you to discuss issues regarding bilateral relations. We are convinced that our visit will serve

to deepen the friendship between the United States of America and Angola and will set up the basis to establish a trade exchange for more investors to go to Angola in order for them, together with us, to launch into the adventure of economic reconstruction and to consolidate peace and national reconciliation.

### **U.S. Aid to Angola**

**Q.** Will he be asking for aid for his oil industry during his visit, and how much aid will he be asking for if he is?

**President dos Santos.** We've come to thank you for the assistance that has been given to us, the assistance that has been given to us to maintain peace. But we also intend to go from this phase of assistance to trade and investment. There are sectors whereby we will be together with the United States of America, and one of those sectors is the oil sector, where the big investments from the United States will be. In other words, we want more investment, not only in the oil sectors but in other sectors of our economy which are open.

### **Government Shutdown**

**Q.** Do you think there's going to be a Government shutdown again?

**President Clinton.** I certainly hope not. I have done exactly what I've said I'd do. I vetoed the budget that was passed, and then I made an alternative budget, which I presented yesterday, that fulfills the criteria of the resolution: it's a 7-year budget; it protects Medicare, Medicaid, education, the environment; it doesn't raise taxes on working people. That's the commitment that I made, and I hope that it will be taken as a good-faith gesture by the Republicans, and we'll have some further negotiations.

Now, apparently, they're deciding what they want to do. But I have done what I think I should do, and this budget would be good for America. It will balance the budget and keep our commitments to our future, to our children, to our environment, and to the health care system of this country.

**Q.** Will you try to keep them in session if they close down the Government?

**The President.** Well, let's see. I think—that is December 8th? We've got a week,

and I think they're waiting for—maybe to do some calibrations of their own on their own numbers. I don't know, but I don't think we should assume that this thing is going to break down. I'm prepared to work as hard as I can to do anything I can to keep working to try to resolve this in a positive way. That's why I presented this budget and why I hope that they will respond in good faith, just as I have.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:41 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

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## **Digest of Other White House Announcements**

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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.

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### **December 2**

In the morning, the President and Hillary Clinton traveled from Dublin, Ireland, to Ramstein, Germany, and then to Baumholder, Germany.

In the afternoon, the President and Hillary Clinton had lunch with American troops of the 1st Armored Division at Baumholder Army Base.

In the early evening, the President and Hillary Clinton traveled to Ramstein, Germany, and then to Madrid, Spain.

In the evening, the President and Hillary Clinton toured the Prado Museum in Madrid.

### **December 3**

In the afternoon, the President and Hillary Clinton returned to Washington, DC, and in the evening, they attended the Kennedy Center Honors at the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

### **December 5**

In the morning, the President met with Bosnian refugee families who have resettled in the United States.

The President announced the release of the second report on Federal agencies' customer service standards issued by the National Performance Review.

#### **December 6**

The President announced his intention to nominate Jeanne Moutoussamy-Ashe, Alfred C. DeCotiis, and Joseph Lane Kirkland to be alternate representatives to the 50th session of the United Nations General Assembly.

The President announced his intention to appoint James Hamilton and the reappointment of Anthony S. Harrington and Robert J. Hermann to the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board.

#### **December 7**

In the afternoon, the President attended a Democratic National Committee luncheon at the Hay Adams Hotel.

The President announced his intention to appoint Mack G. Fleming as a member of the World War II Memorial Advisory Board.

#### **December 8**

The President announced his intention to appoint Curtis A. Prins to the Board of Trustees of the Christopher Columbus Fellowship Foundation.

The President announced his intention to appoint Andrew A. Rosenberg as a member of the North Atlantic Salmon Conservation Organization.

The President announced his intention to appoint Jim Kelly to the President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports.

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### **Nominations Submitted to the Senate**

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

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#### **Submitted December 4**

Susan R. Baron, of Maryland, to be a member of the National Corporation for Housing Partnerships for the term expiring October 27, 1997 (reappointment).

Barry M. Goldwater, Sr., of Arizona, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Communications Satellite Corporation until the date of the annual meeting of the Corporation in 1998 (reappointment).

Peter S. Knight, of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Communications Satellite Corporation until the date of the annual meeting of the Corporation in 1999 (reappointment).

#### **Submitted December 7**

Charles N. Clevert, Jr., of Wisconsin, to be a U.S. District Judge for the Eastern District of Wisconsin, vice Terence T. Evans, elevated.

Bernice B. Donald, of Tennessee, to be U.S. District Judge for the Western District of Tennessee, vice Odell Horton, resigned.

Charles H. Twining, of Maryland, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Equatorial Guinea.

#### **Submitted December 8**

C. Lynwood Smith, of Alabama, to be U. S. District Judge for the Northern District of Alabama, vice E.B. Haltom, Jr., retired.

#### **Withdrawn December 8**

C. Richard Allen, of Maryland, to be a Managing Director of the Corporation for National and Community Service (new position), which was sent to the Senate on June 6, 1995.

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**Checklist  
of White House Press Releases**

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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.

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**Released December 2**

Statement by Press Secretary Mike McCurry announcing that former Governor Ann W. Richards of Texas will head the U.S. delegation to the 26th International Conference of the Red Cross and the Red Crescent on December 3–8 in Geneva, Switzerland

Fact sheet on the President's trip to Madrid, Spain

Fact sheet entitled, The U.S.-EU Economic Relationship: Expanding and Enhancing the Transatlantic Marketplace

**Released December 3**

Fact sheet entitled, The U.S.-EU Economic Relationship: The New Transatlantic Marketplace

**Released December 5**

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Mike McCurry

Announcement on the release of the second customer service standards report issued by the National Performance Review

**Released December 6**

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Mike McCurry

**Released December 7**

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Mike McCurry

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

**Released December 8**

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Mike McCurry

Announcement of nomination for a U.S. District Court Judge

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**Acts Approved  
by the President**

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NOTE: No acts approved by the President were received by the Office of the Federal Register during the period covered by this issue.