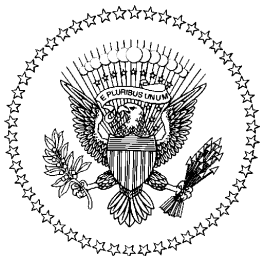


Weekly Compilation of  
**Presidential  
Documents**



Monday, January 17, 1994  
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**Editor's Note:** The President was in Moscow, Russia, on January 14, the closing date of this issue. Releases and announcements issued by the Office of the Press Secretary but not received in time for inclusion in this issue will be printed next week.

## WEEKLY COMPILATION OF

## PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

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Week Ending Friday, January 14, 1994

**Exchange With Reporters Prior to Discussions With Prime Minister Jean-Luc Dehaene of Belgium in Brussels**

*January 9, 1994*

***Bosnia***

**Q.** Mr. President, do you think that Bosnia should be at the top of the agenda for the NATO consideration?

**The President.** Well, we'll discuss that and a number of other things. We have a lot of issues to discuss. But the Prime Minister and I will discuss that and several other issues. As you know, he's just ended a tour of 6 months in the presidency of the EU, and in my judgment, he and Belgium did a superb job. They were very instrumental in the successes we had last summer in the G-7 meeting, which laid the foundation for the adoption of the GATT round. So we're going to talk a little about that, too.

***President's Mother***

**Q.** Mr. President, are you finding it difficult to engage in diplomacy after your personal loss?

**The President.** No, I'm glad to be here. My family and my friends and my mother's friends, we had a wonderful day yesterday, and I'm doing what I should be doing. I'm glad to have the opportunity to be here and go back to work.

NOTE: The exchange began at 1:55 p.m. at the Conrad Hotel. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.

**Remarks to Future Leaders of Europe in Brussels**

*January 9, 1994*

Thank you very much, Mr. Prime Minister, Mr. Mayor, distinguished leaders. I'm delighted to be here with the Prime Minister

and with many of Europe's future leaders in this great hall of history.

I first came to Brussels as a young man in a very different but a difficult time, when the future for us was uncertain. It is fitting that my first trip to Europe as President be about building a better future for the young people of Europe and the United States today and that it begin here in Belgium. As a great capital and as the headquarters of NATO and the European Union, Brussels and Belgium have long been at the center of Europe's steady progress toward greater security and greater prosperity. For those of you who know anything about me personally, I also have a great personal debt of nearly 40 years standing to this country because it was a Belgian, Adolphe Sax, who invented the saxophone. *[Laughter]*

I have come here at this time because I believe that it is time for us together to revitalize our partnership and to define a new security at a time of historic change. It is a new day for our transatlantic partnership: The cold war is over; Germany is united; the Soviet Union is gone; and a constitutional democracy governs Russia. The specter that haunted our citizens for decades, of tanks rolling in through Fulda Gap or nuclear annihilation raining from the sky, that specter, thank God, has largely vanished. Your generation is the beneficiary of those miraculous transformations.

In the end, the Iron Curtain rusted from within and was brought crashing down by the determination of brave men and women to live free, by the Poles and the Czechs, by the Russians, the Ukrainians, the people of the Baltics, by all those who understood that neither economics nor consciences can be ordered from above. Equally important, however, their heroic efforts succeeded because our resolve never failed, because the weapons of deterrence never disappeared and the message of democracy never disappeared.

As the East enjoys a new birth of freedom, one of freedom's great victories lives here in Europe's West: the peaceful cleaving together of nations which clashed for centuries. The transformation was wrought by visionary leaders such as Monnet, Schumann, Spaak, and Marshall, who understood that modern nations can enrich their futures more through cooperation than conquest. My administration supports European union and Europe's development of stronger institutions of common purpose and common action. We recognize we will benefit more from a strong and equal partner than from a weak one.

The fall of the Soviet empire and Western Europe's integration are the two greatest advances for peace in the last half of the 20th century. All of us are reaping their blessings. In particular, with the cold war over and in spite of the present global recession which clouds your future, all our nations now have the opportunity to take long, deferred steps toward economic and social renewal. My own Nation has made a beginning in putting our economic house in order, reducing our deficits, investing in our people, creating jobs, and sparking an economic recovery that we hope will help not only the United States but also will lift all nations. We're also facing up to some of the social problems in our country we have ignored for too long, from the challenge to provide universal health care to reducing crime in our streets to dealing with the needs of our poor children. We have a truly multicultural society. In one of our counties there are people from over 150 different national and ethnic groups. But we are working to build an American community for the 21st century.

And with the European Union, we have recently led the world to a new GATT agreement that will create millions of new jobs in all our countries. In many ways, it would be easy to offer you only a message of simple celebration, to trumpet our common heritage, to rejoice that our labors for peace have been rewarded, to cheer on the economic progress that is occurring. But this is not a time for self-congratulation. And certainly we have enough challenges that we should act as true partners. That is, we should share one another's burdens rather than only talking of

triumphs. And we should speak honestly about what we feel about where we are and where we should go.

This is the truth as I see it. We served history well during the cold war, but now history calls on us again to help consolidate freedom's new gains into a larger and a more lasting peace. We must build a new security for Europe. The old security was based on the defense of our bloc against another bloc. The new security must be found in Europe's integration, an integration of security forces, of market economies, of national democracies. The purpose of my trip to Europe is to help lead the movement to that integration and to assure you that America will be a strong partner in it.

For the peoples who broke communism's chains, we now see a race between rejuvenation and despair. And the outcome will—bound to shape the security of every nation in the transatlantic alliance. Today that race is being played out from the Balkans to central Asia. In one lane are the heirs of the enlightenment who seek to consolidate freedom's gains by building free economies, open democracies, and tolerant civic cultures. Pitted against them are the grim pretenders to tyranny's dark throne, the militant nationalists and demagogues who fan suspicions that are ancient and parade the pain of renewal in order to obscure the promise of reform.

We, none of us, can afford to be bystanders of that race. Too much is at stake. Consider this: The coming months and years may decide whether the Russian people continue to develop a peaceful market democracy or whether, in frustration, they elect leaders who incline back toward authoritarianism and empire. This period may determine whether the nations neighboring Russia thrive in freedom and join the ranks of non-nuclear states or founder under the strain of reform and cling to weapons that increase the risk of nuclear accident or diversion. This period may decide whether the states of the former Soviet bloc are woven into the fabric of transatlantic prosperity and security or are simply left hanging in isolation as they face the same daunting changes gripping so many others in Europe.

These pivotal decisions ultimately rest with the people who threw off communism's yoke.

They must make their own decisions about their own future. But we in the West can clearly help to shape their choices, and we must summon the political will to do so.

The task requires a steady and patient effort, guided by a strategic star that points us toward the integration of a broader Europe. It also requires a fair amount of humility, understanding that we cannot control every event in every country on every day. But if we are willing to assume the central challenge, we can revitalize not only the nations of the East but also our own transatlantic relationship.

Over the past half-century, the transatlantic community only realized half the promise of World War II's triumph over fascism. The other half lay captive behind Europe's walls of division. Now we have the chance to realize the full promise of Europe's victories without its great disappointment: Normandy without Yalta, the liberation of the low countries without the Berlin blockade.

During this past half-century, transatlantic security depended primarily on the deterrents provided by our military forces. Now the immediate threat to our East is not of advancing armies but of creeping instability. Countering that threat requires not only military security but also the promotion of democratic and economic renewal. Combined, these forces are the strongest bulwark against Europe's current dangers, against ethnic conflict, the abuse of human rights, the destabilizing refugee flows, the rise of aggressive regimes, and the spread of weapons of mass destruction.

The integration of the former Communist bloc with the rest of Europe will be gradual and often difficult, as Germany's bold efforts demonstrate. And like all great opportunities, we must remember that this one could be fleeting. We must not now let the Iron Curtain be replaced with a veil of indifference. For history will judge us as it judged with scorn those who preached isolationism between the World Wars and as it has judged with praise the bold architects of the transatlantic community after World War II.

With the cold war over, some in America with short memories have called for us to pack up and go home. I am asked often:

"Why do you maintain a presence in Europe? How can you justify the expense when we have so many problems here at home?" We tried that, right after World War I. The American people this year proved their resistance to the siren song of global withdrawal. We did so when the Congress voted for the North American Free Trade Agreement, voted for America to compete in a global economy, not to retreat. And we did so when we reached out to Europe and to others, and in working with the European Union, led the world to accept a new GATT agreement on world trade. I have come here today to declare and to demonstrate that Europe remains central to the interests of the United States and that we will help to work with our partners in seizing the opportunities before us all.

Without question, Europe is not the only focus of our engagement, we must reach out to Latin America and to Asia, areas that are increasingly important both to the United States and to Europe. And our bonds with Europe will be different than they were in the past, but make no mistake about it, the bonds that tie the United States and Europe are unique. We share a passionate faith that God has endowed us as individuals with inalienable rights and a belief that the state exists by our consent solely to advance freedom and security and prosperity for all of us as individuals. That is still a radical idea in the world in which we live. Developed by Locke and Montesquieu, put into practice in my country by Jefferson and Madison, it has toppled tyrants, it has drawn millions to our country's shores. Over three centuries, the ties of kinship between the United States and Europe have fostered bonds of commerce, and you remain our most valued partner, not just in the cause of democracy and freedom but also in the economics of trade and investment.

But above all, the core of our security remains with Europe. That is why America's commitment to Europe's safety and stability remains as strong as ever. That is why I urged NATO to convene this week's summit. It is why I am committed to keeping roughly 100,000 American troops stationed in Europe, consistent with the expressed desires of our allies here. It is not habit but security

and partnership that justifies this continuing commitment by the United States. Just as we have worked in partnership with Europe on every major security challenge in this century, it is now time for us to join in building the new security for the 21st century, the century in which most of you in this room will live most of your lives. The new security must seek to bind a broader Europe together with a strong fabric woven of military cooperation, prosperous market economies, and vital democracies.

Let me speak briefly about each of these. The first and most important element of the security must be military strength and cooperation. The cold war is over, but war itself is not over. As we know, it rages today not only in distant lands but right here in Europe and the former Yugoslavia. That murderous conflict reminds us that even after the cold war, military forces remain relevant. It also reveals the difficulties of applying military force to conflicts within as well as among states. And it teaches us that it is best to act early to prevent conflicts that we may later not be able to control.

As we work to resolve that tragedy and ease the suffering of its victims, we also need to change our security institutions so they can better address such conflicts and advance Europe's integration. Many institutions will play a role, including the European Union, the Western European Union, the Council of Europe, the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, and the United Nations. But NATO, history's greatest military alliance, must be central to that process.

Only NATO has the military forces, the integrated command, the broad legitimacy, and the habits of cooperation that are essential to draw in new participants and respond to new challenges. One of the deepest transformations within the transatlantic community over the past half-century occurred because the armed forces of our respected nations trained, studied, and marched through their careers together. It is not only the compatibility of our weapons but the camaraderie of our warriors that provide the sinews behind our mutual security guarantees and our best hope for peace.

Two years ago our nations began to adapt NATO to this new era by creating the North

Atlantic Cooperation Council. It includes all the states of the former Soviet bloc as well as the 16 of NATO. Now it is time to move beyond that dialog and create an operating partnership. That is why I have proposed that we create the Partnership For Peace.

This partnership will advance a process of evolution for NATO's formal enlargement. It looks to the day when NATO will take on new members who assume the alliance's full responsibilities. It will create a framework in which former Communist states and others not now members of NATO can participate with NATO members in joint military planning, training, exercises, and other efforts. This partnership will build new bonds of cooperation among the militaries of the East and the West. It will reinforce the development of democracies and democratic practices, such as respect for human rights and civilian control over military forces. It can give NATO new tools for responding to ethnic instability and other dangers of our era. The use of NATO forces in such missions will always be considered and must be on a case-by-case basis. But tomorrow's summit will put us in a stronger position to make those decisions and to make them early and wisely.

The Partnership For Peace will not alter NATO's fundamental mission of defending NATO territory from attack. We cannot afford to abandon that mission while the dream of empire still burns in the minds of some who look longingly toward a brutal past. But neither can we afford to draw a new line between East and West that could create a self-fulfilling prophecy of future confrontation.

This partnership opens the door to cooperation with all of NATO's former adversaries, including Russia, Ukraine, and the other newly independent states, based on a belief that freedom's boundaries must now be defined by new behavior, not old history.

I say to all those in Europe and the United States who would simply have us draw a new line in Europe further east that we should not foreclose the possibility of the best possible future for Europe, which is a democracy everywhere, a market economy everywhere, people cooperating everywhere for mutual security. We can guard against a lesser fu-

ture, but we should strive for the best future for you and your generation.

NATO can also help to meet Europe's new security challenges by doing more to counter the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. I tell you, frankly, it is one of our most difficult and challenging tasks. Countering those weapons and the missiles that deliver them will require close cooperation, honesty and discipline, and a willingness of some not now willing to do it to forgo immediate financial gain.

The danger is clear and present. Growing missile capabilities are bringing more of Europe into the range of rogue states such as Iran and Libya. There are disturbing reports of efforts to smuggle nuclear materials into and out of Eastern Europe. And this eastward-looking summit will give us the chance to begin to address the threat on our own territory.

The second element of the new security we are building must be greater economic vitality, the issue which I would imagine is of most immediate concern to most of you. We must build it on vibrant and open market economies, the engines that have given us the greatest prosperity in human history over the last several decades in Europe and in the United States.

Our combined success in leading the world to a new GATT agreement capped 7 years of effort to expand prosperity to all trading nations. Now we must define a successor agenda to GATT that focuses on the renewal of advanced economies and the enlargement of prosperities to the nations of our East that are making the difficult transitions to market economics.

First, the renewal of our own economies is critical. Unless we are creating jobs and unless we are raising incomes in Europe and in the United States and Japan, in the advanced countries of the world, it will be difficult for the people of those nations, all our nations, to continue to support of policy of involvement with the rest of the world.

The nations of the European Union face particular severe economic challenges with nearly 20 million people unemployed and, in Germany's case, the extraordinarily high costs of unification. All our nations have had to struggle against the restless forces of this

new global economy, against the competition that comes from countries with lower wages or that is generated when technology enables us to do more with fewer workers. But there is not new technology to provide new jobs for those who are displaced. This is a problem not just for Europe but also for the United States and now for Japan as well.

Among the Atlantic nations, economic stagnation has clearly eroded public support in finances for outward-looking foreign policies and for greater integration. Our respective efforts to revive our own economies are, therefore, important not only for our own living standards but also for our collective strength. And both of them will shape the future you and your children will have.

We must proceed quickly to implement the GATT agreement. But we also must learn together and from each other on making a broader and bolder series of adjustments to this new global economy.

We Americans have a lot to learn from Europe in matters of job training and apprenticeship, of moving our people from school to work, into good paying jobs with the capacity to continue to learn new skills as the economy forces them to do so. But we also may have something to teach in the area of the flexibility of our job structure and our capacity to generate work and new employment opportunities. This is an area in which we can usefully draw lessons from each other. And that is why I am pleased that in March our leading ministers will hold a jobs conference that I proposed last July. We simply must figure out how to create more jobs and how to reward people who work both harder and smarter in the workplace. It is the basis of all the other attitudes that we want to foster to remain engaged with one another and with the rest of the world.

But as we work to strengthen our own economies, we must know that we serve our own prosperity and our security by helping the new market economies of Europe's eastern half to thrive. Successful market reforms in those states will help to deflate the region's demagogues. It will help to ease ethnic tensions. It will help new democracies to take root. It is also in your long-term interest because one of the things that we have learned is that wealthy nations cannot grow richer

unless they have customers beyond their borders for their goods and their services.

So the short-term difficulties of taking Eastern Europe into our economic alliance will be more than rewarded if they succeed and if they are customers for Western Europe's goods and services tomorrow. That is why early on in our administration we committed to increase support substantially for market reforms in the new states of the former Soviet Union and why we have continued our support for economic transition in Central and Eastern Europe.

Ultimately, the success of market reforms to the East will depend more on trade than aid. None of us have enough money to markedly change the future of those countries as they move to free market systems in the government coffers. We cannot give them enough aid to make them full partners. They must grow and trade their way into full partnership with us.

One of our priorities, therefore, should be to reduce trade barriers to the former Communist states. It will make little sense for us to applaud their market reforms on the one hand while offering only selective access to our markets on the other. That's like inviting someone to a castle and refusing to let down the drawbridge. The United States has already eliminated many of our cold war barriers to products from these countries. And all our nations must find more ways to do the same thing. The economic success of these states simply cannot be separated from our own renewal and security.

In 1931, a remarkable British political cartoon portrayed the United States and Europe in a rowboat. At the back end of the boat, where Europe's more Eastern powers sat, there was a terrible leak, and it was sinking fast. The front end, where the United States and Western Europe were, was still afloat. The boat was sinking from the back end. And one of the figures in our end of the boat was saying, "Thank goodness, the leak's not at our end of the boat." In the end, the whole boat sank. That will happen again unless we work together. Europe's Western half clearly, as history shows, cannot long be secure if the Eastern half remains in turmoil.

The third and final imperative of this new security is to support the growth of democ-

racy and individual freedoms that has begun throughout Europe's former Communist states. The success of these democratic reforms make us all more secure because democracies tend not to wage war on one another, and they tend not to break their word to one another. Democratic governments nurture civil society, respect for human rights and habits of simple tolerance. The democratic values at the heart of the Western community are also our best answer to the aggressive nationalism and ethnic hatreds unleashed by the end of the cold war.

We in the transatlantic community must commit ourselves to helping democracy succeed in all the former Communist states that are Western Europe's immediate neighbors, because their security matters to our security. Nowhere is democracy's success more important to us all than there and then in Russia. I will say again: In Russia, if the nation continues to evolve as a market democracy, satisfied within her borders and at peace with her neighbors, defining her greatness in terms of the ability to enable all of the children of Russia to live to the fullest of their potential, then our road toward Europe's full integration will be wider and smoother and safer. As one Ukrainian legislator recently stated, "If Russia is democratic, Europe will be calm."

The results of the recent elections in Russia and the statements of some Russian political figures have given us all genuine cause for concern. We must consistently condemn expression of intolerance and threats of aggression. But we should also keep those concerns in some historical perspective. It was only 2 years ago, after all, that the Soviet Union dissolved. Just 2 months ago, Russia appeared to be on the brink of a civil war. But since then Russia has held a free and fair national election, its people have ratified a genuinely democratic constitution, and they have elected their first-ever post-Soviet legislature. And the Government continues to pursue democratic and economic reform.

The transformation Russia is undertaking is absolutely staggering. If you just think about what the country has been like since 1917, if you go back to the 18th century and imagine the history of the nation from that point to this, the idea that the nation could



seriously be involved by democratic vote in undertaking these transformations is absolutely staggering. We cannot expect them to correct overnight three-quarters of a century of repressive leadership, three-quarters of a century of totalitarian policy, or a whole national history in which there was no democracy.

As in the other Communist nations, this will be the work of generations. We in the United States have been at it for 200 years now, and we're still working to try to get it right. All of us have to recognize that there will be wrong turns and even reversals, as there have been in all of our own countries throughout our histories. But as long as these states continue their progress toward democracy and respect the rights of their own and other people, they understand the rights of their minorities and their neighbors, then we should support their progress with a steady patience.

In order to support these new democracies, we are supporting grassroots efforts to build the institutions of civil society, from community organizers in the Czech Republic to election volunteers in Bulgaria. We also will take steps to encourage cooperation among the new democracies. As with Western Europe after World War II, we must get regional neighbors working together rather than looking at each other with suspicion.

The broader integration in peace we are building is not only a European concern, I say again, it is distinctly in the interests of the United States. My Nation has thrilled at the progress of freedom on this continent over the past 5 years. And we understand well the toll that European discord ultimately takes on our own people.

Only a few hours from this place lie the graves of thousands of Americans who died in Europe's two great wars. History records where they fell, at Flanders Field, on the shores of Normandy, and in the Battle of the Bulge. But let us remember as well why they came here, why they left the safety of their homes to fight in a distant land. They came because our security depends more on things that go far beyond geographical divides. Our security depends on more than the ocean that divides us. It depends on the existence of a strong and free and democratic Europe.

Today we can honor the sacrifice of those Americans buried here on your soil by expanding the reach of the freedoms they fought and gave their lives to preserve. The fight for your generation across a broader Europe will be joined and won not on this continent's beaches or across its plains but rather in its new parliaments and city councils, in the offices and factories of its new market economies, in the hearts and minds of the young people like many of you here. You have the most to gain from a Europe that is integrated in terms of security, in terms of economics, in terms of democracies.

Ultimately, you will have to decide what sort of Europe you want and how hard you are willing to work for it. But I want you to know that the United States stands by you in that battle, as we have in the other battles of the 20th century.

I believe that our freedom is indivisible. I believe our destinies are joined. I believe that the 21st century can be the most exciting period that Europe and the United States have ever known and that your future can be the richest and brightest of any generation. But we will have to work to make it so.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6 p.m. in the Gothic Room at the Hotel De Ville. In his remarks, he referred to Prime Minister Jean-Luc Dehaene of Belgium and Mayor Jose Desmaret of Brussels.

## **Remarks on Departure From The Hotel De Ville to in Brussels**

*January 9, 1994*

Thank you all for coming out tonight. Thank you for waving the flags. I'm sorry we didn't have more room inside, but I'm glad we could show the speech on the screen.

Let me say that I have been in this place many times. I've been here as a student. I've been here as the Governor of my State. I never imagined I would actually be here as President and you would be here to say hello. You have already heard my speech; I have really nothing else to say except I'm delighted to be here. We are here to build a new and stronger future for Europe and a better part-

nership between Europe and the United States, and I hope all of you will support that.

Happy New Year, and thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:47 p.m. in the Grand Place. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

### Remarks to the American Diplomatic Community in Brussels

January 9, 1994

**The President.** Thank you very much. Thank you for coming. Thank you for playing. And thank you for waiting a little as I had the chance to stop downtown and talk to some citizens after I gave my speech.

I want to tell you how very much I appreciate the work that all of you are doing for your country a long way from home, but at the center of the future we have to make together. I think in a way you're all fortunate to be serving in Brussels at such a pivotal point in the history of Europe and the history of the world. This is a remarkable city, the headquarters of the Commission on European Unity and Union and NATO. And I want to thank all of our three Ambassadors behind us for the work that they have done. The importance of our bilateral relationship with Belgium can hardly be overstated.

Alan Blinken, I think, will represent us very well, particularly if all of you at the embassy do what everybody tries to do at the White House every day and make sure I'm not my own worst enemy. [Laughter] I want to thank Bob Hunter for the work he's doing at NATO and say that this Partnership For Peace, contrary to what some have suggested, is not a weak limitation on the future of European security, it is a strong first step that opens the possibility of the best possible future for Europe in which everyone will have an opportunity to be a democracy and to be part of our shared security. And I want to say a special word of thanks to my longtime friend Stu Eizenstat for coming here to serve. We've worked hard to get this GATT agreement. The European Union is now a reality. We have to see it through; there's still a lot to do.

I stopped at a little coffee shop and restaurant on the way out here tonight, just talked to some citizens, and I met this incredible Belgian lady who said, "You're right, we've got to compete. We can't run away from the world." And she said, "I know how hard it is economically, but 2 years ago I didn't have a job, and now I have my own business and I'm doing very well, and I'm excited about the European Union. I'm going to do business in other countries now." We've got to somehow communicate that spirit, that belief that we can bring this economy back, this whole global economy back to people here so they can believe in themselves. I can tell you that, back home, that is beginning to happen. We do have more control over our economic destiny. The deficit is coming down after going up for 12 years. Jobs are being created, and movement is there in the economy. And there is a sense that we're beginning to confront problems that we have ignored for way, way too long.

So I think we're coming here at a very important time and an appropriate time. And I guess I ought to end by apologizing to those of you who have had to do so much extra work because of this trip and the headaches I may have caused you. But believe me, it is in a worthy cause, and we are going to make a new future for the people of Europe and the people of the world so that we don't repeat the mistakes of the 20th century in the 21st and so that we give all these children a better future than any generation has ever known.

Thank you very much.

**Mayor of Dinant.** In the name of the city of Dinant, I have the honor to give to the President of USA an instrument of sax—the saxophone, yes. [Laughter]

**The President.** In case you didn't understand it, Dinant, Belgium, is the home of Adolphe Sax, the man who invented the saxophone. And this says, "Adolphe Sax, 1814 to 1894. To Bill Clinton, President of the United States." And it says something else, but my glasses are not here. [Laughter] Dinant, Belgium, and—

**Mayor of Dinant.** "International Year of the Saxophone."

**The President.** Yes, the international year of Adolphe Sax. And it points out that this wonderful horn was made in Paris by Selmer. Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:03 p.m. at the Conrad Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Alan Blinken, U.S. Ambassador to Belgium; Robert Hunter, U.S. Ambassador to NATO; and Stuart Eizenstat, U.S. Ambassador to the European Union. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

### **Memorandum on Assistance to the States of the Former Soviet Union**

*January 8, 1994*

*Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense*

*Subject:* Notification Under 10 U.S.C. 2215 for the New Independent States (NIS) of the Former Soviet Union

Pursuant to Section 2215, Title 10, United States Code, as amended by Section 1106 of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1994, I hereby certify that making available the funds appropriated under the heading "Operation and Maintenance, Defense Agencies" in the Supplemental Appropriations for the NIS of the Former Soviet Union Act, 1993 (Title VI of Public Law 103-87) to the Agency for International Development, Assistance for the NIS of the Former Soviet Union, is in the national security interest of the United States.

You are authorized and directed to submit a copy of this certification to the appropriate committees of the Congress and to arrange for its publication in the *Federal Register*.

**William J. Clinton**

NOTE: This memorandum was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on January 10.

### **Memorandum on Assistance to the States of the Former Soviet Union**

*January 8, 1994*

*Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense*

*Subject:* Transfer of Funds for Assistance for the New Independent States (NIS) of the Former Soviet Union

Pursuant to the Supplemental Appropriations for the NIS of the Former Soviet Union Act, 1993 (Title VI of Public Law 103-87) (the "Act"), I hereby determine that programs described in Section 560 of the Foreign Operations, Export Financing and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 1994 (Titles I-V of Public Law 103-87) and programs described in Section 498 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended (Public Law 87-195), will increase the national security of the United States.

The political and economic transformation of the NIS of the former Soviet Union into peaceful market-oriented democracies will directly reduce the security threat to the United States and lead to substantial savings in the cost of the defense of the United States. The above-mentioned programs facilitate this transformation, thereby making a critical contribution to increasing the national security of the United States.

Accordingly, unless I instruct otherwise in the interim, on the thirtieth day following submission to the appropriate Committees of the Congress of the memorandum regarding notification under 10 U.S.C. 2215 for the NIS of the former Soviet Union, you are authorized and directed to exercise your authority under the first two provisos under the heading "Operation and Maintenance, Defense Agencies" in the Act to transfer funds in the amounts and to the accounts detailed in the attachment to this memorandum. Any funds transferred to the Agency for International Development may thereafter, at the direction of the Secretary of State or the Coordinator designated under Section 102 of the FREEDOM Support Act (Public Law 102-511), be allocated or transferred pursuant to the authority of Section 632 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended. In the event of such transfer, the implementing agency shall be the agency responsible

and accountable for the management, audit and use of such funds.

**William J. Clinton**

NOTE: This memorandum was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on January 10.

**Letter to Congressional Leaders  
Reporting on Peacekeeping  
Operations in the Former Yugoslav  
Republic of Macedonia**

*January 8, 1994*

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

Six months ago I provided you with my initial report on the deployment of a U.S. peacekeeping contingent as part of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. I am now providing this followup report, consistent with the War Powers Resolution, to ensure that the Congress is kept informed about this important U.S. contribution in support of multilateral efforts in the region.

As a significant part of U.N. efforts to prevent the Balkan conflict from spreading and to contribute to stability in the region, the U.N. Security Council adopted Resolution 795 (1992) authorizing the presence of UNPROFOR for peacekeeping purposes in Macedonia. In early 1993, a Nordic battalion was deployed to Macedonia with the mission of monitoring and reporting developments along the northern border that could signify a threat to the territory of Macedonia. Consistent with U.N. Security Council Resolution 842 (1993), the United States augmented the UNPROFOR Macedonia peacekeeping force with a combat-equipped U.S. Army contingent. The U.N. Security Council extended the UNPROFOR mandate in Resolution 871 (1993). Our U.S. Armed Forces personnel have served with distinction in Macedonia continuously since their arrival in early July 1993.

The peacekeeping operations in Macedonia have been conducted safely and effectively, and I am certain that you share my pride in and appreciation for the superb efforts of the Americans who are contributing so much to the UNPROFOR Macedonia mission. Unsurprisingly, the U.S. Army per-

sonnel received high praise from the U.N. Commander, Danish Brigadier General Thomsen, for their outstanding professionalism and capabilities, which enabled them quickly to assume an integral role in the force. Upon receiving orientation and training on the mission at UNPROFOR headquarters in Skopje, the U.S. unit began conducting observation and monitoring operations along the northeastern section of the Macedonian border with Serbia. The U.S. contribution has thus enhanced UNPROFOR's coverage and effectiveness in preventing a spillover of the conflict, and has underscored the U.S. commitment to the achievement of important multilateral goals in the region.

As always, the safety of U.S. personnel is of paramount concern. U.S. forces assigned to UNPROFOR Macedonia have encountered no hostilities, and there have been no U.S. casualties since the deployment began. The mission has the support of the government and the local population. Our forces will remain fully prepared not only to fulfill their peacekeeping mission but to defend themselves if necessary.

On December 14, 1993, elements of the U.S. Army Berlin Brigade's reinforced company team (RCT) assigned to UNPROFOR Macedonia began redeploying to Germany as part of the normal rotation of U.S. forces. Lead elements of a similarly equipped and sized RCT began arriving in Macedonia on December 27, 1993. The approximately 300-person replacement unit—Task Force 1-6, from 1st Battalion, 6th Infantry Regiment, 3d Infantry Division (Mechanized), Vilseck, Germany—assumed the mission on January 6, 1994.

The U.S. contribution to the UNPROFOR Macedonia peacekeeping mission is but one part of a much larger, continuing commitment towards resolution of the extremely difficult situation in the former Yugoslavia. I am not able to indicate at this time how long our deployment to Macedonia will be necessary. I have continued the deployment of U.S. Armed Forces for these purposes in accordance with section 7 of the United Nations Participation Act and pursuant to my constitutional authority as Commander in Chief and Chief Executive.

I am grateful for the continuing support of the Congress for U.S. efforts, including the deployment of U.S. Armed Forces to Macedonia, towards peace and stability in the former Yugoslavia. I remain committed to consulting closely with the Congress on our foreign policy, and I look forward to continued cooperation as we move forward toward attainment of our goals in the region.

Sincerely,

**William J. Clinton**

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Robert C. Byrd, President pro tempore of the Senate. This letter was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on January 10.

### **Remarks to the North Atlantic Council in Brussels**

*January 10, 1994*

Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary General, and distinguished leaders. I am deeply honored to represent my Nation at the North Atlantic Council this morning, as eight previous Presidents have done before me. Each of us came here for the same compelling reason: The security of the North Atlantic region is vital to the security of the United States. The founders of this alliance created the greatest military alliance in history. It was a bold undertaking. I think all of us know that we have come together this week because history calls upon us to be equally bold once again in the aftermath of the cold war. Now we no longer fear attack from a common enemy. But if our common adversary has vanished, we know our common dangers have not.

With the cold war over, we must confront the destabilizing consequences of the unfreezing of history which the end of the cold war has wrought. The threat to us now is not of advancing armies so much as of creeping instability. The best strategy against this threat is to integrate the former Communist states into our fabric of liberal democracy, economic prosperity, and military cooperation. For our security in this generation will be shaped by whether reforms in these nations succeed in the face of their own very

significant economic frustration, ethnic tensions, and intolerant nationalism.

The size of the reactionary vote in Russia's recent election reminds us again of the strength of democracy's opponents. The ongoing slaughter in Bosnia tallies the price when those opponents prevail. If we don't meet our new challenge, then most assuredly, we will once again, someday down the road, face our old challenges again. If democracy in the East fails, then violence and disruption from the East will once again harm us and other democracies.

I believe our generation's stewardship of this grand alliance, therefore, will most critically be judged by whether we succeed in integrating the nations to our east within the compass of Western security and Western values. For we've been granted an opportunity without precedent: We really have the chance to recast European security on historic new principles: the pursuit of economic and political freedom. And I would argue to you that we must work hard to succeed now, for this opportunity may not come to us again.

In effect, the world wonders now whether we have the foresight and the courage our predecessors had to act on our long-term interests. I'm confident that the steel in this alliance has not rusted. Our nations have proved that by joining together in the common effort in the Gulf war. We proved it anew this past year by working together, after 7 long years of effort, in a spirit of compromise and harmony to reach a new GATT agreement. And now we must do it once again.

To seize the great opportunity before us I have proposed that we forge what we have all decided to call the Partnership For Peace, opened to all the former Communist states of the Warsaw Pact, along with other non-NATO states. The membership of the Partnership will plan and train and exercise together and work together on missions of common concern. They should be invited to work directly with NATO both here and in the coordination cell in Mons.

The Partnership will prepare the NATO alliance to undertake new tasks that the times impose upon us. The Combined Joint Task Force Headquarters we are creating will let

us act both effectively and with dispatch in helping to make and keep the peace and in helping to head off some of the terrible problems we are now trying to solve today. We must also ready this alliance to meet new threats, notably from weapons of mass destruction and the means of delivering them.

Building on NATO's creation of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council 2 years ago, the Partnership For Peace sets in motion a process that leads to the enlargement of NATO. We began this alliance with 12 members. Today there are 16, and each one has strengthened the alliance. Indeed, our treaty always looked to the addition of new members who shared the alliance's purposes and who could enlarge its orbit of democratic security. Thus, in leading us toward the addition of these Eastern states, the Partnership For Peace does not change NATO's original vision, it realizes that vision.

So let us say here to the people in Europe's east, we share with you a common destiny, and we are committed to your success. The democratic community has grown, and now it is time to begin welcoming these newcomers to our neighborhood.

As President Mitterrand said so eloquently, some of the newcomers want to be members of NATO right away, and some have expressed reservations about this concept of the Partnership For Peace. Some have asked me in my own country, "Well, is this just the best you can do? Is this sort of splitting the difference between doing nothing and full membership at least for the Visegrad states?" And to that, let me answer at least for my part an emphatic no, for many of the same reasons President Mitterrand has already outlined.

Why should we now draw a new line through Europe just a little further east? Why should we now do something which could foreclose the best possible future for Europe? The best possible future would be a democratic Russia committed to the security of all of its European neighbors. The best possible future would be a democratic Ukraine, a democratic government in every one of the newly independent states of the former Soviet Union, all committed to market cooperation, to common security, and to

democratic ideals. We should not foreclose that possibility.

The Partnership For Peace, I would argue, gives us the best of both worlds. It enables us to prepare and to work toward the enlargement of NATO when other countries are capable of fulfilling their NATO responsibilities. It enables us to do it in a way that gives us the time to reach out to Russia and to these other nations of the former Soviet Union, which have been almost ignored through this entire debate by people around the world, in a way that leaves open the possibility of a future for Europe that totally breaks from the destructive past we have known.

So I say to you, I do not view this as some sort of half-hearted compromise. In substance, this is a good idea. It is the right thing to do at this moment in history. It leaves open the best possible future for Europe, and leaves us the means to settle for a future that is not the best but is much better than the past. And I would argue that is the course that we all ought to pursue.

I think we have to be clear, in doing it, about certain assumptions and consequences. First, if we move forward in this manner, we must reaffirm the bonds of our own alliance. America pledges its efforts in that common purpose. I pledge to maintain roughly 100,000 troops in Europe, consistent with the expressed wishes of our allies. The people of Europe can count on America to maintain this commitment.

Second, we have to recognize that this new security challenge requires a range of responses different from the ones of the past. That is why our administration has broken with previous American administrations in going beyond what others have done to support European efforts to advance their own security and interests. All of you have received our support in moving in ways beyond NATO. We supported the Maastricht Treaty. We support the commitment of the European Union to a common foreign and security policy. We support your efforts to refurbish the Western European Union so that it will assume a more vigorous role in keeping Europe secure. Consistent with that goal, we have proposed making NATO assets available to WEU operations in which NATO itself is

not involved. While NATO must remain the linchpin of our security, all these efforts will show our people and our legislatures a renewed purpose in European institutions and a better balance of responsibilities within the transatlantic community.

Finally, in developing the Partnership For Peace, each of us must willingly assume the burdens to make that succeed. This must not be a gesture. It is a forum. It is not just a forum. This Partnership For Peace is also a military and security initiative, consistent with what NATO was established to achieve. There must be a somber appreciation that expanding our membership will mean extending commitments that must be supported by military strategies and postures. Adding new members entails not only hard decisions but hard resources. Today those resources are not great, but nonetheless, as the Secretary General told me in the meeting this morning, they must be forthcoming in order for this to be taken seriously by our allies and our friends who will immediately subscribe to the Partnership.

Let me also—in response to something that President Mitterrand said and that is on all of our minds, the problem in Bosnia—say that when we talk about making hard decisions, we must be prepared to make them. And tonight I have been asked to talk a little bit about the work I have been doing with Russia and what I believe we all should be doing to support democracy and economic reform there. But I'd like to make two points about Bosnia.

First, I want to reaffirm that the United States remains ready to help NATO implement a viable settlement in Bosnia voluntarily reached by the parties. We would, of course, have to seek the support of our Congress in this, but let me say I think we can get it if such an operation would clearly be under NATO command, that the means of carrying out the mission be equivalent to its purposes, and that these purposes be clear in scope and in time.

Second, I welcome the reassertion by the alliance in this declaration of our warning against the strangulation of Sarajevo and the safe areas. But if we are going to reassert this warning it cannot be seen as mere rhetoric. Those who attack Sarajevo must under-

stand that we are serious. If we leave the sentence in the declaration we have to mean it.

Those of us gathered here must understand that, therefore, if the situation does not improve, the alliance must be prepared to act. What is at stake is not just the safety of the people in Sarajevo and any possibility of bringing this terrible conflict to an end but the credibility of the alliance itself. And that, make no mistake about it, will have great ramifications in the future in other contexts.

Therefore, in voting for this language, I expect the North Atlantic Council to take action when necessary. And I think if anyone here does not agree with that, you shouldn't vote for language. I think it is the appropriate language, but we have to be clear when we put something like this in the declaration.

Let me say finally that I ran across the following quotation by a distinguished and now deceased American political writer, Walter Lippmann. Three days after the North Atlantic Treaty was signed Lippmann wrote this, prophetically, "The pact will be remembered long after the conditions that have provoked it are no longer the main business of mankind. For the treaty recognizes and proclaims a community of interest which is much older than the conflict with the Soviet Union and, come what may, will survive it."

Well, this meeting will prove him right. The Soviet Union is gone, but our community of interest endures. And now it is up to us to build a new security for a new future for the Atlantic people in the 21st century.

Thank you, Mr. Secretary.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 10:15 a.m. at NATO Headquarters. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

## **The President's News Conference in Brussels**

*January 10, 1994*

### ***Initiatives in Europe***

**The President.** Good evening. Ladies and gentlemen, I came to Europe to help strengthen European integration, to create a new security for the United States and its

Atlantic partners, based on the idea that we had a real chance to integrate rather than to divide Europe, both East and West, an integration based on shared democracies, market economies, and defense cooperation.

Today we have taken two giant steps toward greater security for the United States, for Europe and the world. First, this afternoon I joined our NATO allies in signing the documents that create the Partnership For Peace. The United States proposed this Partnership to lay the foundation for intensive cooperation among the armed forces of our NATO members, all former Warsaw Pact states, and other non-NATO European states who wish to join the Partnership. By providing for the practical integration and cooperation of these diverse military forces, the Partnership For Peace will lead to the enlargement of NATO membership and will support our efforts to integrate Europe.

I'm also pleased to announce that on Friday the United States will sign with Ukraine and Russia an agreement which commits Ukraine to eliminate nuclear weapons from its territory. These include 176 intercontinental ballistic missiles and some 1,500 warheads targeted at the United States. This is a hopeful and historic breakthrough that enhances the security of all three parties and every other nation as well.

When I came into office, I said that one of my highest priorities was combating the proliferation of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. The issue of nuclear weapons in the former Soviet Union was the most important nonproliferation challenge facing the world. With the Soviet Union dissolved, four countries were left with nuclear weapons: Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus. I have sought to ensure that the breakup of the Soviet Union does not result in the birth of new nuclear states which could raise the chances for nuclear accident, nuclear terrorism, or nuclear proliferation.

In just one year, after an intensive diplomatic effort by the United States, both Kazakhstan and Belarus agreed to accede to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and to join the ranks of nonnuclear nations. Much credit for these actions goes to President Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan, whom I will be

welcoming to Washington in February, and Chairman Shushkevich of Belarus, whom I will meet in Minsk later this week, as well as to the people and Parliaments of those two countries.

My administration has been working with the Governments of Ukraine and Russia to address Ukraine's security concerns so that it could follow suit. The trilateral accord we will sign will lead to the complete removal of nuclear weapons from Ukraine.

I want to congratulate both President Yeltsin and President Kravchuk of Ukraine for their statesmanship in negotiating this accord with us. I want to commend President Kravchuk and to thank him for his leadership. I look forward to consulting with him personally during the brief stop at Borispol Airport in Kiev on Wednesday evening. President Kravchuk will later join President Yeltsin and me in Moscow on Friday to finalize the agreement in a trilateral meeting.

This agreement opens a new era in our relationship with Ukraine, an important country at the center of Europe, a country, I might add, which was mentioned frequently during our meetings today. We expect to expand our cooperation with Ukraine, especially in the economic area. We look forward to Ukraine's playing an important role in efforts to move toward the integration of a broader Europe.

Today I spent the day at NATO Headquarters, one of the pillars of our security in the post-World War II era. Throughout that era, our security was defined by the stability of Europe's division. But with the two breakthroughs for peace announced today, we can begin to imagine as well as to define a new security for the post-cold-war era founded not on Europe's division but instead on its integration. Throughout the 20th century, now drawing to a close, Europe has seen far too much bloodshed based on these divisions. But with strong democracies, strong market economies, strong bonds of defense cooperation, and this strong step to combat nuclear weapons proliferation, we can make the next century far more secure for all of our people by building a united Europe.

Andrea [Andrea Mitchell, NBC News]?



**Russia**

**Q.** Mr. President, there are some who have suggested that even this Partnership For Peace is going to be too much of an exacerbation to the nationalist tendencies in Russia. And today Mr. Zhirinovskiy said that if NATO troops are ever stationed near the borders of Russia, it's a mistake, it's finished for NATO and/or other forces who have supported this organization, it's the beginning of a third world war if the NATO or other forces are along those borders. How do you respond to that and to the concerns that there are people in Russia who will not even take this step kindly?

**The President.** My response to that is that his, thank goodness, is not the governing voice in Russia and that we have offered to the Russians, to all the states of the former Soviet Union, and to all the Eastern European countries which were in the Warsaw Pact the opportunity to participate in this Partnership For Peace.

The reason I wanted the Partnership For Peace rather than nothing, which perhaps Mr. Zhirinovskiy would have preferred, or immediate membership, which others would have preferred, is that I thought it gave us the best chance, first, to develop substantive military and defense cooperation for these countries; second, to give nations who wish to be members, full members, of NATO the chance to develop the capacity to assume their responsibilities; and third, to give us the chance, most importantly of all, to create a Europe that really is integrated, that is based on unity and not some dividing line that at least is further east than the cold war dividing line was.

So I simply—I disagree with the position that he's taken, but that is not the position that governs Russia, thank goodness.

**Q.** Do you think, just to follow, that Russia would be joining the Partnership For Peace?

**The President.** They're certainly welcome to do so. We've issued——

**Q.** Could that happen in the next few days?

**The President.** I think that all the nations to whom the welcome mat has been put out may want to take some—some may want to take more time than others to think about it. But we certainly expect to have some sort

of continuing defense cooperation with Russia, and they are certainly welcome to be a part of this.

Go ahead, Rita [Rita Braver, CBS News]?

**Bosnia**

**Q.** On the subject of Bosnia, earlier today you said that NATO would be reasserting its warning against the strangulation of Sarajevo. You said if we're going to reassert this warning, it cannot be seen as mere rhetoric. Yet, NATO has done nothing in Bosnia really. What changed today after your meeting?

**The President.** Well, let me point out, NATO has done everything that the United Nations has asked it to do. With our allies, we have conducted the longest airlift in history to bring supplies to the people of Bosnia. We have supported working with our allies' operations in the Adriatic and other operations designed to support the embargo. We have supported the no-fly zone. We have done everything the United Nations has asked us to do.

What we are going to discuss tonight in greater detail—let me say, I don't want to say any—I'll be glad to talk about my comment today, but I do want to tell you we're going to have more discussions about this tonight at dinner.

The point I was trying to make today that Secretary General Woerner also wanted to make was that if we were going to restate, in effect, the warning we adopted in August that if Sarajevo were subject to undue and continued shelling in a way that threatened it significantly—and there was more shelling today—that we would consider having air strikes, that we had to be prepared to do that. And I can tell you that on behalf of the United States that if the facts warrant that, we would certainly ask the North Atlantic Council to take it up. That is, we would ask all of our allies and NATO to consider an appropriate response. Now, there's still the U.N. to deal with and other things, but we believe we should go forward.

The question of what we can do to get a peace in Bosnia, however, I want to caution you, goes far beyond that. That is, it depends upon the willingness of all the parties to agree to a reasonable settlement, and what may be appropriate in dealing with relieving

the siege of Sarajevo may or may not actually hasten an end to the war. So we'll be discussing that in greater detail.

Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International]?

**Q.** You're not ready for the air strikes yet, sir?

**The President.** Well, let me say, what I want to do at this meeting—this meeting is not about air strikes. This meeting is about whether we're going to reaffirm our position. I can just tell you that the United States would be prepared to ask the North Atlantic Council to consider that if the siege of Sarajevo continues and the facts warrant it.

#### **Partnership For Peace**

**Q.** You made one of the toughest statements you ever have made for an international group. What was the response of the allies? I mean, how did they take it? Did they say they would go along?

**The President.** Well, we're going to talk about it tonight. Some did; some have not commented yet. But let me say today the most important thing and the thing we talked about today was our agreement on the strategy for reaching out to the East. Over the long run, that will have a greater significance, in my judgment, for the future of Europe than whatever is or is not done with the tragedy in Bosnia at this late date. So we spent most of our time today fleshing out, dealing with, working through this whole concept of the Partnership For Peace. And I was, frankly, very gratified that so many of the leaders of the other countries believe that it is the right way to go and understand it's not just a compromise but it's a vibrant concept that gives us a chance to build the best possible future for Europe. That to me was the best thing we were doing.

Terry [Terence Hunt, Associated Press]?

#### **Ukraine**

**Q.** Mr. President, what assurances do you have from President Kravchuk that he can sell this arms deal to his Parliament this time? There have been difficulties in the past. And what are the costs, sir?

**The President.** Well, let me say, first of all, that—let me deal with the cost first. As you all know—and then I'll get to the other

point—you all know how the Nunn-Lugar funds work. The only cost to the United States taxpayers in this agreement will be the continuation of the Nunn-Lugar program, that is, the funds that we provide to help people dismantle their nuclear weapons. What does Ukraine get out of this? They get security assurances that go with this sort of agreement. That is, once you become a non-nuclear state, the states that have nuclear weapons promise not to use them against you ever, under any circumstances. They get various kinds of technical assistance to carry out this. And they get paid for their highly enriched uranium. They are compensated. That is a commercial transaction involving no cost to the American taxpayer. So there is no cost.

In terms of the assurances, let me say that President Kravchuk has continued to work on—progress on previous agreements he has made. He has shown, I think, great courage in the last few months in working through this very difficult and complex set of negotiations with us that has involved me, the Vice President, the State Department, and everybody else that's appropriate on our side. And we have no reason to doubt the ability of the President to keep the commitment that he is prepared to make.

#### **Middle East Peace Process**

**Q.** Mr. President, now that you have a deal with Ukraine, what can we anticipate Sunday when you meet with Syrian President Assad? Will there be some sort of dramatic announcement there, as well?

**The President.** I've already got—you know, we've already bunched too many stories in one day, haven't we? [Laughter] I really can't—I can't say any more at this point than you already know about that. We're going to try to keep the Middle East peace process going.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President's 39th news conference began at 6:42 p.m. at the Conrad Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Vladimir Zhirinovsky, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party in Russia.

**Letter Accepting Morton H. Halperin's Withdrawal as a Nominee To Be an Assistant Secretary of Defense**

January 10, 1994

Dear Mort:

I have received your letter asking that I not resubmit your nomination to be Assistant Secretary of Defense for Democracy and Peacekeeping. With deep appreciation for your willingness to serve our country and with real regret, I accept your request.

Yours is a superb record of service and accomplishment dating back over 30 years. Your qualifications speak for themselves, and I am pleased to hear that your willingness to serve my Administration continues unabated.

At the same time, I appreciate your understanding of the circumstances involved in a new Secretary of Defense coming on board and the tradition of Cabinet officers having the freedom to select subordinates.

I am confident that this Administration will continue to benefit from your talent and counsel and hope that you will be available for other suitable assignments.

Sincerely,

**Bill Clinton**

NOTE: The Office of the Press Secretary also made available Mr. Halperin's letter requesting that his nomination to be Assistant Secretary of Defense for Democracy and Peacekeeping be withdrawn.

**Remarks to the American Business Community in Brussels**

January 11, 1994

Thank you very much. Thank you, Jim, and good morning ladies and gentlemen. I got here in time to hear the last several moments of the Secretary of State's remarks and all that stuff where he was bragging on me, and it reminded me of Clinton's fourth law of politics, which is whenever possible, be preceded on the platform by someone you've appointed to an important position. [*Laughter*]

Nonetheless, we did have a good day yesterday—the United States did—and I think

the Atlantic alliance did. I came here to Europe hoping that together we might begin to realize the full promise of the end of the cold war, recognizing clearly that this is a difficult economic time in Europe, there are still profound difficulties in the United States, and that is having an impact on the politics of Europe and of the United States and of what we might do.

Nonetheless, it seemed to me that the time had come to try to define, here on the verge of the 21st century, what the elements of a new security in Europe and in the United States should be in the aftermath of the cold war, one premised not on the division of Europe but on the possibility of its integration, its political integration around democracies, its economic integration around market economics, and its defense integration around mutual defense cooperation.

Yesterday when the NATO alliance adopted the concept of the Partnership For Peace, we did what I believe history will record as a very important thing. We opened up the possibility of expanded NATO membership to nations to our East, not only all the former Warsaw Pact countries but also other non-NATO members in Europe, all who wish to begin to work on joint planning and operations with us and to work toward being able to assume the full responsibilities of membership. But we did it in a way by opening up the possibility to everyone and making no decisions now. We did it in a way that did not have the United States and NATO prematurely drawing another line in Europe to divide it in a different way but instead gave us a chance to work for the best possible future for Europe one that includes not only the countries of Eastern Europe but also countries that were part of the former Soviet Union and, indeed, Russia itself. So we have made, I think, a very good beginning in the right way.

We also are going to have today the first summit with the European Union after the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty to begin to talk about what we can do together to rebuild the rate of economic growth and opportunity here and throughout the world.

Our firms, our American firms, are deeply woven into the fabric of Europe's economies. Over 60 percent of all the overseas profits

of American companies come from Europe. We have 225 billion American dollars invested here, employing nearly 3 million Western Europeans alone. And back home, trade with Europe generated \$120 billion worth of exports and about 2½ million jobs in 1993. We all know—you know better than I—that this continent favors—excuse me—faces high unemployment and very sluggish growth rates. We also see that in Japan. And even though in our country the unemployment rate is coming down, we see in every advanced economy great difficulty today in creating jobs and generating higher incomes even when people are working harder and working smarter.

The renewal of the Atlantic economies is critical to the future of America and, I would argue, critical to the future of our alliance. For in a democracy, as we have seen time and time again in votes at home, in votes in Europe, and in votes in Russia, when people feel that they are anchored and stable and secure, when they believe they will be rewarded for their work, when they believe that the future will be better than the past, they vote in a certain way. When they are in economic and emotional free fall, when they feel disoriented, when they don't know whether the future will be better than the past, they often vote in another way and in ways that, indeed, make their futures more difficult and life for all peoples more difficult.

When I became President, it seemed to me that my first order of business ought to be to put our own economic house in order. And so we worked hard to reverse the exploding deficits of the last 12 years, to begin to invest in our own people, to try to do it in a way that would keep interest rates low and inflation low and turn the tide of private investment in the United States. We have begun to do that. Last year more new jobs came into our economy than in the previous 4 years. Millions of Americans refinanced their homes and businesses. Consumer confidence at the end of the year rose to its highest level in many years, and people began to believe that they could pay their debts and control their lives. In November, delinquencies on home mortgage payments in America reached a 19-year low. So we are

beginning to believe that we have some discipline, some control of our own destiny.

We also had to make a tough decision in America last year as a people, and that is whether we could grow internally or whether we could continue to grow by reaching out to compete and win in a global economy and helping our friends and neighbors to grow. That debate was, I suppose, captured more clearly for the people of our Nation and the people of the world in the congressional debate over NAFTA than in any other thing.

But the issue was bigger and, in some ways, simpler than that. It seems to me clearly that there is no way in a global economy for a wealthy country to grow wealthier, to generate more jobs, and to raise incomes unless there are more customers for its goods and services and customers beyond its own national borders, and that the United States can ill afford to be in the vanguard of those running away from that idea and, instead, should be in the vanguard of those promoting it. That's really what the NAFTA vote was all about.

To be sure, those who voted against NAFTA were responding to very legitimate pressures and very real fears. While workers all over the world believe now that they are too fungible, relatively unimportant to people who control their jobs and their lives, and that in the flash of an eye, their jobs and their livelihoods could be taken away by someone who could move money, information across the globe in a millisecond and, indeed, who could move management and technology across the globe in a short amount of time.

And so it is going to be a continuing challenge for us to keep Americans outward looking, committed to open trade and more open markets and still, at the same time, to make our working people more secure in the sense not that they will be able to hold the job they have, because they won't—the average American will now change jobs seven or eight times in a lifetime—but they must know that they are employable, that they will have their basic health care needs and the needs of their families taken care of, and that they will have a chance to make the changes that will dominate at least the foreseeable decades of the 21st century, changes that are friendly, not

hostile, to them. And that is our challenge as we begin the next session of Congress in 1994.

But because of the NAFTA agreement and because of the meeting that we had in Washington State with the leaders of the Asian-Pacific region, there was a new energy given to the prospect of successfully concluding the GATT round. And after 7 years of frustration and progress, we were able to do that. I was not fully satisfied with the round. It was obviously not perfect from any nation's point of view, and there are clearly many things that still have to be done. But there is no doubt in my mind that it was in the interest of the United States to conclude the GATT round successfully, that it will lead to the creation of hundreds of thousands of jobs in our Nation alone and millions worldwide by the end of the decade. [*Applause*]

One person believed that. [*Laughter*]

And I think now we have to ask ourselves where we go beyond GATT. There are several issues, of course, that we need to take up with our European friends and with others around the globe. And we will take them up.

We also have to deal with the structural challenges facing our economies, the economies of the advanced nations. In March we're going to have a jobs conference in the United States. We have a lot to learn from some European countries about training and retraining of the work force. They have something to learn, perhaps, from us in flexibility of the work force and mobility of the work force and the creation of an entrepreneurial environment that will enable unemployment to be driven down to lower levels. But it is clear that together, along with our friends in Japan, we all have to learn something about how to make technological and other changes that are going on, lead not only to higher productivity but the ability of working people to be rewarded for that productivity and the ability of nations to create more employment within their national borders.

Beyond that, let me emphasize that when I leave here today after the European Union summit, I am going on to Prague to meet with the leaders of the Visegrad countries. And it seems to me that it is folly to believe that we can integrate Europe through NATO

or just on the basis of affinity for democracies, unless we are also committed to the economic integration of all of Europe and to reaching out to our east.

I will be urging the leaders of the European Union today to work with the United States to further reduce trade barriers and increase trade and investment to our east. Today I say to all of you, I hope that you are representing companies that as a result of the activities taking place in these few days will take another and harder look about your prospects in central and Eastern Europe and beyond, because without private investment, we cannot hope to have private economic development.

Oh, I know we have a lot to do in Russia. I know we have a lot to do in the other states of the former Soviet Union and still some work to do in Eastern Europe. And we are doing that. I am going on to Russia after I leave Prague. But in the end, private investment and the development of successful private sectors will determine the future of European integration economically. And without it, I don't believe we can hope to sustain the military and political ties that we are building up.

So I ask you to do that. The United States Government has worked hard to eliminate outdated export controls and to support American companies in Europe. We hope that in turn you will feel emboldened to make more investments further east and to do what you can to improve our prospects to generate higher levels of trade and investment across national borders in ways that benefit people everywhere. For in the end, governments do not create wealth, people like you do.

Soon, your efforts will be sending goods back and forth through the channel. Your capital already is building bonds of commerce and culture across the Atlantic. You are in many ways the pioneers of the new Europe we are trying to ensure. Just by instinct, you will want the kind of integration that we have to work for around the political conference tables. Your determination to enter new markets is a hallmark of the American spirit and can help make the 21st century an American century as well.

I hope you will do that. I assure you that we will work hard to do our part.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:06 a.m. at the Conrad Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Jim Prouty, president of the American Chamber of Commerce. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

### **The President's News Conference in Brussels**

*January 11, 1994*

**The President.** Good morning. As all of you know, this historic summit meeting of the North Atlantic Council was my first NATO meeting. I'm glad we were able to accomplish as much as we did here. I'm convinced that history will record this meeting as a major step in building a new security for the transatlantic community.

I'm very pleased that our NATO allies approved our proposal for the Partnership For Peace. I believe it will help our alliance to meet Europe's new challenges, and I'm pleased by the response the Partnership has already generated from nations who have contacted us and said they are interested in being a part of it.

Ultimately, the Partnership will lead to the enlargement of NATO and help us to build a security based not on Europe's divisions but on the potential of its integration. I look forward to working with NATO leaders in the coming months to prepare for exercises with the states that join the Partnership and to work on the next steps towards NATO's enlargement.

Today NATO also took dramatic steps to prepare for its new post-cold-war missions by calling for the creation of combined joint task forces. These task forces will make NATO's military structures more flexible and will prepare the alliance for nontraditional missions. They will also help us to put the Partnership For Peace into action by serving as the vehicle for Eastern militaries to operate with NATO forces, something that General Joulwan will begin to prepare for immediately.

I'm pleased that during this summit NATO began to address the threat posed by the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

The agreement that the United States will sign with Ukraine and Russia this Friday will also make a major contribution to reducing that threat. With the end of the cold war we no longer face the threat of confrontation between nuclear powers, but we do face continuing conflicts, including the reality of the murderous conflict in Bosnia. At this meeting we discussed candidly and at some length NATO's policy towards Bosnia. We reaffirmed our commitment to respond to the strangulation of Sarajevo and to help to implement an enforceable peace agreement if one is reached by all the parties.

I want to discuss this with some precision, if I might. The United States last evening in our discussions took a very strong position that we ought to reaffirm our air warning, that is, the possibility of the use of air power, to relieve the strangulation or in retaliation for the strangulation of Sarajevo, but that the language ought to be left in our policy if, and only if, we were prepared to follow through. And I made it clear that for our part, we were prepared to follow through, and therefore, we supported leaving the language in. But along with the Secretary General, I urged our allies not to leave it in unless we were prepared to follow through, on the theory that we should not say things that we do not intend to do.

In addition to that, I supported the United Kingdom and France and their call for plans to ensure that we can complete the bloc rotation of troops to Srebrenica, so that that can take place, the exchange of the Canadians for the Dutch forces, and to explore how Tuzla airstrip might be opened. Now, either of these activities could require the use of NATO, including United States air power. We also had a continuing commitment to and the opportunity to use air power to protect the United Nations troops there if that is needed for close air support.

Now, these are the actions which have been taken. In other words, we have reaffirmed our position of last August, which is an important thing to have done in light of the recent shelling of Sarajevo. We have instructed our military command to come up with plans to see what can be done to ensure the rotation of the troops in Srebrenica and the opening of the Tuzla airstrip. And those

plans, as has been said by the Secretary General, can include the use of air power.

Let me just mention one or two other things. While the WEU and other European international bodies would play an important role in meeting the security challenges in Europe in the coming years, I still believe that NATO remains the linchpin of our mutual security. And so, as we finish this summit, I want to say a special word of thanks to Secretary General Woerner for his remarkable leadership. I have had the opportunity now to meet and work with many leaders around the world. He is a genuine statesman. He understands what is at stake here. He has a vision of the future, and he leads this alliance with great vision and discipline. And I thank him for that.

I also want to thank the other NATO leaders for their hospitality, and especially the Prime Minister of Belgium and the people of Belgium and Brussels for their hospitality to us. I believe this was a very successful meeting. They had accomplished everything that I hoped, and I think as the years go by we will be glad that it occurred.

### **Bosnia**

**Q.** Could you please tell us whether or not there was unanimous belief by the NATO allies that these air strikes could go forward, or is there something that still needs to be done before you can actually commit to movement?

**The President.** There was unanimous—and I want to be very clear on this—there was unanimous support for the policy as it is written. Everybody voted for it. In order to trigger the air strikes, what must happen? I want to emphasize two things. One is, whether they occur or not depends upon the behavior of the Bosnian Serbs from this moment forward. Secondly, based on that behavior, our military personnel will take this issue back to the NAC in our absence, and we will deal with it. And of course, we will consult with the U.N. if it is something that involves the use of air power other than to give support to the U.N. forces as already approved.

So that is what I think—at that point, we'll deal with the facts. Some of us, I think it's clear, were stronger than others about the

appropriateness of it under the circumstances that we now know about or could imagine. But I think the accurate thing is there was unanimous support for the policy, which means everybody who voted for it recognized that air power might well be used. What happens now depends upon the behavior of the combatants, principally the Bosnian Serbs, and what the military commanders come back and recommend.

### **The Visegrad States**

**Q.** When you get to Prague, in light of this meeting and in light of your own feelings, will you be in a position to tell at least some of the Visegrad leaders that they are in fact on a fast track toward membership in NATO?

**The President.** I think I'll be in a position to tell them, number one, the purpose of the Partnership For Peace is to open the possibility of NATO's enlargement as well as to give all the former Warsaw Pact countries and other non-NATO nations in Europe the chance to cooperate with us militarily, that NATO is an alliance with mutual responsibilities as well as the security guarantee. And we are clearly serious about pursuing this, including ultimate membership, as evidenced by the fact that the Secretary General said in his closing remarks—I don't know what he said here in the press conference because I didn't hear it—he said in his closing remarks that General Joulwan would immediately contact the military leaders of these countries, including the Visegrad countries, to talk about how we could begin planning for mutual operations in training and exercise.

So I think that they will clearly understand that this is a very serious proposal that opens the possibility of membership, not one that limits it.

### **Bosnia**

**Q.** Mr. President, the Secretary General said in his remarks that the instrument is there regarding Bosnia and other threats, but he's not sure that the will is there. Now, you just mentioned unanimity. It was a unanimous vote, as we understand it, last August for the same policy, yet many attacks have taken place in Sarajevo and have been unan-

swered by NATO. So first, do you think that there is a greater will now; do you sense a greater determination despite the misgivings of those peacekeepers on the ground? And secondly, is there a lower threshold, do you think, given this language that the British and the French, we understand, proposed on Tuzla and Srebrenica? Is there a lower threshold to use air power in those instances than for the wider air attacks regarding Sarajevo?

**The President.** I would make two points in response to your question. One is, I don't know that the threshold is lower, but there are more instances in which air power can be used now under the NATO policy. That is, clearly, the policy asks our military command to explain how we can guarantee the troop rotation in Srebrenica and how we can open the airstrip at Tuzla, including the use of air power. So there are clearly more opportunities for it.

Secondly, is there still a difference of opinion about whether and how quickly we should use air power especially to relieve a shelling of Sarajevo? I think on today's facts there are clearly some differences among the allies. And let me just mention one consideration. Those countries that have troops there are understandably concerned about the danger to their troops. If we use air power, are they more likely to be retaliated against? On the other hand, I think they're closer to being willing to use it than they were in August because a lot of them are very sensitive to the fact that their troops seem to be in more danger now than they were in August and that their casualties are increasing.

So do I think we are closer to real unanimity than we were in August? I do. Would they all vote the same in a given-fact situation? I don't know. That's why I think it depends largely on what the Bosnian Serbs do.

**Q.** Given the fact that there is still some difference of opinion, doesn't this come close to failing your own test from your intervention, that why threaten if you're not going to have the will to——

**The President.** But I believe, based on what several of them said to me privately, they are more prepared to deal with this than they were in August. That is, Secretary General Woerner and I both said, "Let us not

put this language back in unless we mean it. Let us clearly understand that we must mean it if we put it in this time." And they voted unanimously to put it in. And afterward several of them came to me privately and said, "Of course, we have reservations about what happens to our troops, but we have reservations about what happens to our troops under the status quo, and we are prepared to go forward with this."

**Q.** Concerning Bosnia, can we say today that you and President Mitterrand are on the same wavelength; do you agree, no more bones of contention?

**The President.** Yes. I've been a little surprised by the press reports that indicate to the contrary. I strongly supported President Mitterrand and Prime Minister Major's amendment adding Tuzla and Srebrenica to the resolution. I did not support substituting Tuzla and Srebrenica for the general commitment to use air power to relieve the siege of Sarajevo, for a very important reason. I think that it will be very hard for the U.N. mission to succeed. That is, keep in mind what the U.N. mission is doing, by the way, folks. We have the longest airlift in history there. We are trying to enforce the embargo. We are trying to enforce the no-fly zone. In other words, we are trying to contain the combat and the loss and trying to keep open humanitarian aid, hoping that we can all do something to convince all three sides that they have a real interest in stopping killing each other and taking whatever agreement they can get now.

Now, I believe if Sarajevo is destroyed and cannot function as a center for all kinds of activities, it will be very difficult for the U.N. mission to succeed. The French and the British have troops on the ground there. They naturally have more reservation about the use of air power in response to the shelling of Sarajevo than nations that may not have troops on the ground there. I understand that. They agreed with my position, and I strongly agreed with theirs. I do not believe there is a difference of opinion between us on this policy now.

### **Ukraine**

**Q.** The Ukrainian opposition is now saying that President Kravchuk does not have the



authority to go ahead and sign an agreement, and there's also some sign from some Ukrainian officials who are saying that the terms of a final agreement are yet to be determined. How sure are you at this point that this deal will not fall apart?

**The President.** Well, I believe President Kravchuk will honor the deal. They've already started to dismantle the missiles. And I think that the other thing that's very important to emphasize here is that this agreement guarantees compensation for Ukraine for their highly enriched uranium, something they have wanted and demanded. And so I think, as the details of it become known in the Rada, there will be more support for it.

Let me just try to give you an American analogy here, if I might. It's not an exact analogy, but when President Bush signed the original NAFTA treaty—or when we approved the side agreements with NAFTA, we didn't know at the time whether everybody in Congress would think it was a wonderful idea or ratify it or try to derail it. But we went through with it and, eventually, the United States stood firm behind it. Executives often have to sell to their legislative branches what they know is in the national interest of their country.

This agreement, reached by President Kravchuk, I think, was reached with the full understanding in his mind that he would have to sell it, but that it contained advantages for Ukraine far more than had previously been recognized. And I think as they know more about the details and the facts, that he will prevail there. And I expect the agreement to stand up, because it's clearly in the interest of the country. They get far more than they give up on this.

### **Russia**

**Q.** Have you spoken with President Yeltsin about Bosnia and does he agree with what you describe as a new resolve to deal with it?

**The President.** No, we have not had this discussion. But last August when all this came up, the Russians knew that what we were doing was taking a position with regard to the use of air power that was clearly tied to behavior by the Bosnian Serbs. And at the time, and I think still, no one considered that

the United Nations mission could proceed and could function if Sarajevo were completely destroyed. No one believed that. So I don't believe that anything that happened today, once fully understood—I'm sure we'll have the chance to talk about it in some detail—I don't believe that anything that happened today will undermine the understandings that we have with the Russians.

Thank you very much.

### **Ukraine**

**Q.** [Inaudible]

**The President.** I don't want to say that. What I'm trying to tell you is, that that's why I said it was not an exact analogy. What I'm saying is that any time an executive makes a deal in any country in the world with a legislative branch, there are going to be people in the legislative branch who don't agree with it or who just don't know if they can agree with it until they know what the facts of it are. That's the only point I'm trying to make. I am not making any judgment about how the Ukrainian Government works but simply that this always happens. This shouldn't surprise anybody. This always happens. Every decision every executive makes is going to be second-guessed by people of the legislature. It's almost the way the system's set up.

NOTE: The President's 40th news conference began at 10:50 a.m. in the Joseph Luns Theatre at NATO Headquarters. In his remarks, he referred to Gen. George A. Joulwan, Supreme Allied Commander, Europe. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this news conference.

### **The President's News Conference With European Union Leaders in Brussels**

*January 11, 1994*

**President Clinton.** Thank you very much. We have just had a very productive meeting, President Delors and Prime Minister Papandreou and I. As I have said many times in the last few days, I came to Brussels in the hope of working with the leaders of Europe to build a broader and more integrated Europe. At the heart of this new concept of

security is the economic vitality of the relationship between the United States and the European Union. The EU remains America's most valued partner in trade and investment. A strong relationship between us is good for America. It can help to generate more jobs, more growth, more opportunities for workers and businesses at home as well as for those here in Europe.

That is one of the reasons that our administration strongly supported the Maastricht Treaty. We believe a strong and more unified Europe makes for a more effective economic and political partner. I think we proved that through our combined efforts to lead the world to a new GATT agreement in December.

One key to achieving that accord came last spring when President Delors agreed to join me in focusing on market access at last year's G-7 summit. I'm committed to deepening our relationship with the EU through regular meetings at all levels to continue to address other concerns as we address the market access concern and as we work together to get a new GATT agreement.

I have argued in my own country that to advance the global economy and to advance the interests of American workers as well, we must compete, not retreat. All advanced economies can only generate more jobs and higher incomes when they have more people beyond their borders to buy their goods and services. Therefore, we must continue our efforts to expand global growth and world markets. The GATT agreement will help in that regard. I am convinced it will create millions of jobs in the global economy between now and the end of the decade. But we also have responsibilities, the United States, the EU, and others, to continue our own efforts toward open trade and more global growth.

In today's meeting, we discussed four ways in which we can build on the momentum generated by the GATT agreement. First, we stressed the need to finalize and ratify the agreement. The agreement itself was an impressive breakthrough, but there are several areas in which we did not reach full agreement. I emphasized today our strong desire to resolve our outstanding differences. We also agreed that further market access offers from Japan and from other countries are also

needed to meet the ambitious goals on which we agreed. The U.S. and the EU cannot alone create the open markets the world needs. We think it is clearly time for the other great economic power, Japan, to join us in this effort to open markets.

Second, we agreed on the importance of putting jobs at the center of our trade and economic agenda. Today, the nations of the European Union are facing high and persistent rates of unemployment and sluggish growth. In the United States, we have begun to generate more jobs, but our Nation still has a long way to go before our unemployment is at an acceptable level and before our workers begin to generate more income when they work harder. The renewal of each of our economies will benefit all of them. We discussed some of the innovative ideas contained in the Delors white paper. President Delors and Prime Minister Papandreou both make very thoughtful comments about the kinds of things we could do to generate more job growth both in Europe and the United States. And we look forward to pursuing those ideas at the jobs conference in Washington this spring, and again at the G-7 summit this July.

Third, we agreed to explore the next generation of trade issues. I suggested that the successor agenda to the Uruguay round should include issues such as the impact of environmental policies on trade, antitrust and other competition policies, and labor standards, something that I think we must, frankly, address. While we continue to tear down anticompetitive practices and other barriers to trade, we simply have to assure that our economic policies also protect the environment and the well-being of workers. And as we bring others into the orbit of global trade, people who can benefit from the investment and trading opportunities we offer, we must ensure that their policies benefit the interest of their workers and our common interest in enhancing environmental protection throughout the globe. That is exactly what we tried to do with the North American Free Trade Agreement. And in the coming months I look forward to continuing discussions on these issues with our EU partners.

Finally, we discussed the imperative of helping to integrate the new market democ-

racies of Europe's eastern half into the transatlantic community. Yesterday, NATO took an historic step in this direction with the Partnership For Peace. We must match that effort by helping to ensure that our markets are open to the products of Eastern Europe. Ultimately, the further integration of Europe can be a future source of jobs and prosperity for both the United States and Western Europe as these nations become increasingly productive and, therefore, increasingly able to serve as consumers in the global economy.

We have already begun to open our markets to these new democracies. And I have urged that both the United States and the EU explore additional ways in which we can further open our markets to the nations to our east. Our trade is a source of strength, the source of jobs, a source of prosperity.

I look forward to continuing these discussions in the future. We had a lot of very good specific discussions this morning on the jobs issue in particular. And we intend to continue to work together and to make progress together.

Thank you very much.

**President Papandreou.** President Clinton, in this very brief presentation, has covered the issues that we discussed today. He has done so in a very complete way, so I will make two or three comments and not more. To begin with, we have the revitalization of transatlantic relations, relations between Europe, the European Union, and the United States of America.

It is very important for President Clinton that European integration, the great objective of a united Europe, is very important. Now, the other important issue is an opening towards Eastern Europe. The wall separating the East from the West has been dismantled. We do not want any further divisions in Europe. But we should not ignore the dangers that may confront us on this road.

Russia is involved in a very difficult economic, political, and social reform. And we would like to contribute in any way we can so that this road will lead to a modern economy, to a peace policy, and to a just society. We hope that that will be the final outcome of this process.

Now, the third point which is directly linked to what we have mentioned so far is

a Partnership For Peace. We have to work together for peace. This is a great concept. We should consider ways of working together in the area of defense in connection with problems arising due to crises, due to nationalist fanaticism, due to conflicts in Europe or at the periphery. Crisis management is a very important objective. Military cooperation without Eastern European countries being members of NATO but cooperation between them and NATO is not a threat for Russia but rather an invitation to Russia to contribute constructively.

I will not embark on the problem of the European economy. Mr. Delors will speak about this problem. But the truth is that there are three regions in which we have both unemployment and recession: Europe, Japan, and the United States. Now, the United States has started an upswing.

We are faced with a very serious problem in connection with employment, and we will have to live with this problem for many years unless we manage to find a radical solution. It is not the right time to go into the details of these solutions. Now, this is what I wanted to say at the present juncture.

So, President Delors.

**President Delors.** Questions immediately, because this is more interesting than what I could add to what Prime Minister Papandreou has spoken on behalf of the community.

### **Bosnia**

**Q.** Back to NATO, Mr. President. What makes you think that the Serbs will take the threat seriously now since NATO has been the boy crying wolf in the past? And what really has stiffened everybody's spine now after 2 years of shelling, bombing, slaughter?

**President Clinton.** Well, keep in mind now the resolution was directed toward a specific set of circumstances. NATO reaffirmed the August position that if Sarajevo was subject to strangulation, defined as large-scale shelling, that air power from NATO could be used as a response to that. And then today, there were added two conditions that we asked our military leadership to come up with, plans to ensure that the troop replacement in Srebrenica could pro-

ceed and to see whether the airstrip at Tuzla could be opened.

I can only tell you what happened in the meetings. The Secretary General of NATO and I both said that these steps should not be called for unless everyone voting in the affirmative was prepared to see them through. And there was an explicit discussion of that. So I think that the continued deterioration of conditions, the frustration of all of us that no peace agreement has been made, and that explicit debate should give this vote the credibility that I believe it deserves.

### **The Global Economy**

**Q.** Listening to what you said about growth and jobs and also defense of the environment and social rights, I'm very struck by how similar your language is to the proposals which President Delors recently put to the European heads of government. Would you acknowledge that your thinking on these issues is very largely convergent? And what would you say to some people who responded in this Union by saying now is no time to be unduly concerned about workers' rights or the environment, that this can be no priority when we are tackling mass unemployment? It's a debate we've had here in the Union. I wonder how you would advise people in that respect here.

**President Clinton.** First of all, I think it is fair to say that President Delors and I share a lot of common ideas. Prime Minister Papandreou and I have shared some ideas. I've read some of his thoughts and interviews. I think any person who seriously studies this issue, who studies income trends in the United States, who studies job trends in Europe, who studies now what is happening in Japan, will reach the conclusion that every wealthy country in the world is having great difficulty creating jobs and raising incomes, and that there are some common elements to this malady which have to be addressed.

Now, let me say in response to the two issues you've raised, first of all, with regard to the environment, I believe that dealing with the environment creates jobs, doesn't cost jobs if you do it in the right way. And I think we now have about 20 years of evidence that supports that—that if you have the right sort of sensible environmental pol-

icy and if you finance it in the right way, you will create jobs, not cost jobs. Much of the environmental cleanup that is sensible requires the development of technologies and the generation of high-wage jobs which will be virtually exclusively the province of the same countries that are having trouble creating jobs.

With regard to workers' rights, I would respond in two ways. First of all, if in order to create jobs we have to give up all the supports that we have worked hard for over decades for working families, then we may wind up paying the same political price and social price. That is, we do not want to see the collapse of the middle class in Europe or in the United States. What we want to do is to rebuild and strengthen the middle class.

If you look at the vote in Russia, if you look at the recent vote in Poland, you see what happens in democracies when middle class people feel that the future will be worse than the present. So if you're going to ask for changes in the system of support, those changes have to be done in a way that increase the sense of security of middle class, working class families in all these countries.

Secondly, the issue of worker rights and the issue of the environment should be seen from our prospective as a global one. That is, if you look at what Ambassador Kantor negotiated with Mexico in the NAFTA treaty, the first trade agreement ever to explicitly deal with environmental and labor issues, we did it because we said, okay, if we're going to open our borders and trade more and invest more with developing nations, we want to know that their working people will receive some of the benefits and a fair share of the benefits of this trade and investment. Otherwise, they won't have increasing incomes, and they won't be able to buy our products and services.

So I see this whole worker rights issue as more a function of the global economy and one that will help us to build up ordinary citizens everywhere, which I think should be our ultimate objective.

### **Bosnia**

**Q.** Mr. President, back on Bosnia, you mentioned that this threat of military action is not a new threat. How long can NATO

keep on making these threats without carrying them out, without delivering? At what point does it become, as you warned about yesterday, an empty threat?

**President Clinton.** Well, first of all, we have two different issues here. The French and the British proposed the motion to ask our military planners to come up with a strategy to ensure the rotation of troops in Srebrenica and to see whether with the use of air power or some other device we might secure the opening of the airstrip at Tuzla to continue the U.N. mission, the humanitarian mission. So we'll await the plan and see what happens.

On the question of the use of air strikes in retaliation for the strangulation of Sarajevo, that is largely going to be a function of the behavior of the people who have been shelling Sarajevo, the Bosnian Serbs. When you say how long, it depends on what is their behavior. Is the shelling going to abate now, as it did after August when we adopted the resolution? And then it basically escalated dramatically only relatively recently. Or will they continue to do it? And then we'll see if our resolve is there. My resolve is there. That's all I can tell you. And I believe the people in that room knew what they were doing when they voted for this resolution. When you say how long, it depends in part on what will be the conduct from this day forward of those who have been responsible for shelling Sarajevo.

#### **Integration of East and West**

**Q.** I had a question on Partnership For Peace. And I'd be grateful if, Mr. President, you could answer, and perhaps President Delors, too. With hindsight, I wonder whether you don't think you missed a trick by making entry into NATO for the former Communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe work on the same track as entry into the European Union. Would this not have been a more credible approach for Partnership For Peace?

**President Clinton.** I'll be glad to answer that question, but I think perhaps I should defer to President Delors since he has a much better sense of how the membership track for the European Union works and let him answer the question that you specifically

posed, and then I'll also respond. And perhaps Prime Minister Papandreou will respond.

**President Delors.** Back in 1989, already with the event that took place then, the Summit of Industrialized Nations dealt at length with this question: How, after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of communism, could we make it possible for the countries in question to get back onto the track of pluralist democracy and open economy? And then, it seemed to us that immediate entry by the countries in question into the European Union would be more damaging for them than would be a period of preparation and adaptation.

We were afraid then that there would be a clash between the strong and the weak, however much aid we could give them. So a period of transition was necessary. It was in the context of the mission that was entrusted to the European Community and to the Commission that we endeavored to help them in order to make it possible for them to progress in parallel along the two tracks that I have indicated today. After 4 years of experience and speaking in my personal name, I am ready to take stock of this aid to which the Community has contributed a lot.

May I recall that in 1989, the European Union only represented 25 percent of the external trade of the countries of Eastern Europe. Now we represent 60 percent. And so we have replaced COMICON, and that was absolutely necessary. We have doubled our imports over 3 years from these countries. We represent 60 percent of total aid, including the aid from the international financial organizations.

But we cannot replace them. These countries are responsible countries. They have to learn the workings of an open economy and democracy. Of course, there are claims in our countries. There are also people that are recommending other solutions, but I still think that immediate entry to the European Union would have been very damaging to them, irrespective of what our leaders would have had to explain to our citizens who are taxpayers.

For today, we have to take stock of what's happened, but not do this having in mind

the idea that we could substitute for them. They are responsible for the fates. Some of them have chosen the “big bang” approach in order to reform their economies. I deplore this, and I feel that this was one of the reasons for the return of the former Communists and others. Others have taken a more gradualist approach. But each country was different. Czechoslovakia was traditionally an industrial country. Hungary, even out of communism, had begun experiments in decentralization way back in 1970. So we cannot act in their stead. Today, they have to face a growing problem of security. The Partnership For Peace is there to deal with this, but there is also a need for economic security.

But I’m a pragmatist. I’m open to any solution. But when I hear some leaders within Europe saying that we should have acted otherwise, I remain convinced that we did opt for the right solution. Now, have we always supplied it with the desirable efficacy? That’s another question. It remains open. But again, with the commissioners responsible, we shall take stock of all of this.

But we have to be careful. All of the miracle solutions that have been proposed would not have resolved the problems, and anyway, we can see this with German unification. It is not this that in any way has diminished the frustration of the populations concerned, or filled the psychological gap, or even made it possible to get onto the ideal road towards modernization. There are all sorts of problems. Besides, I’m very respectful of what is happening in Germany. But it is an experience contrary to the other one. You can see what problems remain to be resolved.

**President Papandreou.** Just a few words, because I think President Delors has stated very clearly our stand. There is a very delicate relationship between deepening of the European Union and enlargement of the Union. They must go together in a careful relationship. Otherwise, the Union itself may not be able to achieve its fundamental goals. So some delays are necessary, both from the point of view of the countries petitioning the entry and also from the Union itself. But I think I’ve said enough, in view of what President Delors has already said in such detail.

**President Clinton.** I’d like to go back to your original question. What you asked, I think, was since there will be—since there is sort of a phased-in possibility for additional membership to the European Union and a phased-in possibility for membership in NATO, should the criteria and timetables have been reconciled. I think that’s the question you’re asking.

I can’t give you a yes or no, except to say that I think it would have been difficult to do that for a couple of reasons. First of all, NATO and the European Union are fundamentally different organizations. Membership in NATO means that each member has a solemn obligation to defend the security of each other—any other member from attack. And membership in NATO includes a guarantee, therefore, coming from the United States and from Canada, something that is not the same with the European Union.

On the other hand, membership in the European Union now involves a commitment to a level of economic and political integration that some who may want to be a part of NATO may or may not want to commit to. So I think as a practical matter, it would have been very difficult to reconcile these two timetables since the organizations are different. Some may be more interested in being in the European Union. I can conceive of some countries who want to be in the Union who may not want to be in NATO. Some may wish to be in NATO before they’re able to meet the responsibilities of the European Union.

**President Delors.** I would just like to add one sentence. In my humble opinion, the generation that I belong to and which holds responsibility at present has two obligations, and to reconcile these is not easy. On the one hand, we want to create a political union with the European countries that desire this, because we think that none of our countries is capable of coping with these problems and with world responsibilities. And secondly, given the events that have occurred in the East, we have another obligation which is equally important; that is to extend our values of peace, cooperation, and mutual understanding to the wider Europe. Believe me, to combine the two is no easy task.

And again, I criticize those who put forth simplistic solutions in this area. Life is difficult. No one can prevent such events being conflictual. A little modesty on the part of those proposing miracle solutions will be necessary.

### **Greece**

**Q.** Mr. President, Germany recently requested that the famous Article 5 of the NATO Pact should apply for the security for the Czech Republic, not a NATO member, in order to face a threat not been defined yet. Since Greece is a NATO member, according to the report many of them are facing a real threat in her northern border from an expected movement of Albanian refugees from Kosovo via Skopje. If the same article could apply on that case, keep also into account that European Union and Western European Union are not guaranteeing the Greek borders. And I'm taking this opportunity, Mr. President, to ask directly if America will be in the position to guarantee the security of Greece from such a threat on a bilateral basis?

**President Clinton.** Frankly, that's a conversation I think I ought to have with Prime Minister Papandreou before I have it in public in some ways. But let me respond in two ways. First of all, the United States has taken two strong steps to try to make sure that the dire situation you described does not occur. We have sent 300 troops to be located in Macedonia, or Skopje as the Prime Minister describes it, as a part of a NATO effort or a U.N. effort to contain the conflict in Bosnia.

In addition to that, shortly before I became President but after I was elected President, the previous administration with my strong support sent a very strong and firm warning about involving Kosovo in the conflagration in Bosnia. And we made it very clear that we would have very strong views about that and a strong reaction to it.

So I think the real issue is, are we trying to protect the interests of Greece and other nations from being embroiled in the conflict now in the Balkans. And the answer is yes, and I think we've taken two strong steps to do that. I believe we will be successful in doing that.

NOTE: The President's 41st news conference began at 12:49 p.m. in the News Conference Theatre at the headquarters of the Commission of the European Union, where he met with Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou in his capacity as President, European Council, and Jacques Delors, President, European Commission. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this news conference.

### **Remarks and an Exchange With Reporters Following Discussions With President Václav Havel of the Czech Republic in Prague**

*January 11, 1994*

**President Clinton.** Thank you very much. First, I want to express my thanks to President Havel for his warm welcome. I'm coming back to Prague only for the second time in my life. I was here 24 years ago in this same week, in a very different role in life.

I have been deeply impressed by the progress made by the Czech Republic, and was deeply impressed by the meeting I had today with the President and the Prime Minister and with other leaders of the government. I reaffirmed the fact that the security of this Republic, and of the nations of Central and Eastern Europe are important to the security of the United States and to Europe and to the Atlantic alliance, that the Partnership For Peace is the beginning of a genuine security relationship which can lead to full membership in NATO, and that we must also be mindful of the economic dimension of security. For it is difficult for nations to pursue good policies and to reflect democratic values unless they can also offer the hope of success to the people within their borders who work hard, obey the law, and try to contribute to the welfare of society.

So we talked about these things, and I look forward to talking tomorrow with all the leaders, who will be here together, in perhaps somewhat more specific terms about what we can do to further both these objectives. But I am very encouraged by this meeting tonight, and I thank President Havel for his support for the Partnership For Peace.

[At this point, a question was asked in Czech, and no translation was provided.]

**President Clinton.** That issue has not been resolved, so since it was not discussed one way or the other, I suppose it is theoretically possible. NATO is a security alliance in which all the members undertake to assume certain responsibilities for the welfare of the entire group. One of the things I want to emphasize about the Partnership For Peace is a security relationship that will permit immediately the military commanders of NATO to begin to work with the military leaders of each country involved in the Partnership, to look at joint training, to look at joint exercises, to deal with the whole range of issues which will help to move toward membership.

**Q.** President Havel, sir, can you tell us how concerned are you about the rise of ultranationalists and Communists in the parliamentary elections in Russia? Does that cast a cloud over this region?

*[President Havel answered the question in Czech, and no translation was provided.]*

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:50 p.m. in the First Courtyard at Prague Castle. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

### **Appointment of Director of Presidential Personnel**

*January 11, 1994*

The President today announced the appointment of J. Veronica Biggins to be Director of Presidential Personnel.

"I am very pleased that Veronica Biggins, a highly regarded executive and recognized leader of both her corporation and her community, will be joining our team," the President said.

"Her experience in human resources management, community relations, and business, as well as her commitment to improving the lives of all Americans, will enable her to make a significant contribution to this administration."

NOTE: A biography of the appointee was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary.

### **Nominations for the United States Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy**

*January 11, 1994*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Lewis Manilow, Charles H. Dolan, Jr., and Harold C. Pachios as members of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy. Upon Mr. Manilow's confirmation by the Senate, the President intends to designate him Commission Chair.

"The Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy plays an important role in directing the USIA as it works to promote democracy abroad," the President said. "I am pleased to announce the addition of these three accomplished professionals to our team."

NOTE: Biographies of the nominees were made available by the Office of the Press Secretary.

### **Nominations for the International Joint Commission, United States and Canada**

*January 11, 1994*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Thomas L. Baldini and Susan B. Bayh as members of the International Joint Commission, United States and Canada. Upon Mr. Baldini's confirmation by the Senate, the President intends to designate him Chair.

"I am pleased today to name these two hard-working individuals to the International Joint Commission," the President said.

NOTE: Biographies of the nominees were made available by the Office of the Press Secretary.

### **Exchange With Reporters Prior To Discussions With President Michal Kovac of the Slovak Republic in Prague**

*January 12, 1994*

#### **Partnership For Peace**

**Q.** President Clinton, what's been the reception so far to what you have brought to these nations?

**The President.** So far, so good.



**Q.** No objections, sir?

**The President.** We've had three different conversations, of course, and this will be the fourth. And each of them, although leaders can characterize them for themselves, but I have been very pleased so far.

**Q.** Have they raised security issues with you, that they are worried that if there should be some kind of resurgence in Russia that they feel protected, or are they still worried about this?

**The President.** No one has said that they expect something like that in the near future. What no one knows is whether the future of Europe will be like its past or if it will be different.

**Q.** Are you saying that all have accepted the Partnership so far?

**The President.** You'll have to ask them when we do the press conference.

NOTE: The exchange began at 11:06 a.m. in the library at the U.S. Ambassador's Residence. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.

### **The President's News Conference With Visegrad Leaders in Prague January 12, 1994**

**President Clinton.** Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen. Welcome to the very beautiful American Embassy.

I have just finished a very productive and enjoyable working lunch with the leaders of the Visegrad states: President Václav Havel and Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus of the Czech Republic; President Arpad Goencz and Prime Minister Peter Boross of Hungary; President Lech Walesa and Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak of Poland; and President Michal Kovac and Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar of Slovakia.

I want to, at the outset, stress my appreciation to President Havel, Premier Klaus and the Czech people for their hospitality and contributions to our meeting, and I thank again all the Visegrad leaders for joining here today.

This region, where the great democratic rebirth of Europe began 5 years ago, holds a special place in my own affections. I first came to this city 24 years ago this week, and

two of my senior national security advisers were born in this region: the Chairman of our Joint Chiefs of Staff General Shalikashvili, who spent most of his early years in Poland, was born there; and my U.N. Ambassador Madeleine Albright who was born here in Prague. I told President Havel yesterday that the Czech Republic is the only nation in the world that has two ambassadors in the United Nations.

I have come to Europe to help build a new security for the transatlantic community for the 21st century. During the cold war the security of the Western alliance was defined by the division of Europe. Our new security must be defined by Europe's integration, the integration of a broader Europe based on military cooperation, robust democracies, and market economies. That was my message in Brussels, where I met with our NATO and European Community allies. And it will be my message as I travel to Moscow.

I am mindful of an old Polish saying, which I have, I hope, learned to pronounce properly: *Nits o nas bez nas*; Nothing about us without us. And so I have come to this region to share my thoughts directly with your leaders and your people. I believe the United States must make clear to all of you first that we are committed to helping you continue your work of reform and renewal in peace. That commitment derives from more than our shared values and our admiration for your efforts. It also derives from our own security concerns. Let me be absolutely clear: The security of your state is important to the security of the United States.

At today's lunch I discussed three ways in which my nation is prepared to advance Europe's democratic integration by supporting your region's continued renewal and security. First, we discussed the Partnership For Peace, the American proposal NATO has just adopted. The Partnership invites all former Warsaw Pact and former Soviet states, plus other non-NATO members in Europe, to join in military cooperation with NATO in training exercise and operations jointly.

While the Partnership is not NATO membership, neither is it a permanent holding room. It changes the entire NATO dialog so that now the question is no longer whether NATO will take on new members but when

and how. It leaves the door open to the best possible outcome for our region, democracy, markets, and security all across a broader Europe, while providing time and preparation to deal with a lesser outcome.

Second, we discussed ways in which the United States can help to solidify your democratic and market reforms. I stressed that I have ordered our programs to give greater emphasis to helping this region tend to reform's impacts on your workers and your communities. I talked about the ways we are working to expand trade and investment between your region, the rest of Europe, and the United States. I also discussed the steps we are taking to help the Visegrad region and other parts of Central and Eastern Europe bolster their new democracies.

We're supporting the development of a thriving civil society. And in our meeting I announced the creation of the democracy network, an initiative to bring new resources to grassroots and independent groups throughout the region. I stressed our interest in fostering regional cooperation among your countries, practical things that can advance your integration into a broader Europe.

Finally, I salute all those leaders here in Prague today who have worked to build practical regional cooperation and consensus in Central Europe at this pivotal moment in history. I congratulate them on having this regional meeting. And I suggested several ways we can help to support regional integration, including support for regional infrastructure projects like highways and communications networks and air traffic systems.

I have greatly enjoyed my discussions today here. I assure you I will follow up on them. The United States will have a special conference this year on trade and investment in the countries represented here on what we can do to increase American investment and to increase the purchase of the products made by the people who are working hard in all of these thriving democracies.

I come away convinced that, together, we can place Central and Eastern Europe at the heart of a new Europe, an integrated Europe, democratic, prosperous, secure, and free. That is my commitment; I believe it is our joint commitment.

Thank you very much, and I'd like now to turn the microphone over to President Havel.

**President Havel.** Distinguished President, ladies and gentlemen, we are living in a time of a dramatic searching for a new order, an order in which no one would be subjugated or endangered and which would make it possible for all European people and states to live in an atmosphere of peaceful cooperation.

Our today's meeting in Prague bears witness to the great importance which the United States and the North Atlantic alliance attach to stability, security, and peace in Central Europe, in relation to peace in all of Europe as well as to the security of the United States.

We welcome the Partnership For Peace project as a good point of departure in NATO's quest for a new identity of the alliance as a true stabilizing core of European security. We appreciate that it allows individual approaches from the various countries. At the same time, however, it depends on how energetically and how quickly the different countries will move to instill in Partnership For Peace contents meeting their interests and their possibilities. For our part, we want to do everything in our power in order that our partnership results in our full membership in the alliance. We do not regard Partnership For Peace as a substitute for that but rather as a first step toward NATO.

The reason why we want to join the alliance is that we share the values of civilization which it protects, and that we want to take part in protecting them. We realize that it is neither possible nor desirable to isolate Russia. However, we are independent states, and we decide ourselves about our affiliations and our policies.

Ladies and gentlemen, as we agreed in our conversations with the representatives of the Central European nations that are represented at this meeting in Prague, our countries have very similar views on this subject. This is certainly a gratifying circumstance, and it is to the benefit of us all.

Let me, therefore, conclude by expressing my firm conviction that this meeting has become an important landmark on the road to-

ward a new democratic and truly peaceful Europe, sharing firm and natural ties with the North American continent. At one time, the city of Yalta went down in history as a symbol of the division of Europe. I would be happy if today the city of Prague emerged as a symbol of Europe's standing in alliance.

Thank you.

### **Russia**

**Q.** Mr. President, there are nationalists in Russia who look at these four countries and other nations that were under the grip of Moscow, and they dream of rebuilding the Soviet empire. What will you tell Russian President Boris Yeltsin about the security needs of these countries, and how far it should go in guaranteeing their territorial integrity and their borders?

**President Clinton.** First of all, I would say that based on their past statements, he's right, and they're wrong. That is, I think that the Russian position, the position of the present administration there that they will respect the territorial boundaries of their neighbors is the proper position.

You know, each nation at critical periods has to imagine again what its future is going to be, and it has to define itself—how it will define itself as a nation and how it will define a standard of greatness. The United States, in very different ways, is going through such a period today. And Russia must do that.

In the 21st century can anyone seriously believe that we will define greatness by whether one country can physically occupy another, since we all know that wealth and opportunity will be determined by things other than physical possession of land mass? I don't think so.

And my urgent task will be to try to continue to press the path of democracy and reform and America's support for it in Russia. They are a great people with a great history and a great future. But the future must be different from the past, and the way greatness is defined must be different. And that, I think, is a struggle plainly going on there now that will play itself out over the next few years. And I'm hoping and will be working for the best possible impact.

### **Security of Visegrad States**

Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International]?

**Q.** Mr. President, it's obvious that the leaders have accepted something short of what they really wanted. And in a way they're being treated as second cousins. They really wanted security guarantees, and you and all the NATO allies have told them that that's not in the package. In view of—

**President Clinton.** Let me just—I disagree that they're being treated as second cousins. This is something NATO has never done before. We will have people out in the next few days talking about how we're going to begin all kinds of joint security operations. To say that 16 nations of NATO made a mistake not to immediately issue security guarantees to some nations of Europe and not others, without knowing in any way, shape, or form whether the reciprocal obligations of NATO could be met by new members, I think is an unfair characterization of the NATO alliance.

**Q.** My question is, in view of the lessons of World War II, is it conceivable if any of these nations were invaded or aggressed against that NATO would not come to their aid?

**President Clinton.** I think it is doubtful; that's right. I think our reading of history is right. But frankly, I think none of us believe that—I can't speak for the other Presidents except based on our conversations—that that is imminent. I think—what I was impressed by from these leaders is that they very much want to be a part of Europe, of the Western alliance, in an economic and social and political, as well as a military way, and that the broad definition of security is in that.

Of course, there are always concerns that in the future, the darker past might be recreated, that there could be an expansionism again. But what we need to do is—again, what I'm trying to do is to reach out and enhance the security of these nations in ways that also permit other nations to enhance their security and partnership with us, and that does not now draw a new line of division across Europe. Maybe there will be a new line drawn some day, and if so, we want to do what we can to support the security of these nations. But we hope that we are giving

Europe the possibility for the best possible future.

Mr. Blitzer [Wolf Blitzer, Cable News Network] I think had a question for President Walesa, and then I'd like a question from the foreign press next. But, Wolf, go ahead.

### **Poland**

**Q.** President Walesa, I'm sorry I can't ask you this question in Polish. But Poland seems to be the least enthusiastic among the Visegrad countries for the Partnership For Peace proposals. Is that accurate? And can you describe exactly how you feel about this proposal and whether Poland will seek membership in the Partnership For Peace proposal.

**President Walesa.** I can answer in two words: Sometimes small is beautiful. And we do believe that this is a step in the right direction. It's been decided by the powers of the world, and we shall try to make good use of this.

### **Prague Visit**

**Q.** What about your next part of your unofficial program in Prague with President Havel? Did public radio give you a tape of your saxophone concert? [Laughter]

**President Clinton.** I think the best part of my unofficial time in Prague was becoming reacquainted with the city, walking across the bridge again after 24 years and seeing the family I stayed with 24 years ago and just meeting the people. I was very pleased by the large number of people who came out yesterday to see me and say hello. And seeing the changes here, it was very rewarding, and it stiffened my determination to continue to support these kinds of changes.

Now, I had a lot of fun playing the saxophone, and the President gave me a saxophone, you know, with his name inscribed on it, so it's a gift I will always treasure. The nice thing about the little music we played last night was that the Czech musicians with whom I played were so good that they covered up all my shortcomings.

Is there another question from the foreign press?

### **Bosnia**

**Q.** What is the next American step in the Bosnia war?

**President Clinton.** Well, the next thing that we are doing now is what we are doing with NATO. NATO adopted a new resolution and our military commanders in Europe now are looking into the instruction they got from the NATO commanders, which is to examine what plans can be developed to ensure the rotation of the troops at Srebrenica and to ensure that the airstrip at Tuzla is open.

Now, in addition to that, I have been actively consulting with all the people with whom I have met. I have asked all the leaders here what further steps that they thought ought to be taken. Everyone recognizes that the peace prospects have been diminished now because, for the first time in a good while, all three parties seem to believe they have something to gain by fighting. And as long as that circumstance continues, it's going to be difficult for us to convince them through a political process to stop. But there are some ideas floating around, and I'm going to solicit some more.

Yes, sir, go ahead. Well, I'll take two more. Go ahead—three more.

### **Ukraine**

**Q.** Mr. President, already there are voices in Ukraine's Parliament suggesting that President Kravchuk went beyond his authority in negotiating the agreement to eliminate nuclear weapons. And even a Foreign Ministry spokesman there today said there may not be an agreement ready for you and President Yeltsin and President Kravchuk to sign in Moscow on Friday. Is that your understanding, and is this causing concern about this agreement that you reached this week?

**President Clinton.** Well, let's see what happens in Kiev. I think, you know, we have to let President Kravchuk make his own judgments about what he can and cannot do with his government. I expect that we will have an agreement, and I expect that it will be honored. And I think, frankly, the more the people in the Ukrainian Parliament know about it, the better they will feel about it. I think as the details get out, they'll feel better about it.

Yes, I'll take you too. Go ahead.

**Q.** There appears to be some difference of opinion even within your own staff about President Kravchuk's ability to order these changes, whether he can do it by executive order, whether the Rada or Parliament has to vote on it. What is your understanding of that, sir?

**President Clinton.** We'll talk about it in Kiev and beyond. Let's watch it unfold and see.

We've got to go.

**Q.** Mr. President, I had planned to ask the question that Mark [Mark Knoller, CBS Radio] asked. But let me ask you, the reformers in Russia seem to have had trouble building coalitions to offset the rise of the nationalist forces. What kind of advice will you be giving Mr. Yeltsin and other reform leaders about how to go about offsetting the threat of Mr. Zhirinovskiy?

**President Clinton.** Well, I think first of all, perhaps in the last election they learned a good lesson, which is that the forces of reform need to find ways to work together and to speak if not with one voice, at least with a common message.

I expect there to be some rough spots along the way. I mean, after all, this is a rather new experience for them, and they'll have to figure out exactly how the forces are going to be organized within the new Parliament, and then they'll have to work out their relationship with the President. But even those of us that have been at it for 200 years still have difficulties from time to time. But I'm looking forward to meeting with a number of those leaders in the reform effort and getting to know them and getting some feel for where they are and where they're going. But I'm still basically quite hopeful.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President's 42d news conference began at 1:55 p.m. at the U.S. Ambassador's residence. The Visegrad leaders spoke in their native languages, and their remarks were translated by an interpreter.

## **The President's News Conference With President Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine in Kiev**

*January 12, 1994*

**President Kravchuk.** Ladies and gentlemen, let me open this news conference and give the word to the President of the United States, Mr. Clinton.

**President Clinton.** Thank you very much. I have just completed my first meeting with President Kravchuk, and I am delighted that we have met under such promising and historic circumstances. I was also delighted to be able to wish the President a happy 60th birthday on this auspicious occasion.

President Kravchuk, President Yeltsin, and I are ready to sign on Friday an agreement committing Ukraine to eliminate 176 intercontinental ballistic missiles and some 1,500 nuclear warheads targeted at the United States. This breakthrough will enhance the security of Ukraine, the United States, Russia, and the entire world.

Ukraine is a nation with a rich heritage, enormous economic potential, and a very important position in European security. The ties between our two nations have deep roots. From America's birth to the present day, Ukrainian immigrants have helped to shape my nation's history.

Our meeting this evening begins a new era in our relations. The agreement President Kravchuk and I will sign with President Yeltsin opens the door to new forms of economic, political, and security cooperation. Our meeting tonight centered on three important issues.

First, we discussed the strategic importance, for this region and the world, of the nuclear agreement. I commend President Kravchuk for his courage and his vision in negotiating this agreement.

Second, I was able to issue a personal invitation to Ukraine to participate fully in the Partnership For Peace launched at this week's NATO summit. By providing for specific and practical cooperation between NATO and Ukrainian states and their forces,

this Partnership can foster an integration of a broader Europe and increase the security of all nations. I'm very pleased by the expression of interest in participating that came from President Kravchuk and his Government today.

Third, President Kravchuk and I agreed today to expand and enhance the economic ties between our nations. This is a difficult time of transition for Ukraine, but Ukraine is blessed with abundant natural resources and human talent. Because so many of its neighbors are moving toward market economies and democracy as well, I believe Ukraine's most promising future lies with reform and with integration with those burgeoning economies.

To assist in the reform effort, I am today announcing the establishment of an enterprise fund for Ukraine, as well as Belarus and Moldova, a fund which will help to capitalize new small businesses and provide assistance to existing firms that seek to privatize.

Over the last year, the United States has also provided \$155 million in assistance to Ukraine. We are prepared to increase our support substantially as Ukraine moves toward economic reform. Under such circumstances, I also believe the international community would be able to provide significant support and investment to Ukraine, and I am prepared to work hard to see that that support and investment comes to pass.

To begin this work, we will be pleased to welcome to Washington later this month a senior Ukrainian economic delegation. I believe that Ukraine can play a major role in the future of Europe, a Europe whose security is not based on divisions but on the possibility of integration based on democracy, market economics, and mutual respect for the existing borders of nations.

I'm looking forward to seeing President Kravchuk in Moscow on Friday and to welcoming him to Washington for an official visit in March. I want to thank the people of Ukraine for having me here and treating me so warmly, if only briefly. And I would like to close by asking the President permission to come back and actually see the beautiful city of Kiev at some other time. I have sam-

pled its wonderful food, and I'm now ready for the sights.

Thank you very much.

**President Kravchuk.** Ladies and gentlemen, I am happy to greet the President of the United States, Mr. Clinton, and his accompanying persons in Ukraine. I'm sorry that this visit is quite short, but I hope and I'm confident that Mr. President will be able to visit Ukraine once again, so to say, in a full-scale and will be able to show him the Ukraine as it is. And I invite you, Mr. President, to visit Ukraine whenever it is convenient for you.

This is a short visit, a few hours only, but to my mind it is worth several days of negotiations if it's taken into consideration the wide range of issues which have been discussed. And we would be glad to inform the world that those problems were worth its attention.

I think the most urgent problem and the most important problem for the whole world now is the problem of nuclear weapons. And we have approached its solution. And I'm sure that this day and the forthcoming days open the way for the world for disarmament and for the elimination of nuclear weapons. And Ukraine will be committed to its obligations, and Ukraine will be the state which will not stand in the way to disarmament.

A lot of time was devoted to discussing the bilateral relations between the Ukraine and the United States. And I'm glad that the President of the United States and the United States support our country in this time of our hardships. And I'm sure that this sort of cooperation and support is real support of all independent states which have emerged on the basis of the former Soviet Union.

I'm sure that the charter for cooperation and friendship between our states, which is now being finished up by our experts, will be a new stage in the development of our relations. For us, it is very important that there is an understanding from the part of the President of the United States of urgency of the support to Ukraine in carrying out its economic reform and support its reforming processes. I am happy that the President of the United States will support our country in such international financial structures as

the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, European Bank for the Reconstruction and Development.

We understand that we have to be decisive in carrying out reforms, and we are ready for that. And we are happy with the development of our trade relations and that new prospects are opening up.

We support the initiative of the United States, its program which is called the Partnership For Peace, which we consider to be the universal formula which enables the participation of all countries. We understand that this program does not solve all the problems of security, but anyhow, it gives the possibility of all states to participate.

I'd like to greet once again Mr. President here in the Ukraine, and I would like to point out that in all issues we have discussed we have found joint, common viewpoints. This meeting was short, but it was very important and fruitful, and it opened a new stage in the development of Ukrainian-American relations, which I am confident will be long-term and reliable.

Thank you for your attention.

If you don't mind, Mr. President, I'll have the office now of the Press Secretary. [Laughter] I give the possibility to ask questions of our guests, American journalists.

#### **Ratification by Ukrainian Parliament**

**Q.** What exactly must your Parliament now do to ratify this agreement? And exactly how long will it take for Ukraine to become a non-nuclear nation?

**President Kravchuk.** You know, the philosophers say that everything changes in the world, even you cannot step in the same river twice. So I hope that our Parliament becomes cleverer in the course of its life and it sees the reality of the present days, and it will understand the essence of these relations and the wish of the three states. And when they will understand it, they will support the implementation of these agreements.

#### **Economic Assistance to Ukraine**

**Q.** Ukraine sympathizes with you and your wife, Hillary, but anyhow, there's a question here. There is a decision of the Parliament, the Ukrainian Parliament, on disarmament.

According to mass media, you told that there will be a financial technological assistance. But your words were that you will render technical assistance. Is that true?

**President Clinton.** Well, I will attempt to answer the question as I understand it. First of all, Ukraine is already due some compensation for the tactical nuclear weapons it has already dismantled. And I have discussed with the President the quickest way of reaching an agreement on how much is due and how it can be delivered.

Secondly, under the so-called Nunn-Lugar bill, Ukraine is entitled to a substantial amount of money to help to dismantle the offensive strategic nuclear weapons, which can be used for not only dismantling the weapons but for some of the defense conversion needs of Ukraine as well.

But over and above that, the United States is committed to rendering economic assistance to Ukraine to help start new enterprises, to help fund privatization, and to help make this painful transition to a new economy. And we are further committed to helping convince other nations and the international financial institutions to help as well.

Finally, as part of our agreement, of course, Ukraine will be compensated for the highly enriched uranium that is a part of nuclear weapons. And that is a strictly commercial arrangement because that uranium can be turned into fuel rods for commercial purposes and electric power plants.

#### **Whitewater Development Corp.**

**Q.** Thank you, and happy birthday, President Kravchuk. President Clinton, as President of the United States you do not have the luxury at home to ignore events overseas, and perhaps the reverse is true. Former President Carter was one today who came out and suggested the time had come for an independent counsel to take a look at the Morgan Guaranty savings and loan situation. He and many other Democrats are looking to you for an indication of whether that's appropriate. Is it?

**President Clinton.** I have nothing to say about that on this trip except that most of them have been denied the facts that are already in the public record before they made their comment, largely as a result of the way

this thing has been discussed. But I have nothing else to say about that.

**President Kravchuk.** Thank you for your greetings, and I'd like to note that there is a gentleman sitting over here who mentioned the wife of Mr. President, Hillary. So, once again, I would like to give a word to a woman. And I hope I'll receive another portion of greetings.

#### **Implementation of Agreement**

**Q.** Sometimes financial programs, but they elect implementors. Where's the guarantee that these programs will be implemented?

**President Kravchuk.** If this is a question to me, I would answer that the guarantees are inside the Ukraine. The way we work, the way they will have the attitude to us. So these are the guarantees.

**President Clinton.** If I might add just one point. Sometimes in discussions with nations, financial guarantees do not materialize because they are dependent on decisions made by other parties, usually the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund. In this case, every part of our agreement depends only upon the three Presidents and their Governments to keep their word. The first thing I said to President Kravchuk tonight is that I would do everything I could to make sure that all three of us did exactly what was in the agreement. And I am confident that we will.

**President Kravchuk.** I'm sorry, as a press secretary I would ask for some more questions, but here is a protocol, so the last question, please.

#### **Future NATO Memberships**

**Q.** Mr. President, Mr. President Clinton, you mentioned the PFP, the Partnership For Peace. And there are some people who say that Russia has been using a type of passive imperialism in order to keep countries of Eastern Europe and Central Europe out of NATO for the time being. Do you—by threatening destabilization. Do you agree with that? And I would be very interested in what President Kravchuk has to say.

**President Clinton.** No, I don't. The short answer to the question is, I do not agree with that, although President Yeltsin himself has expressed reservations about NATO membership for other countries if Russia is ex-

cluded. You know, he has expressed an interest in being a member himself.

The leaders of NATO concluded that they should not offer membership at this time to any country because they weren't sure any country was ready to assume the responsibilities of membership and because they didn't want to exclude anyone else.

The Partnership For Peace offers a genuine concrete military security cooperation, joint planning, joint training, joint operations to all the states of the former Soviet Union and to all of the members of what was the Warsaw Pact. And we are genuinely interested in reaching out to all these nations.

I can assure you that no one has a veto over NATO membership. It is anticipated that the Partnership For Peace will lead to NATO membership for many of those who participate in the Partnership who want to go through and assume the responsibilities of membership, ultimately.

That's how I see it. President Yeltsin only said that he didn't, at this time, want another line drawn across Europe. He wanted to have a chance to be part of an integrated European security network in which every nation would have to respect the territorial boundaries of every other state.

**President Kravchuk.** Mr. President Clinton, and I'll give one more question to the Ukrainian side.

#### **Security for Ukraine**

**Q.** The question to President Clinton: What assurances of security will the United States give and Russia give to Ukraine after it will have the non-nuclear status?

**President Clinton.** Well, first of all, what goes with the Non-Proliferation Treaty adherence is the absolute security that no one who has nuclear weapons will ever use them against any nation that is part of the NPT. That is the first security.

But let me make two other points, which I think are more important, at least as a practical matter, to Ukraine's security. Number one, the Partnership For Peace gives Ukraine the opportunity to work with the military forces of the United States and all of NATO in planning and working together and in establishing patterns of conduct which clearly will increase the security of this nation.



Second, and perhaps even more important, Ukraine's decision to become a non-nuclear state opens the possibility of receiving significant economic assistance, not just from the United States but from the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the G-7 nations, and other nations who understand the greatness of this nation, its strategic importance, and its economic potential. And I believe that in the 21st century, it will be difficult for any nation to be secure unless it is economically strong.

So perhaps that is the most important thing of all, the whole range of possibilities that are now open to Ukraine because of this courageous decision by the President.

**President Kravchuk.** Ladies and gentlemen, we would compensate what we haven't time to do, when we'll be implementing our program. And you will be compensated with an objective description of the role and the processes in Ukraine. And now the best thing for us to do is to wish Mr. President Clinton bon voyage.

**President Clinton.** Let me say this in closing: If he did not have such a very important job, I would invite President Kravchuk to the United States to run my press conferences. [Laughter]

NOTE: The President's 43d news conference began at 9:50 p.m. at Kiev Airport. President Kravchuk spoke in Ukrainian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this news conference.

### **Remarks at a Welcoming Ceremony in Moscow, Russia**

*January 13, 1994*

**President Yeltsin.** Mr. President of the United States of America, it gives me great pleasure to welcome you as a most honored guest of the Russian Federation. You begin this day's official business in the famous and legendary Georgian Room of the Grand Kremlin Palace, which has names of some of Russia's best sons inscribed on its walls. And I believe that this is a good omen for the coming discussions that we're going to have.

I very well remember the first meeting that we had in Vancouver where we laid the foundations for U.S.-Russia partnership and also for our personal rapport and friendship. And I believe that we have every reason to think that the coming discussions will be even more profound, more practical, and more sweeping in nature.

I also believe that you will take back from your visit to Russia a very good memory. And I'm sure that as you meet people here, they will also remember you very well and your stay here. So, Mr. President, welcome to Russia. Welcome to Moscow.

**President Clinton.** Thank you. Well, Mr. President, I am delighted to see you again and deeply honored to be in this magnificent hall which is a great testimony to the rich history, the leadership, and the greatness of your nation, the greatness that has been demonstrated again by the remarkable changes over which you have presided in the last 2 years.

I have just come from a set of historic meetings that we'll have a chance to talk about, meetings which make it clear that Russia and the United States must work together to build a new future for Europe on which a new future for our entire world depends.

I believe that together we can work to lead a new security for Europe based on democratic values, free economies, the respect for nations for one another. We will be discussing the specific things we can do to keep the economic reform going in Russia and to help the Russian people to realize the benefits of the courageous changes that have been going on; to use the Partnership For Peace to develop mutual security all across Europe and for the first time in all of history to have a Europe that is not divided by an artificial line between peoples; and to work toward the historic agreement that you and I will sign with President Kravchuk on Friday to make the world a safer place with fewer nuclear weapons.

These are the ways in which, under your leadership, your nation is defining its greatness. And I am very pleased to be here to work on these things with you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:16 a.m. in St. George's Hall in the Kremlin. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

**Nomination for Director of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs at the Department of Labor**

*January 13, 1994*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Shirley J. Wilcher as Director of the Labor Department's Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP).

"Throughout her career, Shirley Wilcher has dedicated her efforts to preventing discrimination in America's workplace and educational institutions," the President said. "I am pleased she has agreed to accept this important position."

NOTE: A biography of the nominee was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary.

**Nomination for Regional Posts in the Department of Education**

*January 13, 1994*

The President today announced the appointment of Loni Hancock, Janet L. Paschal, Stan Williams, Judy W. Harwood, and Stephanie J. Jones to serve as Regional and Deputy Regional Representatives for the U.S. Department of Education in San Francisco, Boston, Atlanta, Chicago, and Kansas City.

"I am pleased to name these hardworking individuals to serve as Regional and Deputy Regional Representatives for the Department of Education," said the President. "Each has demonstrated their commitment to improving education and will serve our country's schools and students well."

NOTE: Biographies of the following nominees were made available by the Office of the Press Secretary: Loni Hancock, Regional Representative, Region IX; Janet L. Paschal, Deputy Regional Representative, Region I; Stan Williams, Regional Representative, Region IV; Judy W. Harwood, Deputy Regional Representative, Region IV;

Stephanie J. Jones, Regional Representative, Region V; and Sandra V. Walker, Regional Representative, Region VIII.

**Nomination for an Assistant Secretary of Commerce**

*January 13, 1994*

The President today announced his intention to nominate William W. Ginsberg as Assistant Secretary for Economic Development at the Department of Commerce.

"William Ginsberg's experience and commitment to economic development will serve him well in this new post. I am pleased to name him to our team," the President said.

NOTE: A biography of the nominee was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary.

**Proclamation 6645—Martin Luther King, Jr., Federal Holiday, 1994**

*January 14, 1994*

*By the President of the United States of America*

**A Proclamation**

On January 15, 1929, Martin Luther King, Jr., was born, destined to make our world a greater and more noble one. Growing up in a landscape disfigured with "Colored Only" and "White Only" signs and a society rife with other demeaning racial barriers and distinctions, Martin Luther King, Jr., sadly learned that the Constitution's guarantee of equality was denied to most black Americans. He dedicated his life to ending the injustice of racism, gracing the world with his vision of a land guided by love instead of hatred and by acceptance instead of intolerance.

Three decades ago, Dr. King described his goals most eloquently in his famous "I Have a Dream" speech at the historic Civil Rights March on Washington. The impassioned plea that rose from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial that summer day stirred the entire Nation, awakening people everywhere to turn from the scourge of racism to embrace the promise of opportunity and democracy for all. He prophetically described a future in which our children are judged "not by the color of their skin, but by the content of their

character.” His unparalleled commitment to justice and nonviolence challenged us to look deeply within ourselves to find the roots of racism.

Throughout his all too brief life, Martin Luther King, Jr., often confronted powerful and even violent opposition, sacrificing his liberty, his personal safety, and, ultimately, his life for the cause of freedom. Though an assassin’s bullet silenced him forever at the young age of 39, Dr. King’s words and deeds continue to live on within each of us. We, the inheritors of the fundamental rights he helped to secure, are forever grateful for his legacy.

Today, we live in a nation that is stronger because of Dr. King’s work. Unfortunately, there is still much division in this great land. Even though the signs that once segregated our communities have been removed, we are still far from achieving the world for which Dr. King struggled, toiled, and bled. He did not live and die to create a world in which people kill each other with reckless abandon. He did not live and die to see families destroyed, to see communities abandoned, and to see hope disappear. If we are to be faithful to Dr. King’s vision, we must each seize responsibility for realizing the goals he worked so tirelessly to fulfill. Dr. King’s valiant struggle for true equality will be won, not by the fleeting passion of eloquent words, but by the quiet persistence of individual acts of decency, justice, and human kindness. We must carry the power of his wisdom with us, not only by celebrating his birthday, but also by inscribing its meaning upon our hearts, teaching our children the value and significance of every human being.

**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 Monday, January 17, 1994, as the Martin Luther King, Jr., Federal Holiday. I call upon the people of the United States to observe the occasion with appropriate programs, ceremonies, and activities.

**In Witness Whereof,** I have hereunto set my hand this fourteenth day of January, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-four, and of the Independence of the

United States of America the two hundred and eighteenth.

**William J. Clinton**

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:26 a.m., January 14, 1994]

NOTE: This proclamation will be published in the *Federal Register* on January 18.

### **Proclamation 6646—Religious Freedom Day, 1994**

*January 14, 1994*

*By the President of the United States of America*

#### **A Proclamation**

This past year, the Religious Freedom Restoration Act of 1993 was enacted, reaffirming our solemn commitment to protect the first guarantee of our Bill of Rights. In the great tradition of our Nation’s founders, this legislation embraces the abiding principle that our laws and institutions must neither impede nor hinder, but rather preserve and promote, religious liberty. As it is inscribed on the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia, the words of Leviticus ring out, “Proclaim liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof.” Our government did not create this liberty, but it cannot be too vigilant in securing its blessings.

It is no accident of authorship that the right to free exercise of religion is the first freedom granted by our Bill of Rights. The framers of the Constitution well recognized the awesome power of religious liberty, not only to unite the citizenry in common cause, but also to empower us to question age-old beliefs and lift this Nation toward enlightenment. Today, as we face a crisis of conscience in our families and communities, as children murder children in our schools, as neighbor turns away from neighbor on frightening city streets—today, more than ever, we see the fundamental wisdom of our country’s forefathers. For at the heart of this most precious right is a challenge to use the spiritual freedom we have been afforded to examine the values, the soul, and the true essence of human nature.

Religious freedom helps to give America's people a character independent of their government, fostering the formation of individual codes of ethics, without which a democracy cannot survive. For more than two centuries, this freedom has enabled us to live together in a peace unprecedented in the history of nations. To be both the world's strongest democracy and its most truly multi-ethnic society is a victory of human spirit we must not take for granted. For as many issues as there are that divide us in this society, there remain values that all of us share. We believe in respecting the bond between parents and children. We believe in honoring the worth of honest labor. We believe in treating each other generously and with kindness. We are striving to accept our differences and to find strength in the dreams we all hold dear.

On this day, let us hear the sound of the Liberty Bell as a clarion call to action. Let us face with renewed determination the problems that beset our communities. Let us replace the instability and intolerance with security and justice. Regardless of our faith, let us be each other's guides along the open path toward peace.

The Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 154, has designated January 16, 1994, as "Religious Freedom Day" and has requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this day.

**Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton,** President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the day of January 16, 1994, as Religious Freedom Day. I call upon the people of the United States to observe this day with appropriate ceremonies and activities, and I urge them to reaffirm their devotion to the principles of religious freedom.

**In Witness Whereof,** I have hereunto set my hand this fourteenth day of January, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America and the two hundred and eighteenth.

**William J. Clinton**

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 1:58 p.m., January 18, 1994]

NOTE: This proclamation will be published in the *Federal Register* on January 20.

## **Proclamation 6647—National Good Teen Day, 1994**

*January 14, 1994*

*By the President of the United States of America*

### **A Proclamation**

There are now more than 24 million young people between the ages of 13 and 19 in the United States, each of them unique, each with promise, each struggling with the complicated transition to adulthood. These young people hold the keys to a promising future, and we must help them use every available resource to meet the challenges that lie ahead. Few generations have been confronted with so much responsibility, yet perhaps none has been presented with such exciting opportunities.

In spite of barriers and stumbling blocks, most teens play by the rules as they begin the work of building meaningful lives for themselves and finding their places in the community. Most embrace and promote fairness and compassion, often championing such precepts when others forsake them as unattainable ideals. They work together to diminish prejudice and violence; they find joy in family and friends and satisfaction in triumph and accomplishment.

Many teens are heroes who refuse to give up in adversity, to yield to temptation, or to give in to the negative influences around them. They serve as positive role models to younger children, as leaders to their peers, and as inspiration to older generations. They are our future, our hope, and a very real joy to those of us who know them well.

We are justifiably proud of American teens. They deserve our recognition and appreciation, and it is fitting that we honor them. Our country depends on their energy and dedication. Their knowledge, creativity, and dreams can change America for the better.

The Congress, by House Joint Resolution 75, has designated January 16, 1994, as "National Good Teen Day" and has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this day.

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

do hereby proclaim January 16, 1994, as National Good Teen Day. I invite the States, communities, and people of the United States to observe this day with appropriate ceremonies and programs in appreciation of our Nation's teenagers.

**In Witness Whereof**, I have hereunto set my hand this fourteenth day of January, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and eighteenth.

**William J. Clinton**

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 1:59 p.m., January 18, 1994]

NOTE: This proclamation will be published in the *Federal Register* on January 20.

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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.

### **January 8**

In the morning, the President and Hillary and Chelsea Clinton attended the memorial service for his mother, Virginia Clinton Kelley, at the Hot Springs Convention Center in Hot Springs, AR. They then traveled to Hope, AR, where they attended the burial service at Rose Hill Cemetery and a reception following the service. In the late afternoon, they returned to Washington, DC.

In the late evening, the President traveled to Brussels, Belgium.

### **January 9**

After arriving in Brussels in the afternoon, the President met with King Albert II of Belgium at Laeken Palace.

In the evening, the President toured the Grand Place. Following a visit to a local cafe, the President returned to the Conrad Hotel, his residence during his stay in Brussels.

### **January 10**

In the morning, the President went to NATO Headquarters where he met with NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner and attended a briefing by U.S. military com-

manders. Following the briefing, the President attended the opening session of the NATO summit.

In the afternoon, the President went to Laeken Palace where he attended a luncheon hosted by King Albert II of Belgium for NATO leaders and ministers of foreign affairs. Following the luncheon, the President returned to NATO Headquarters where he attended afternoon sessions of the NATO summit.

In the evening, the President attended a summit working dinner at the Chateau Val Du Chesse. Following a late evening walk and visit to a toy and novelty shop, he returned to the Conrad Hotel.

### **January 11**

In the morning, the President attended the final session of the NATO summit at NATO Headquarters. He then attended meetings and a working lunch with European Union officials at European Union Headquarters.

In the afternoon, the President traveled to Prague, Czech Republic. Following his arrival, he attended official welcoming ceremonies in the First Courtyard of Prague Castle.

In the evening, after a walk across the Charles Bridge, the President and President Václav Havel of the Czech Republic had dinner at the Golden Tiger Pub. Later in the evening, he went to the Reduta Jazz Club.

### **January 12**

In the morning, the President was given a tour of the Holocaust memorial at the Pinkas Synagogue and the Old Jewish Cemetery. Following the tour, he went to the U.S. Ambassador's residence where he hosted a working lunch for Visegrad leaders.

In the afternoon, the President discussed the expansion of trade in Eastern Europe with members of the business community in a K-Mart store. He then went to the Prague Airport where he attended a U.S. Embassy reception before traveling to Kiev, Ukraine.

In the late evening, the President traveled to Moscow, Russia, where he remained overnight.

The White House announced that the President has directed Bernard Nussbaum to request the Attorney General to appoint a special counsel to conduct, as expeditiously as possible, an appropriate, independent in-

vestigation of the Whitewater matter and report to the American people.

### **January 13**

In the morning, the President met with President Boris Yeltsin of Russia, who then gave him a tour of the Kremlin.

In the afternoon, the President again met with President Yeltsin. The President then visited the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, Alexy II, at Central Clinical Hospital.

In the evening, the President attended a reception at the Spaso House, the residence of the U.S. Ambassador. He then attended a private dinner with President Boris Yeltsin at his country home.

### **January 14**

In the morning, the President placed a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. He then went to the Kremlin where he met with President Yeltsin. Following their discussions, the two Presidents held a news conference.

In the afternoon, the President went to Ostankino Television Station where he participated in a question-and-answer session with Russian citizens.

In the evening, the President and Hillary Clinton attended a state dinner hosted by President Boris Yeltsin in the Hall of Facets at the Kremlin.

The President named Michael Blumenthal as Chairman of the Fund for Large Enterprises in Russia.

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## **Nominations Submitted to the Senate**

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NOTE: No nominations were submitted to the Senate during the period covered by this issue.

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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 January 8**

Text of remarks by Vice President Albert Gore, Jr., in a radio address

### **Released January 10**

Transcript of a press briefing by Secretary of State Warren Christopher on the President's initiatives in Europe

Answers to questions taken in the press briefing by Secretary of State Warren Christopher

### **Released January 12**

Transcript of a press briefing by Senior Adviser for Policy and Strategy George Stephanopoulos on the President's request for the appointment of a special counsel for an independent investigation of the Whitewater Development Corp.

Statement by Senior Adviser for Policy and Strategy George Stephanopoulos and attached letter from Counsel to the President Bernard Nussbaum to the Attorney General on the President's request for the appointment of a special counsel for an independent investigation of the Whitewater Development Corp.

### **Released January 13**

Transcript of a press briefing by Secretary of State Warren Christopher and Secretary of the Treasury Lloyd Bentsen on the President's visit to Russia

### **Released January 14**

Announcement by OPIC on President Clinton's visit

Fact sheet on highly-enriched uranium (HEU)

Fact sheet on detargeting

Announcement of nomination of Chairman of the Fund for Large Enterprises in Russia

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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.