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Folder Title:

POTUS Trip to Brussels, Belgium; Prague Czech Republic; Moscow, Russia; Kiev, Ukraine; Minsk, Belarus; and Geneva, Switzerland (January 8-16, 1994) [7]

Staff Office-Individual:

Press-Crowley, Philip J. (PJ)

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Pool Report #29-A, Jan. 12-13, 1994
Air Force One, Kiev to Moscow

Flight from Kiev uneventful. No official deigned come back to talk to your pool. Air Force One touched down at 12:51 a.m. local. Clinton debarked hatless in light snow, temperature 8 degrees F. Portly Premier and assortment of Russian officials met the president at the plane, gave him a bouquet, and both parties went quickly to motorcade, which also was uneventful. Your pool noted the militia, out in force standing at every intersection on the way into town, did not regard it as cold enough to put the ear flaps down.

Nussbaum letter to Reno and Stephanopolous statement were handed out in Filing Center shortly after our arrival.

Chad announced there would be no jog in the morning, and first pool would assemble at 8:00 a.m. Sleep well.

Michael Putzel, Boston Globe

Pool Report #30
Monastery Visit -- Not
Moscow
January 13, 1994

Because of the patriarch's illness, the visit to the monastery and, alas, Pool 32, were canceled. Nothing definitive about how the president will fill the void. Dee Dee Myers said he was just "extending his down time." She described him as feeling "good but tired."

-- George Condon, Copley News Service

Pool report #31
Moscow, January 13, 1994

Pre-position in St. George's Hall and Kremlin walkaround

Yeltsin and Clinton met formally a little before 9:15 am in St. George's Hall in the Grand Palace of the Kremlin. The leaders each emerged alone at either end of the vast white and gilt, very formal, very lavish barrel-vaulted room -- about 60 yards long. They emerged to a flourish from a band in an upper balcony, and they maintained eye contact manfully as they strode the red carpet to the center of the room.

The attending officials and the press were all lining the end of the room where Clinton entered, so that Yeltsin's approach was solitary. He smiled. Could not see Clinton's face until they shook hands and took to the lecturns. Pool understands the remarks they exchanged were piped to the filing center and assume they will be transcribed by press office. Each leader spoke without notes, their voices nearly lost in the echoing hall.

Two dozen aides and cabinet members formed a line along Clinton's approach. The leaders went down the line greeting each. Russian PM Viktor Chernomyrdin was first and got the longest chat. Jovial laughs all around, but pool could hear no conversation. Other Russians were Gaidar and Kozyrev. Americans in line were SecState Christopher, Lloyd Bentsen, Thomas Pickering, Strobe Talbott, Tony Lake, Nick Burns, Larry Summers from Treasury, Mack McLarty, and David Gergen.

Fashion note: Christopher was ministerial in his dark suit and red silk pocket kerchief, but check the gum-soled duck boots pushing his trousers up around his ankles.

The room was hung with six gilded chandeliers the size of VW beetles. Electric candles line the wall ledges every six inches the length of the room. The floor is an elaborate parquet/inlay. St. George is esteemed by Russians for his personification of valor, according to a guidebook, and the walls of the hall are inscribed with the names of the Knights of St. George.

Leaders appeared to this pool on their walk around the Kremlin as they rounded the Bell tower of Ivan the Great, which they stopped and admired in lip-numbing cold. Ditto in front of the Czar's cannon. No news. Clinton wore a black wool coat, plaid scarf, and black leather gloves. No hat.

Bus was not waiting to return pool to the filing center. Walked back.

marshall ingwerson
christian science monitor

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Prague, Czech Republic)

For Immediate Release

January 12, 1994

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN PHOTO OPPORTUNITY WITH PRESIDENT KOVAC OF SLOVAKIA

Library
U.S. Ambassador's Residence
Prague, Czech Republic

11:06 A.M. (L)

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.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

11:07 A.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

January 13, 1993

PRESIDENT CLINTON NAMES SHIRLEY WILCHER TO HEAD LABOR DEPT. OFFICE OF FEDERAL CONTRACT COMPLIANCE PROGRAM

President Clinton 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."

Wilcher has been general counsel and director of state relations for the National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities in Washington, D.C. since February 1990. As OFCCP Director, Wilcher will ensure discrimination will be prohibited in employment by federal contractors and subcontractors. The agency is part of the department's Employment Standards Administration.

Before she began working at the National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities, Wilcher was associate counsel for the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Education and Labor. In that position, she worked with federal agencies charged with enforcing equal employment opportunity laws, including OFCCP, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and the U.S. Education Department's Office for Civil Rights.

From 1980-85, Wilcher was a staff attorney for the National Women's Law Center in Washington, where she worked on litigation involving sex-based discrimination in education.

Wilcher received a law degree from Harvard Law School in 1979, where she was the special projects editor of *Harvard Civil Rights/Civil Liberties Law Review*. She earned a master's degree from the New School for Social Research in New York, N.Y. in 1976 and graduated with honors from Mount Holyoke College in South Hadley, Mass. in 1973.

She was listed in several Who's Who directories, including *Who's Who in Washington* 1983; *Who's Who Among Blacks in Metropolitan Washington, D.C.* 1984; and, *Who's Who in the East* 1991-92.

(continued)

In addition to naming Wilcher, the President announced the appointment of Leslie Loble as Deputy Assistant Secretary of Labor for Policy and Mary M. Meagher as the Labor Department Deputy Assistant Secretary of Public Affairs.

Leslie Loble has served for the past year as a special assistant to Labor Secretary Robert Reich. Her responsibilities have included two of the department's key initiatives -- building a national school-to-work transition system and stimulating development of voluntary national skill standards. Before coming to the Labor Department early in 1993, Loble was staff director of the training subcouncil of the Competitiveness Policy Council.

Loble served as a senior policy analyst for the National Governor's Association in 1991. From 1981 to 1991 she was a member of the headquarters staff of the Communication Workers of America. A graduate of Cornell University, Loble has a master's degree in public administration from Harvard's Kennedy School of Government.

Mary Meagher for the past year has served as the Labor Department's spokesperson and has played an integral part in developing media strategies for DOL initiatives, policies and programs.

Prior to joining the Clinton Administration, Meagher worked for the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC) as the Political Communications Director. From 1989-91, Meagher worked for Representative Jill L. Long (D-Ind.) as campaign communications director and congressional press secretary. She was a legislative and communications aide to Senator Alan J. Dixon from 1987-89 and previously served as a staff assistant to Representatives Dante B. Fascell (D-Fl.) and George E. Brown, Jr. (D-Calif.)

Meagher also worked for two years as a research assistant at the National Bureau of Economic Research in New York, New York. Originally from Aurora, Ill., Meagher graduated from Rosary High School and received a bachelor's degree in political science and economics from Queen's College, City University of New York in 1986.

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January 12, 1994

Pool Report #25
Prague

A Belated K-Mart Pool

Not much happened, there was even less color, but here goes.

President Clinton motorcaded from the U.S. Ambassador's residence as thousands of people stood on the roadsides for virtually the whole ride. Outside the K-Mart, which had been closed all day in preparation, even more greeted the black Caddy.

Inside, the president touched nothing and didn't buy anything. Instead, he sat at a semi-circle table with seven others to discuss doing business in the Czech Republic and the U.S. He was seated beside Czech Prime Minister Klaus and Stephen Heintz, director of the Institute for East-West Studies. It was wonking-American style.

A press kit was in the filing center and identified all else.

Behind the president were many U.S. and Czech goods, including bottles of Coke and Pepsi, Tix Extra detergent, and Barbi playsets. The K-Mart guy who appears in the ads sat in the front row.

Prices of the goods, such as the Czech thighmaster, or "Posilovac, Girls Style," were about the same as in the States.

At one point, Tony Lake showed up and rearranged a setting of cheap furniture so he could have a seat and watch the scene.

When he left, Clinton saw that his motorcade had attracted some 3,000 along Narodni Street - or People Street. Despite warnings he would campaign, he hopped in the car and we beat you to the plane.

bedard - wash. times

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Prague, Czech Republic)

For Immediate Release

January 11, 1994

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT CLINTON
AND PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL OF THE CZECH REPUBLIC

First Courtyard
Prague Castle
Prague, Czech Republic

6:50 P.M. (L)

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.

Q (Asked in Czech.)

THE PRESIDENT: 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: (Answers in Czech.)

END

6:53 P.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Moscow, Russia)

For Immediate Release

January 13, 1994

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT CLINTON
AND PRESIDENT YELTSIN
IN OFFICIAL GREETING CEREMONY

St. George's Hall
The Kremlin
Moscow, Russia

9:16 A.M. (L)

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 two 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. (Applause.)

END

9:21 A.M. (L)

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Brussels, Belgium)

For Immediate Release

January 9, 1994

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO MULTINATIONAL AUDIENCE OF FUTURE LEADERS OF EUROPE

Gothic Room
Hotel De Ville
Brussels, Belgium

6:00 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: 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, Adolf 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

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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 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 nonnuclear 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

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My administration supports European union, and Europe's development of stronger institutions of common purpose

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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. But 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

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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.

And just as we have worked in partnership with Europe of 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 state of the former Soviet bloc, as well as the 16 of NATO. Now it is time to move beyond that dialogue 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

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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.

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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 future, 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 forego 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 seven 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
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those nations, all our nations, to continue 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 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 effort 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 and to 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

MORE

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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

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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 democracy 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 our selves 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 role 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 expressions of intolerance and threats of aggression. But we should also keep those concerns in some historical perspective. It was only two years ago, after all, that the Soviet Union dissolved. Just two 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

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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, that 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 grass-roots 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 five years. And we understand well the toll that European discord ultimately takes on our own people.

Only a few hours of 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. (Applause.)

END

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Office of the Press Secretary
(Brussels, Belgium)

For Immediate Release

January 11, 1994

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN STATEMENT WITH EU LEADERS

News Conference Theatre
EU Headquarters
Brussels, Belgium

12:49 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: 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.

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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 made 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 democracies 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 are 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.

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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 have 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 that what I could add to what Prime Minister Papandreou has spoken on behalf of the Community.

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 two years of shelling, bombing, slaughter?

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Well, keep in mind now the resolution was directed toward a specific set of circumstances. They reaffirmed -- 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 proceed 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 us that no peace agreement has been made and that explicit debate should give this vote the credibility that I believe it deserves.

Q Listening to what you said about growth and jobs and also defense of the environment and social rights, I'm

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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 no priority when we are tackling mass unemployment 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.

THE PRESIDENT: 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 policy 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 that 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.

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

MORE

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So, President Delors.

PRESIDENT DELORS: Questions immediately, because this is more interesting that what I could add to what Prime Minister Papandreu has spoken on behalf of the Community.

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 two years of shelling, bombing, slaughter?

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Well, keep in mind now the resolution was directed toward a specific set of circumstances. They reaffirmed -- 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 proceed 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 us that no peace agreement has been made and that explicit debate should give this vote the credibility that I believe it deserves.

Q Listening to what you said about growth and jobs and also defense of the environment and social rights, I'm

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out, without delivering? At what point does it become, as you warned about yesterday, an empty threat?

THE PRESIDENT: 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. So we'll just have to -- part of it depends upon -- 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.

It depends in part -- 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.

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?

THE PRESIDENT: 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 four 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 three years from these countries. We

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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.

PRIME MINISTER 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.

THE PRESIDENT: 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

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out, without delivering? At what point does it become, as you warned about yesterday, an empty threat?

THE PRESIDENT: 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.

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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.

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 Papandreu 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.

THE PRESS: Thank you very much.

END

1:19 P.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

January 14, 1994

JOINT AMERICAN-RUSSIAN STATEMENT ON HUMAN RIGHTS

The President of the United States of America and the President of the Russian Federation share the view that full guarantees of respect for basic human rights and fundamental freedoms of all persons are indispensable for the maintenance of good relations between countries and the strengthening of stability and security in the world. They also share the view that the development of a state founded on the rule of law with an independent, impartial and effective legal system is essential for the respect of human rights.

They agree that aggressive nationalism and political extremism are the main threat to peace and democracy today. They therefore reaffirm their resolve to focus attention, through joint efforts where possible, on violations of human rights wherever they may occur and to continue to work for the elimination of discrimination, intolerance, racial and national prejudices, xenophobia and anti-Semitism. Adhering to the principle of intolerance of any nationalistic or religious extremism, they reiterate their commitment to take all necessary measures for the effective guarantee of the rights of all citizens, regardless of their nationality or religion.

They will take coordinated steps to increase the effectiveness of the activities of international organizations and mechanisms in order to improve human rights practices everywhere and to guarantee their full respect. They reaffirm the determination of CSCE Foreign Ministers in Rome that better use of CSCE human dimension instruments, including CSCE missions, should be made to promote open and diverse media. They reiterate their commitment to safeguard freedom of expression as a basic human right and underscore its importance for a free and open society.

The United States reaffirms its support for democratic reforms in Russia. Among these reforms are the establishment of an independent judiciary as a fundamental part of a state based on the rule of law, the strengthening of other foundations of a civil society and full realization of personal rights and liberties. The Presidents agree that the continued success of the democratic transformation in Russia is of great importance for the promotion of the principles of democracy and human rights all over the world and for the maintenance of international stability and security.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

January 18, 1994

Statement by the Press Secretary

The President made two phone calls this afternoon to foreign leaders. In a conversation with Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany, the two leaders discussed impressions from the President's recent visit to Western and Central Europe, Ukraine, Russia and Belarus, and their common support for new initiatives at the NATO Summit, including the Partnership for Peace. The conversation lasted about 20 minutes.

The President also spoke with King Fahd of Saudi Arabia. The two leaders discussed President Clinton's meeting on January 16 in Geneva with President Asad of Syria. They exchanged views on the Middle East peace process and other issues. The conversation lasted about 15 minutes.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary
(Brussels, Belgium)

For Immediate Release

January 10, 1994

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE TRAVEL POOL

Grand Place
Brussels, Belgium

THE PRESIDENT: As you know, we had a good, long dinner tonight. And we talked about only two subjects; we talked about Russia and Bosnia. We spent the first half, perhaps more than half the dinner on Russia. And I basically gave a report about what I would be doing in Russia, and they gave me their advice about what we could do to strengthen the process of reform, create a system of support for people who had been dislocated economically, how we could build a better partnership with Russia and have the kind of future we want, with Russia being a great nation, but a nonaggressive one.

And it was very, very helpful. I mean, they had very keen insights and a lot of them had just been there, so it was helpful.

Then we talked about Bosnia at some length. And I urged that we stay with the present communique, the present policy, which gives us the right to ask the U.N. for permission to use air strikes if Sarajevo continues to be shelled. We discussed some other options and agreed that we would have another discussion tomorrow about it.

So I can't say that there was any conclusion reached except that I do believe we'll stay with our present policy. I think the language in the communique will stay in, and we'll have some other discussions about it tomorrow morning.

Q Was there an agreement to ask the U.N. permission to use air strikes?

THE PRESIDENT: No. Because under the procedure what would happen is one of the member states would have to ask the North Atlantic Council, our military group, to review it to say it was appropriate, and then to go to the U.N. So I think, plainly, we know that if the language stays in there and if the shelling continues, there will have to be some action taken.

So I think you can tell by what happens tomorrow, if we keep the language, which I hope and believe we will, then it's basically up to the behavior of those who are shelling Sarajevo, principally the Serbs. We'll just have to see what happens.

Q With regard to Russia, is there a larger economic plan envisioned?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, what they talked about today was -- first of all, we have quite a large plan. We've got to dislodge some of the money that we've committed that has tied up in the international institutions. They all believe that we needed a combination of two things -- we need to try to speed up the privatization, because in the end that was the real guarantor of reform. And Russia has done a phenomenal job of privatizing industries. Thousands just in the last year.

And, secondly, that we needed some sort of social support network -- an unemployment system, a retraining system, a

MORE

system to train people to manage and operate businesses and banks that will enable people to deal with the dislocations that are coming. And that's basically what we talked about.

Q Thank you, Mr. President.

END



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 18, 1994

Bobby R. Inman,
Admiral, U. S. Navy (Ret.)
3300 Bee Cave Road
Suite 650-221
Austin, TX 78746

Dear Admiral Inman:

It is with regret that I accept your request that I not submit your nomination as Secretary of Defense. While I understand the personal considerations that have led you to this decision, I am nevertheless saddened that our Nation will be denied your service.

I wish you the very best as you continue to work on your many important endeavors as a private citizen.

Very truly yours,

Bill Clinton

3300 Bee Cave Road
Suite 650-221
Austin, Texas 78746

January 8, 1994

The Honorable William J. Clinton
The President of the United States
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President,

After much deliberation, I hereby request that you withdraw my nomination to be the Secretary of Defense. I regret letting you down, but I have concluded that it is the right decision for both of us.

I have been overwhelmed by the volume of positive public support for the nomination from so many quarters, including former Presidents, and especially from Dick Cheney and Bob Gates, and Senators Sam Nunn, John Warner, John McCain and Kay Hutchison, for which I will be eternally grateful. But the reality is that my family and I have not found it possible to focus on the positive and ignore the negative, but rather have been drawn daily to the rush-to-judgment distortions of my record, my character, and my reputation. I have had many calls from old friends telling me that I simply need thicker skin, but for only the second time in my life (the other was my seventeen months as the Deputy Director of Central Intelligence) I find I wake up in the morning focused on the negatives and not on the opportunities.

The precipitating event for my decision was news first received on December 30th that Senator Dole had directed a partisan response to my nomination. During my years in public service, I did not have an occasion to work with Senator Dole, so he has no personal experience that would have led him to join his fellow Republicans, who have been so supportive. But without solid bipartisan support from the leadership at the outset, I bring no special qualifications to the prospective job. I do not need another title for my resume, and I was willing to leave the private sector only if there was a strong probability for gaining the kind of legislation that would fundamentally change how the Department of Defense spends the tax payers dollars. From Austin I sense elements in the media and the political leadership of the country who would rather disparage or destroy reputations than work to effectively govern the country. I do not wish to provide those elements fodder for their daily attacks.

Finally, Mr. President, I want you to know that one of the few positive things I take out of this unhappy experience is a great appreciation for your intellect, for your clear understanding of what has not gone well in the National Security arena in the first year of your Presidency, and of your determination to build on the NAFTA experience to forge new and lasting bipartisan approaches to the intractable problems in front of this Country. I hope you will find a strong candidate for Secretary of Defense who will bring the political skills and toughness that will be required. I am persuaded that you are fully ready and capable of being the Commander in Chief this Country must have.

If I had really wanted the job I might have been willing to subject my family to the daily onslaught that awaits those doing highly visible public service. But I have already given more than thirty years of public service to my Country, of which I remain proud, and I have concluded that duty to family must now come before further duty for service to Country.

Very respectfully,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Bobby R. Inman", with a stylized flourish extending from the end.

Bobby R. Inman
Admiral, U. S. Navy, (Ret.)

POOL REPORT #46
January 15, 1994 - Geneva

The President went to dinner at Restaurant Les Armures. He entered the restaurant at 8:10 pm. He was with Hillary, Chelsea, and several members of her staff, including press secretary Lisa Caputo, Julie Hopper, Capricia Marshall, and Kelly Craighead. Wendy Smith was also there from the President's staff. They came out about 11:30 pm. Chelsea first; she got a big roar from the crowd of people who gathered outside. Next came Hillary and the President who got big applause. The President waved and went to his car. Inside the restaurant he chatted with patrons before leaving.

Frisby, Wall St. Journal

Toast at the Kremlin
1-14-93
Hall of Facets Pool Report

Presidents Clinton and Yeltsin exchanged toasts in the Hall of Facets -- described by WJC as "this wondrous hall" -- at the Kremlin Friday night. Clinton told Yeltsin Russia is building "a new society, yet it remains grounded in your people and your history."

Yeltsin's toast was in Russian and I am advised there are no plans to provide us translation tonight.

Yeltsin spoke for about 15 minutes. Clinton had a piece of paper in front of him in which he appeared to be following Yeltsin's remarks, but there was no opportunity to ask him what it was. He smiled through most of it.

Clinton's response took about two minutes and Yeltsin spoke for about 10.

The Hall of Facets is inside the palace, where the Romanovs held sway and the Clintons will be sleeping tonight.

I did not get a count, but there appeared to be more than 100 muckety mucks dining in the splendor.

The guests were grouped in tables of 6 or 7. At the head table, set up in front of murals (facets) composed of assorted archers, wood nymphs, clerics and soldiers -- sat -- Mr. and Mrs. Chernomyrdin, Mr. and Mrs. Yeltsin and Mr. and Mrs. Clinton.

Their table was decorated with monkey pods, two candelabras, and white table cloths with a yellow skirt.

Mrs. Clinton and Mrs. Yeltsin both wore black dresses with silver buttons -- but they weren't exactly alike.

The Yeltsins and Clintons came down a grand staircase of gold filligree and black railing into the grand hall and stood in a receiving line under a massive gold chandelier. The receiving line began at 7:08 p.m. and ended at 7:42 p.m.

Among those I spotted among the U.S. delegation were Gergen, Dee Dee, Christopher, Lake, Bentsen, McClarty and Hillary. Chelsea was not at the dinner.

I will not attempt to spell many Russian names tonight, but I have some phonetically spelled officials and titles of people spotted with the help of Russian reporters there.

For anybody who wants to go over them with me and read the tea leaves, I'll be around here till about midnight and on the plane tomorrow.

Clinton appeared to spend the most time in this lengthy receiving line with Vladimir Shumeiko, the new reform-minded speaker of the Federation Council -- the upper house of parliament, and the chairman of the central bank, whose name was spelled for me as Viktor Geratschenko. Likewise, Yeltsin seemed to hold Bentsen in the line longer than any of the others and he, Clinton and Yeltsin all gathered around in a circle for a rather animated and laughter-filled conversation that may have lasted a minute.

Also spotted was Yegor Gaidar, who is either in or out here as a deputy minister depending on what day it is.

We were escorted out of the Hall of Facets before the first course was served. In the cavernous corridor outside the Hall, a large orchestra was set up way down at the other end with chairs arrayed in front of it. And downstairs, a group of about 50 Russian dancers and singers in native costumes were waiting to perform.

pool report # 42
Minsk, January 15, 1993

Signing ceremony for U.S.-Belarus Investment treaty.

Turns out this is the first visit by a U.S. president since Richard Nixon came on July 1, 1974. Signing ceremony took place at the Vosgoviy Guest House, which was built for Nixon's visit. The building is decorated in a rather European fashion with rooms with fabric panels on the walls and lace curtains. Signing ceremony took place in the Blue Room, a very ornate and heavily gilded blue and white room with gilded columns and eight chandeliers.

President Clinton and Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Stanislev Shushkevich sat at a table, each with a two-pen ink stand of wood in front of him. They signed two copies of the agreement with an array of about 20 officials, mostly Belarusian, standing in back of them. The observers applauded. Then two women came in with trays of cut glass champagne flutes filled with, of course, champagne. The two principals stood and there was some clinking of glasses, though not between the two principals (don't read anything into this -- the clinking was ad hoc and spurred by a request from watching press). POTUS raised his glass to toast some of the Belarusians from a distance.

Then a senior administration official gave a short backgrounder on night at Kremlin, the wonderful evening and events there, the farewell ceremony at Kremlin, and the provisions of the U.S.-Belarus treaty to encourage U.S. investment. Senior official also discussed the political factors behind the decision to shift the Kuropaty stop to the end of the Minsk visit instead of at the beginning, as originally planned -- transcript will be forthcoming shortly. Senior official noted that the president on this visit announced an additional \$25 million in Nunn-Lugar aid for Belarus, making a total of \$101 million over the past year.

One final note -- although we didn't see the First Daughter, Chelsea has her own mini-motorcade and a brief schedule here. Belarusians say she is visiting the Minsk Ballet School.

-- Deborah Orin, New York Post
Bob Cohen, Newsweek

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Minsk, Belarus)

For Immediate Release

January 15, 1994

PRESS BRIEFING
BY
MARK GEARAN

Hotel Planeta
Minsk, Belarus

5:15 P.M. (L)

MR. GEARAN: Good afternoon. My name is Mark Gearan. I'm the White House Communications Director. And we thought we might give you an assessment of where we thought the trip of the President stands at this point. We have miles to go before we sleep, literally, back in Washington, but several folks are preparing some assessments of the trip and what we thought we had accomplished and what our objectives were; that we thought at this point, anyway, it might be helpful for some of you.

Let me begin by saying that what we set out to do with the trip, what our objectives were and, indeed, what we felt we concluded at this point, anyway, in the trip. Before we even left from Washington, we realized that the President's trip comes at a really historic moment of opportunity in this post-Cold War period.

The President sought to come here on his visit to these cities and to these nations to affirm the importance to their leaders and, indeed, to the people of the transatlantic relationship that we want to affirm and reaffirm in instances so that global stability and prosperity with these new democracies are most important to us.

A lot of what the President spent time talking about in his various remarks was the importance of the political, economic and security interests and the ties among the Western nations. So when we left from Washington we sought to accomplish five principal objectives, and we're looking forward to those along this trip.

The first was -- and this is not in the order of the trip, necessarily, but a bit in what we sought out to do -- is to encourage continued reform in Russia so that they would avoid any return to the authoritarian or ultranationalism and aggressive foreign policy of the past.

Secondly, the President sought to reassert the centrality of what has been the world's most successful alliance, NATO, and to the security of the challenges that we face in this post-Cold War world, largely through the advancement of his initiative, the Partnership For Peace initiative that was endorsed by the NATO allies.

Third, we wanted to deepen our relations with the European Union in building on the cooperation that we had at the G-7, in the GATT Uruguay Round, and on the European Union's desire for stronger foreign and security policy roles.

Fourth, we wanted to draw the nations of Central and Eastern Europe into the community of Western democracies. And our trip to Prague and our visit with the four Visegrad leaders evidenced that.

Finally, we wanted to proceed with measures to ensure the denuclearization efforts. The President's been working, obviously, on the initiatives we have and the agreement we had with Ukraine, Belarus here. So that is what we set out to do in the trip.

As we stand now, certainly the President gives a great deal of credit to his foreign policy team -- Secretary Christopher, who was very involved from the outset -- suggested the NATO summit and the activity there; Secretary Aspin; the President's National Security Advisor, Tony Lake; and the important work of our representative to the United Nations, Madeleine Albright; and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Shalikashvili who played key roles in the Central and European leaders' acceptance of our Partnership For Peace initiative.

In terms of the efforts in Russia and our efforts to encourage democracy and reform there, the President, as I said, wanted to go to urge and continue Russia down the path for democracy and free markets so that they would not revert to their past roles of the kind of authoritarian rule and aggressive foreign policy. His meetings with President Yeltsin -- as we have said previously in briefings and in the President's personal conversations with you -- have been very productive. They have really forged a very warm and genuine friendship. The State Dinner last evening at the Kremlin and the President and his family were allowed the hospitality to stay at the Kremlin, and they enjoyed that and the opportunity to visit more extensively with President Yeltsin.

The meetings that he had in Moscow, as we've said, allowed President Clinton to note to President Yeltsin his appreciation for all of the remarkable changes that have existed there. We also had the opportunity to stress the reform process in Russia and the benefits that have been derived from it. And, thirdly, I think in the TV show that many of you saw that the President did yesterday -- it was an opportunity for him and one of the things we did throughout the trip was for him to visit with people in the countries along the way; whether it was from the consumers in the Russian bread store to the pub and the restaurant in Prague to the stops in Brussels, he wanted to have an opportunity to meet and to visit with people more informally and some of those settings allowed for that.

What he has also said from his trip in Russia is that he was very appreciative for the other leaders that came, because one of the objectives we sought right from the beginning was to broaden the context that we had with other leaders in other political groups in Russia.

In terms of the NATO meeting, the important piece, of course, is what we'd observe is that the Central European and Eastern Europeans and Russia showed their support for, and enthusiasm for it. And that as important to us. We worked very hard in the weeks preceding the trip to secure endorsement with our allies. And as I mentioned earlier, Ambassador Albright and General Shalikashvili's work was critical to the support from the leaders. We've spoken previously about the Partnership For Peace, which, again, the American-led initiative that we're very excited about.

The Partnership, in summary, of course, reflects our best judgment at this point in time about how to promote security and stability in Europe. It avoids, as we have said previously, drawing new and any hostile dividing lines in Europe. And we look forward now, as the invitations proceed, to go forth.

The European Union we spoke of when we were in Brussels and that important relationship that the President sought to really deepen and broaden when we were there to enhance the relationships and the relationships that we developed. And

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indeed, the meanings that the President had he felt were productive as we move forward beyond G-7 and the initiatives there in GATT and the Uruguay Round.

We have spoken previously about our efforts in Prague. And the Partnership For Peace, of course, was important. We also wanted to develop the kinds of relationships with those leaders that will be important in the years to come. And we were gratified by their acceptance and enthusiasm for our partnership initiative.

Finally, the denuclearization of the former Soviet states, which we're obviously here for in Minsk. The President came to congratulate Belarus for their initiative and for their commitment to denuclearization and to dismantle their weapons along the lines of the Nonproliferation Treaty, and the assistance that he suggested here in his speech that I'm sure many of you saw.

Secondly, of course, in this regard was the three-part trilateral agreement with Russia and the Ukraine and the United States on the denuclearization in the Ukraine. So we believe as we move forward now that the things that we set out in the early part of the trip we feel gratified that we've advanced.

The President came here with a pretty strong agenda, both in the individual meetings that he had with leaders and in the bilateral and trilateral meetings and the NATO summit. He had a vision of what he wanted to do. And I think he showed in the variety of settings that he was placed in from the formal NATO meetings to the bilateral meetings to the casual meetings in the cities that we went to, the range of his capacity and his performance levels here.

So that's where we stand. I'd be happy to kind of take any questions.

Q How does the President feel he did? How do you think the President did --

MR. GEARAN: Well, ultimately --

Q -- in addition to being very gratified?

MR. GEARAN: Well, ultimately, I think you have to judge the performance of what we've done by the results.

Q We can't tell the results yet.

MR. GEARAN: I would respectfully take some issue with that. I think the results are critical. The Partnership For Peace is a very important initiative. It was American-led. The nonproliferation --

Q -- the Partnership For Peace yet, Mark. I mean, how does -- all of these things still have to play out.

MR. GEARAN: I understand that.

Q I'm trying to find out how you folks feel about how the President did. Is he happy with what he has done here on foreign policy? I'd like to get some sort of expression like that from you, if you care to share it.

MR. GEARAN: That's a great question. I'd like to have the opportunity --

Q Why don't you hit it? (Laughter.)

MR. GEARAN: I'm kind of waiting for the opportunity to. This is just to -- our view is both in terms -- my point is in terms of the substance of what we achieved. That's one

measure that I think is an important one. It's an objective standard, it's a quantifiable answer from the Partnership For Peace, to the other initiatives, to the trilateral agreements, to the agreements we had with President Yeltsin, to our meeting here. Those are objective, definable standards that I think are measurable successes of this trip.

Secondly, I think you saw an opportunity of the President on the world stage, interacting with important leaders that will be critical to American security in the years ahead. President Yeltsin, obviously, in the relationship that they enjoy are NATO allies, and the kind of force that the President went into the NATO meeting with, and really all of the initiatives coming out of the NATO meeting were American initiatives. And I think you've seen kind of the commentary that has come from that from our Allied leaders in terms of the force of personality of the President that he went into, and the energy and commitment that he brought into those meetings.

You've seen him previously in other settings like this at the G-7 meeting and at the APEC meeting. The President, by -- of his personality and his ability to forge friendships quickly and deeply to his enthusiasm for the initiatives that he has lead here I think combine to allow for an important first European trip, and the first of three this calendar year to really combine to have a very successful summit.

He has said in the past during the campaign and throughout his presidency that to be strong at home you have to be strong abroad. Many of you have heard that along the way. I think what you have as we stand on the final hours of our trip here is that -- a President who came and took advantage of -- many nations who are really thirsting for the kind of American leadership on initiatives in their countries -- that he was able to go into quickly to build upon and to move as we approach the 21st century.

Q Mark, some of this had the trappings of a political campaign. Why does he feel it necessary to come over to this part of the world and do things that you would do if you were running for office?

MR. GEARAN: I think the trip was very heavily laden with opportunities for important diplomatic initiatives. I think certainly the bulk of the time that he spent was in either the NATO meetings or bilateral meetings or individual one-on-one sessions informally with people that really allowed for the kind of range of accomplishments that I've suggested previously.

He very much wanted to have informal sessions with people, whether it was a jam session in Prague or a dinner with the President there, to stopping by a coffee shop in Brussels where he has a chance to mix and to visit with people to really take the pulse of people in the countries. He had those kinds of opportunities. I think the television studio speech and set of remarks yesterday was certainly something that he -- we have used during the campaign and into his presidency. But it is a very good format for him to have the kind of exchange of ideas and to learn quickly what is on the minds of people.

Finally, and arguably most importantly, in this respect that the personal involvement of the President from the early preparation that he had on this trip to his personal performance in these sessions and the initiatives that he led really show the -- reflect what people are reaching out for in the countries that we visited and the people. And that is for strong American leadership in order to prepare us as we move towards the next century.

Q Mark, is there anything that didn't go swimmingly well and the President thinks he needs a little more

work that he discovered on this trip that he feels he ought to apply himself to, perhaps?

MR. GEARAN: I guess fundamentally one would have to observe the context in which the President started the trip following his mother's death and obviously coming into that with the kind of fatigue and -- was difficult for him. He quickly immersed himself into the trip and into the preparations for it.

I think he recognizes that when an American President speaks away from home, he speaks for the entire country. And he spent a great deal of time in advance of the meetings preparing for them. That would be the obvious --

Q Mark, what about Bosnia? There clearly seem to be tensions left after all that was said and done, and an initiative that was not an American initiative, a British and French one passed. What effect do you think that --

MR. GEARAN: I think the sum total, certainly, will have been a good and productive session at NATO where they were able to, in the kind of sessions they had, the combination of the formal session and then the dinner, the working dinner, that really allowed for the leaders to speak through clearly and frankly where they see this going.

This is going to be an issue that we will continue to deal with and monitor. But I think the meeting comes out with a resolve to -- and an assessment of where we stand and where the individual leaders stand. I think that was important, certainly, for the President and for the leaders.

Q Would you please tell us what should we expect from tomorrow's meeting in Geneva?

MR. GEARAN: We can handle that at the side, and Mike McCurry from the State Department might want to go into it briefly. I wanted to just summarize the trip, then we can go forth from there.

Q On the trip, what's the President's enthusiasm about his renewed contacts and rapport with Yeltsin, somewhat moderated by the background against which this visit played in Moscow -- the tumultuous opening of the Parliament that some people think does not really augur well for the future of reforms in that country.

MR. GEARAN: I think the President came away from his meetings with President Yeltsin feeling that he was very much on top of his job, that he felt that he had a team in place that really had a defined strategy of what they want to accomplish. That it is a group of people that are not unduly deterred or distracted by the political opposition, that they have definable goals, where they see their country going. And he was impressed with their enthusiasm and commitment to their plan. So that was the combination of both the meetings that he had, as well as other Cabinet members, Secretary Christopher and Secretary Bentsen, who had ancillary meetings with their counterparts.

Secretary Bentsen remarked in our briefing that it was certainly one of the best economic teams that he has seen in place. And, of course, that would be critical for the kind of reforms that will have to ensue.

Q When we get back to the United States, how will this focus now on international affairs play out? Are we going to hear more of this, or will we move right into health care?

MR. GEARAN: -- at home, there are important initiatives that the President is anxious to return to. Obviously, we'll be having the State of the Union Address on January 25th, where he will outline agenda for the year. In

advance of that, you will also have an opportunity on the anniversary of his inaugural to make remarks.

But our work plan for the year is an important one and a full one, from the passage of the crime bill when we return to, obviously, then, the serious work that will have to be done on health care reform.

The President has stated previously this is our number one domestic priority. He's anxious to get it done this year, and we'll be devoting the kind of resources and energy that the administration will bring to bear to assure enactment of them.

Another key initiative that we're going to be working on very hard next year is welfare reform. So we have a great deal to go back to that awaits our return. In terms of the trip, certainly, as I said earlier, that as the President has said, to be strong at home you have to be strong abroad. And as we prepare to leave this part of our trip here, I think the successes that we've realized to date will allow for him to return home, fortified with that kind of -- those achievements that we have had here from Brussels to Prague, to Moscow to Minsk -- those kinds of things allow him to return back home.

Q In a speaking sense, will he be including that in speeches, or will he -- like in a summation to the American people, or any events or anything? Or just back to domestic?

MR. GEARAN: It is never "just back to domestic." What the President has made very clear to -- it's 4:30 p.m. If you want to make Air Force One, you have to leave in another five minutes.

Let me go back to this, because this is important. What the President has said repeatedly, of course, is that the distinction between foreign policy and domestic policy is an artificial one in the sense that the issues frequently get joined.

What you saw here on this trip, especially the kinds of issues that we dealt with here, that distinction is not real in the world that we live in today -- the kinds of issues that the NATO allied leaders dealt with, the kind of economic reforms that we talked about in Prague and in Moscow and in Minsk. Indeed, the economic security of Europe and with the formulation of the European Union combined to reinforce, I believe, this point, that that distinction is less important than it might have been in previous years. That's how he approaches his job back home. That's how he approached coming here on this trip.

Q Can you see any parallels in the USA -- supposed to what the leaders of Russia and Belarus? I mean, that the USA has made all the stakes -- put in all the stakes on Boris Yeltsin. And here in Belarus put in all the stakes on Shushkevich. So is the State Department and the White House ready to change the stakes or to broaden the cycle in Russia and in Belarus, or not?

MR. GEARAN: Well, I think the combination of events in the schedule would evidence certainly that the President -- what we just said previously about President Yeltsin and his support for the kind of reforms and, indeed, the appreciation that he has for the kinds of reforms that he has led here. But also more broadly, the reforms that are going on here. A lot of his message in Moscow and here is -- to the kind of reforms, economic reforms and political reforms and security reforms, outlined in the President's speech today, that he has advanced.

He took the opportunity, in several countries we have, as we did when we went to the G-7, to meet with other younger, in some instances, political leaders from a variety of

different groups to kind of expand the contacts and to expand his message beyond --

Q And in Belarus? Shushkevich and -- well, maybe some other leaders.

MR. GEARAN: He met with the leaders here and with members of the party here. This was a briefer stop, obviously, by time allowances that we had in so many other countries we visited. We had -- my point was a more broader point in terms of Moscow.

Q Was there anything that was particularly disappointing that didn't go the way that you expected it to? Were you left with a bad taste in any way?

MR. GEARAN: My sense was the most disappointing element was the lack of sleep that many of you have endured. But I think by judging the standards of what we set out to do in those five points that I outlined in the beginning, combined with the personal force -- magnitude and personal force that the President brought in his stops, I think would have to allow for a summation of the trip as having been a very successful one.

Sleep deficit remains, and we will burden you with that through Sunday night.

Q By visiting Kuropaty, is he being critical of the current government? I mean, he's meeting with the reformers out there who have been here, had to stand in the mud and the ice because they weren't allowed at these other ceremonies. Or is it -- how does that play out, the kind of the clash of meeting with the current government and the reformers later on?

MR. GEARAN: Well, I think what it plays out is the President had said before he left that he thought it would be important to remember the victims of past Stalinist terror. There was an issue that remained in terms of the schedule of that. He has spent a great deal of his time here in the bilateral meetings and his speech to press for the kind of reforms; that's the broader message that he wanted to send here. And he was certainly aware of the sensitivities that existed, but also was very anxious to make that stop as he did.

Q -- not trying to drive a wedge in between these two, he's just trying to encourage these other reformers that he's meeting with now?

MR. GEARAN: I don't think I can really add to what the President said in his remarks here.

END

January 16, 1994

Pool Report #48

Pool Spray with Presidents Assad and Clinton

The U.S. pool went the into the Salon de Nations in the second wave, behind the Syrian press and before the Swiss press. Masses of security men filled the door way, but we did catch a glimpse of the presidents sitting at a long table. Clinton, on the right, was across from Assad. Ditto for al-Sharaa and Christopher.

Clinton said he would have a statement later and refused to bite at questions. Assad, however, took the opportunity to say, "I'm glad to be meeting with the president." Also, through his interpreter, he said, "We are at the table not to speak about expectations but to do the work."

The room was decorated in mostly gold-colored wall rugs. The U.S. side, including the interpreter sitting on Clinton's left, had a leather-bound folder in front of them.

Clinton looked very serious and didn't chatter, while Assad was jovial and apparently telling funny stories to the U.S. side.

bedard-washington times

Pool Report# 47

January 16, 1994
Geneva

SUNDAY JOG

The pool watched the sun come up--and the rain come out--over Lake Geneva for about an hour as we awaited the President. About 8:15 a.m. , he came running past, in the company of about 20 red-sweatshirt-clad Marines, said to be from the U.S. Mission here. The following exchange occurred:

Mr. President: Are you happy or sad this trip is coming to an end?

Onlooker: Bonjour.

Clinton: Bonjour.

Half-hour later, he was back in the limo in the rain and back here.

devroy: Washington Post.

POOL REPORT #41
January 15, 1994

Pool report covering departure at Moscow airport, arrival at Minsk, color from Gearan on last night and bus fire:

At his send-off at the Moscow airport, Clinton and Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin stood at attention on a red carpet covering the wet tarmac as a military band played both nation's anthems.

Hillary, wearing a dark fur hat (one of the expensive looking kind), and Chelsea stood on the steps at the terminal behind him.

Following the anthems, Clinton and Chernomyrdin reviewed six dozen troops standing at attention, three sets of 24 each dressed in gray, blue and black overcoats, all wearing matching Persian fur hats, rifles with fixed bayonets at their side. Clinton walked in step, and seemed to nod at just the right time, as if he'd told what to do moments before as he walked past the troops.

He went without top coat. He shook hands at the terminal before heading to Air Force One, but did a doubleback so the troops could pass by once more with the military band following behind.

At the steps of Air Force One, two women dressed in red folk, hooped dresses -- wearing matching caps decorated with the same bric-a-brac as their ankle-length dresses -- gave the Clintons two huge bouquets of flowers. Clinton posed for the pool carrying one bunch of orange orchids before handing it off VBN to Andrew Friendly. Hillary got the other arrangement, and the whole family walked up the steps together.

At the top, they turned and waved, while the band played "Stars and Stripes Forever." Clinton grinned widely, and when the song reached a crescendo, Clinton shook his head in awe and flashed a thumbs up.

Various aides got aboard before Clinton: Christopher, McLarty, etc. (Gergen was carrying his free Coke bag)

ball-daily news
cohn-newsweek

Now this from Minsk arrival:

Almost identical honor guard deal; two more folk costumed women were waiting at the foot of the airplane steps, carrying bread and salt -- an old East European tradition visitors are supposed to eat upon arriving in a new place. Clinton had a taste.

And this tad of color from Gearan about Clinton's stay at Kremlin:

They dined on a mega-course dinner, eating tomatoes salad, liver pate, caviar, turkey with fruit and roast beef and other items that didn't quickly come to Gearan's mind. Desert was a white parfait shaped like a snowman. There was a symphony and opera singer for entertainment later.

Then Yeltsin took Clinton on a tour of the guest quarters where the Clintons slept, the historic residence of the Czars, and Clinton remarked on how much he enjoyed "the beautiful icons and ceiling paintings."

Clinton went to bed about midnight, then woke about 4:30 a.m. "full of thought about what he'd experienced the day before and seen last night." He dozed off again, then woke up and took an hour-long walk, by himself, around the Kremlin grounds.

(HRC, by the way, will tour a hospital here that's getting technical advice and some equipment from Children's Hospital of Pittsburg, since many children here have thyroid cancer and other health problems related to Chernobyl.)

In the midst of Gearan's color fill on the rickety bus, exhaust fumes filled the vehicle, forcing the remnants of Pool 41 to open all the windows. The bus still chugged along, until strange

Two heroic photographers rushed up to help put out the sparks, which was in the fan switch. ``Beaver fire!'' Gearan shouted, after the photographers erroneously reported the bus driver was using his hat to extinguish the sparks.

We pulled over twice, and sat on the side of the road for about 10 minutes while the driver disconnect this switch.

Once back on the road, this prompted jokes from Gearan about how it's his job to put out fires, etc. etc.

ball-daily news

Pool Report #44 Kuropaty Pool Report

Jan. 15. 1994

The actual site of the event was perhaps a quarter-mile up a slushy, icy hill -- wooden planks had been laid down to cover the water and snow melt, which was several inches deep. The mass graves are all around, amid the trees. They are visible as depressions in the ground, some a foot or so deep, others five or six feet deep where the ground sank as the bodies decayed. It was a stark image in black and white -- the snow had melted in many of the depressions, leaving them as sunken dark patches against the snow.

White House advance staff said the secret police used to take about 250 victims up each night and force them to dig their own graves, then shoot them. Some 250,000 bodies are believed buried there according to the advance staff.

The actual monument hasn't yet been built -- at the top of the hill is a simple slab of stone about 5 feet high with pine branches next to it and an inscription that, we were told, says a monument will be built. Just delivered for President Clinton's visit, a bit lower down the hill, are a gift from the United States -- two simple slab benches of black granite inscribed on the back, in English: "From the people of the United States of America to the People of Belarus in remembrance." The front carries the same message in Belarusian, we were told. On one bench, two white carnations and two red carnations were strewn.

Waiting for the president's party were about 40 girls, most aged 10ish to 14ish, each holding a candle lantern -- a white candle set in a metal lantern casting a glow of light. They were wearing parkas, pants and snow boots in a variety of colors. When we got there the light was starting to fade -- when the president arrived it was nearly dusk. We were told the girls were students at a school that teaches in the ancient Belarusian language.

The president's staff clambered up the hill ahead of him and got behind the ropeline -- among those present were David Gergen and Warren Christopher. The president was hatless in a dark overcoat and wore heavy-duty laceup boots that looked to be about ankle high. He was accompanied up the hill by Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Stanislev Shushkevich, a woman translator and Zenon Posnyak, the archaeologist who discovered the mass grave and is now a leader of the Belarusian opposition.

As the president neared the top of the hill, the girls with candles formed a semi-circle behind him and one girl, 11-year-old Radusia Vichorka, gave her candle to Clinton and walked with him to the slab stone bench strewn with carnations, where he set down the candle amid the flowers. The girls began singing -- we were told it was an anthem -- in high sweet voices against the still night as the light faded. The president stood with his head bent and his hands clasped in front of him as they sang. When the singing ended, he took Radusia's arm and escorted her the short distance back to the other girls, where he patted her on the shoulder. Radusia, incidentally, was wearing a turquoise wool stocking cap and a fushia jacket.

Pool #44 Pg 2

Apparently the girls' choir was a mix of both Catholic and Orthodox students, which was seen as unusual. Then an Orthodox priest, Catholic priest and rabbi emerged from the crowd and chatted with the president but pool couldn't hear anything. A fourth man was with them -- it wasn't clear whether he also was a religious leader. White House is supposed to provide names. All anyone on-site could tell us was that the rabbi is a Lubavitcher rabbi from Brooklyn whose last name is Wolpin and who is in Minsk seeking to rebuild the Jewish community that was wiped out in World War II. Posnyak also had several exchanges with the president, but we couldn't hear.

Neither Mrs. Clinton nor Chelsea was present. After president left, as we made our way slowly down the hill, the candle lantern was still sitting on the stone bench casting a circle of light.

Before the president arrived, Posnyak had a long conversation with the local press about the day's events. Unfortunately, he doesn't speak English so pool couldn't ask any questions. But a young man who was with him offered a summary of his remarks (which I can't verify since I don't speak the language). According to the impromptu translator, Posnyak said he was "bothered" that the White House had delayed the Kuropaty visit to the end of the day at the request of communists in the government. Posnyak also gave an account of the closed-door meeting between opposition leaders (including himself) and Clinton, which the young man summarized this way: "The opposition proposed to Clinton that he should cancel (U.S.) aid to this government because it (the money) won't go for reform, only to support this government. Right now there is no process of reform. The opposition said Clinton should provide moral support to other forces (than the government) because the process of democracy hasn't happened. Clinton said he would bear what they said in his mind."

No immediately available White House staff to comment on that account. But there doesn't seem any reason to doubt the young man -- when I asked Posnyak if he spoke English, the local journalists gathered around him all pointed to the young man in question as someone who could translate. But it should be noted that Posnyak -- a tall man with a pale face and dark hair who wore a black hat -- seemed comfortable and respectful toward Clinton as they chatted. Certainly there was no visible sign of irritation -- quite the opposite.

-- Deborah Orin, New York Post

Pool Report #45
AF1 Minsk-Geneva
January 15, 1994

A note for readers: We had the opportunity or misfortune, to pick an Air Force One ride in which everyone aboard felt like talking to the pool. So after Minsk, we have lots of comments. Be patient.

This pool picked up after the speech at the Academy of Science in Minsk with Chairman Shushkevich and Zenon Poznyak accompanying the president to Kuropaty Memorial. Poznyak is a member of Parliament who was one of the first to document the tens of thousands - and some locals said hundreds of thousands - that Stalin murdered in Kuropaty Forest.

For those who didn't take the tour, this is a simple cross-style memorial in a frozen, swampy area at the edge of this massive forest and it is truly chilling. Clinton approached, talked to Poznyak for a few moments and then walked to the memorial and stopped in front of it for about a minute, his head bowed and his eyes closed.

The presidential party then headed up into the woods where we were told he would meet some locals whose relatives had been killed there, but that is a tale for another pool to tell, as we were hustled off to the airport.

The departure from Belarus was uneventful, but once aboard a baseball-loving senior administration official came back to chat.

On how the White House feels Clinton did on this trip: "Every specific issue that we pursued . . . was accomplished," this official said, specifically citing Partnership for Peace and the deal with Ukraine. "Even more importantly, the president laid out in increasing specificity a vision for Europe and how all the elements fit together."

This official emphasized how the president's personal touches and attempts to reach the masses, using the Red Square street walk and his visit to Minsk as examples, were important to the tone they wanted to take.

Just as important as the specific substance of what Clinton did, the official said, is "the way he does this, which is to see foreign policy through people and through other nation's foreign as well as domestic policy."

Clinton was encouraging democracy by "capturing the imagination of the people rather than lecturing . . . Every Russian who saw the president on television now feels part of something exciting." As a side note, this official said he had heard unconfirmed reports that the Moscow town meeting had been shown three times on television in Belarus, accounting for the large crowds at some of the events.

The official went on to say the administration was not assuming Moscow would once more revert to expansionist policies by pushing Partnership for Peace, but said it was "lunacy to simply accept that as an inevitability and not to do all that you can to prevent it."

On Russia, we were told Yeltsin was just as solid in private on pushing ahead in reform as he was in public events and that the administration is confident that Clinton's words on getting Soviet troops out of the Baltics and near-abroad, which some of your pool suggested were tepid, helped give crucial momentum to a difficult political decision.

Again, on Russia, the official said the Yeltsin government finds itself at a very "difficult psychological moment" in which it would have been totally unproductive for the Americans to arrive and tell them what to do. Instead, they were careful to quote Yeltsin and not be partneralistic.

On pushing the social safety net issue, the officials said, "the biggest killer . . . both economically and politically is inflation, as the Weimar Republic found out." The official said that's why the U.S. has been pushing for this cushion.

The official said the Russians he had spoken with tended to be unalarmed by Mr. Zhirinovsky, but didn't totally dismiss him either. More concerning, he said, was the possibility of the Communists forming a powerful voting bloc with Zhirinovsky's LDP party.

pool #45 pg 2

A second senior official with close ties to the vice president came back to talk about the seven Lubabitcher books that the Clinton party will bring back to Washington.

A bit of background from this official: The Lubabitchers are a sect of Hassidic Jews who are spread across Europe and, more recently, the United States. For centuries they collected and studied various books, documents, manuscripts on religious and non-religious topics. The official describes it as an "eclectic collection of things assembled over a very long period of time by scholars."

When the Germans advanced on Russia in World War One, the Lubabitchers hid their collection for safekeeping. A few years later, during the Bolshevik Revolution, the communists seized the cache and nationalized it. For decades the Soviets denied they had the papers. About eight years ago they "discovered" the papers in the Lenin (now Russian) Library. Since then the United States has been trying to help the Brooklyn-based Lubabitchers recover the documents.

Gore made a lot of progress on the matter when he was here in December, and it all came together this week. Of more than 12,000 books, the United States has seven, which will go to the Library of Congress on "interlibrary loan" from Russia. The documents are said to have significant cultural and religious significance and some have rabbinical notations in the margins.

Then, just before landing, we were visited by a regular bevy of senior administration officials. One of the most senior administration officials summed up Clinton's feeling about the trip as "tired but pleased."

Both officials said Clinton has had some trouble sleeping but has done remarkably well considering and has taken lots of naps. We also were told that the president took a 6:30 a.m. walk this morning around Red Square with a few unidentified aides and even thought of stopping at the nearby McDonalds but was afraid they weren't open.

Long spin from one of the officials on the trip was basically a laundry list of the whole schedule, praising Clinton at NATO, Prague, etc. He said Clinton particularly bonded with Jacques Delors. Ah oui.

We were told that Yeltsin, privately, "was unequivocal in terms of continuing reforms." The two officials discarded the notion that all the highpoints of the trip were preset saying, "It was all in the art of the possible, but you're never really sure how those things are going to go . . . There have been no setbacks and no mistakes."

They agreed with the earlier official in claiming that Clinton's Moscow TV appearance had been played 3 times in Minsk in 24 hours and was responsible for the crowds. Again, we obviously have no way of confirming that.

The officials said that Clinton was told by the panel of European experts who had dinner at the White House before the trip had impressed upon him the need to not talk down to Russia, but to treat them as an equal.

One bit of color. We were told that Clinton, in the quick meal he had with Kravchuk in Ukraine had several vodkas and staff felt he was very relaxed. "Now we've discovered the secret to press conferences," one of the officials said.

Incredibly, there were even more senior officials to arrive, this time to give us about a five-minute backgrounder on what Clinton hopes to do with Assad tomorrow.

These two officials, very close to this subject, began by saying that this is "not going to be a breakthrough meeting," but one in which the administration wants to accomplish three major, fairly subtle goals.

First, Assad is going to be making some major decisions soon in regards to the peace process and the officials said he is the kind of guy who will want to know "the nature of the president," before doing so.

Secondly, they said the Syrians recently agreed to reopen negotiations that will be much more flexible in format - moving to smaller groups that allow "a chance . . . to try out new ideas . . . to probe, to test" in a way that you can't in larger meetings.

The officials said the timing of the meeting, as the negotiations move into this new format, is important. "Here is an important opportunity to give the substance a push."

Pool #45 Pg 3

Thirdly, the Syrians want to see improvements in bi-lateral relations and this meeting will explore the usual full range of issues.

On whether Syria would be taken off the terrorism list, the officials suggested only if they show a total change of behavior in terms of allowing terrorist groups to operate within their borders. ``There's a contradiction between a commitment to real peace and allowing terrorist groups to operate'' within your country, one of the officials said.

They said that the major differences between the Israelis and Syria concern issues of withdrawal, peace and security.

They said Clinton already has a feel for Assad, having talked to him on the phone several times. ``He know he's dealing with someone who's been around a long time,'' and that Assad will come to the table with very definite views.

Finally, the officials indicated that after tomorrow's press conference, there will be some sort of read-out by someone who actually might know something and maybe who even attended the meeting.

There ends perhaps the longest pool report of this administration.

P.S. - We also did the bi-lat between Clinton and the Swiss prime minister, which contained nothing of note except the president appeared exhausted and also appeared to call ABC's Mark Halperin intelligent. Read the transcript. We're tired.

Nichols/USA TODAY
Cohn/Newsweek

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

January 14, 1994

MOSCOW DECLARATION

President of the United States William J. Clinton and President of the Russian Federation Boris Yeltsin, having met together in Moscow from January 12-15, 1994, reaffirmed the fundamental importance of U.S.-Russian cooperation based upon the Charter of American-Russian Partnership and Friendship, the Vancouver Declaration, and existing treaties and agreements. They noted with satisfaction that the relationship between the United States and Russia has entered a new stage of mature strategic partnership based on equality, mutual advantage, and recognition of each other's national interests. From this perspective, they reviewed the full range of bilateral and international issues.

The two Presidents had an extensive discussion of security issues, including arms reduction and nonproliferation. Both parties expressed concern over increasing challenges to global nonproliferation regimes. They agreed upon the need to strengthen those regimes and to create, together with other interested states, a new mechanism to enhance transparency and responsibility in the transfer of conventional arms and sensitive dual-use technologies. They also strongly supported completion of negotiations on a comprehensive test ban at the earliest possible time. The two Presidents reiterated their support for a cutoff of production of fissile materials for weapons and considered new measures to strengthen strategic stability.

Based on ongoing discussions of strategic disengagement measures between the ministries of defense of the two countries, the Presidents announced that they would direct the detargeting of strategic nuclear missiles under their respective commands so that by not later than May 30, 1994, those missiles will not be targeted. Thus, for the first time in nearly half a century -- virtually since the dawn of the nuclear age -- the United States and Russia will not operate nuclear forces, day-to-day, in a manner that presumes they are adversaries.

President Clinton and President Yeltsin expressed satisfaction with the accelerating development of a wide range of economic, scientific and technological relationships between the United States and Russia. They also reaffirmed their strong support for the rapid growth of bilateral trade and investment as a special priority. In their view, the Gore-Chernomyrdin Commission has become a dynamic and effective mechanism for coordination and expansion of U.S.-Russian cooperation. A key expression of this relationship is U.S.-Russian joint cooperation in space, especially their partnership, with other interested parties, in the construction of a space station.

The two Presidents reaffirmed their readiness to move forward on the path of openness and mutual trust in American-Russian relations and to create favorable conditions for the comprehensive development of political, commercial, humanitarian, and people-to-people contacts between the two countries. In this connection, a mutual interest in enlarging the consular presence on each other's territory was expressed. In particular, the American side intends to open a Consulate General in Yekaterinburg in February 1994.

With the approval by the U.S. Congress of NAFTA and the successful completion of the Uruguay Round of global trade negotiations, President Clinton and President Yeltsin welcomed the accelerating progress toward creation of an open and prosperous world economy and trading system. President Yeltsin informed President Clinton of recent steps among the member states of the Commonwealth of Independent States toward increased economic coordination and cooperation. The two Presidents agreed that such initiatives, pursued in an open and voluntary manner consistent with GATT rules and procedures, should be conducive to the rapid inclusion of all the participating states into the global economy.

In this context, President Clinton and President Yeltsin exchanged views on the economic strategies of their respective governments. President Yeltsin described the economic situation in Russia. He affirmed the irreversibility of Russia's transition to a market economy and his intention to further promote reforms and to address social needs associated with this transition. President Clinton stressed his strong support for Russian reform and suggested that social issues could be a new and promising area for cooperation.

President Clinton and President Yeltsin noted with satisfaction that the end of the Cold War has brought continuous progress toward overcoming the division of the European continent and opened the way for broad cooperation among European states on a new agenda of urgent tasks, with priority being given to preventive diplomacy, peacekeeping and protection of human rights and the rights of national and other minorities. In this connection, the two Presidents welcomed the decisions of the CSCE Foreign Ministers' meeting in Rome which they consider to be an important step in making the CSCE a key mechanism of international cooperation in Europe.

Proceeding from the conviction that new divisions of Europe must be avoided, President Clinton and President Yeltsin agreed upon the need to create a new European security order that is inclusive, non-discriminatory and focused on practical political and security cooperation. The two Presidents agreed that the concept of the Partnership for Peace adopted at the Brussels meeting of the NATO member states is an important element of an emerging new European security architecture.

President Yeltsin informed President Clinton of Russia's intention to participate actively in the Partnership for Peace and to conclude substantive agreements opening the way for broad and intensive cooperation between Russia and NATO as a partner. Taking into account Russia's international role, President Clinton welcomed the prospect of Russia's active participation in the Partnership for Peace.

The two Presidents condemned aggressive nationalism, violations of human rights, and ethnic and religious intolerance of any kind, including anti-Semitism. They expressed serious concern about the existence and potential for intensification of conflicts in the former Yugoslavia and a number of the New Independent States of the former Soviet Union. President Yeltsin apprised President Clinton of the peacekeeping efforts undertaken by Russia on the territory of the former USSR. The two Presidents are determined to intensify the coordination of their efforts, within the framework of the United Nations and the CSCE, to promote rapid and peaceful resolution of conflicts on conditions that correspond to generally accepted standards of international law, including respect for the independence, sovereignty, and existing borders of the New Independent States of the former Soviet Union.

The two Presidents reaffirmed the support of the United States and Russia for the United Nations. They will act with other countries to strengthen the potential of the UN to support and establish peace and prevent conflict. The two sides will work out practical activities among themselves and other countries to improve preparation for participation in UN peacekeeping operations. In connection with the upcoming 50th anniversary of the UN, President Clinton and President Yeltsin consider it important to convene at the appropriate time a meeting of the heads of state and government of the members of the UN Security Council for a review of the work established for the UN at the January 1992 Security Council summit and an examination of tasks for the future.

President Clinton and President Yeltsin are convinced that the United States and Russia will continue to consolidate their partnership and together promote global stability, peace, and prosperity.

Done in Moscow on January 14, 1994, in the English and Russian languages.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON
For the United States
of America

BORIS YELTSIN
For the Russian
Federation

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
Moscow, Russia

For Immediate Release

January 14, 1994

DETARGETING

United States and Russian experts have discussed for several months possible measures to improve strategic stability, increase mutual confidence, and step back from Cold War nuclear force postures. These discussions have included proposals for mutual detargeting of strategic nuclear systems. Based on these talks, the Presidents announced that they will direct the detargeting of strategic nuclear missiles under their respective commands. This means that by May 30, 1994, no country will be targeted by the strategic forces of either side. For the first time since the earliest days of the nuclear age the two countries will no longer operate nuclear forces, day-to-day, in a manner that presumes they are enemies.

ICBMs and SLBMs are capable of being launched against one of several targets or sets of targets stored in weapon system computers. Historically, a target setting associated with actual war plans had been the routine alert assignment of U.S. missile systems. Detargeting will involve changing weapon system control settings so that, on a day-to-day basis, no country, including Russia, Ukraine or any other former Soviet territory, will be targeted by U.S. strategic forces. Russia has told us their detargeting measures are comparable.

For three of the four U.S. strategic missile systems -- the Trident I, Trident II, and Peacekeeper -- the missiles will contain no targeting information. The older technology Minuteman III missile computers, which require a constant alignment reference, will be set to ocean area targets.

This action directly affects only the strategic nuclear forces under the command of the United States and Russian Federation. However, as no country will be targeted on a day-to-day basis by U.S. and Russian strategic forces, any country whose territory may have been of targeting interest to U.S. and Russian forces is affected.

This initiative builds on previous steps taken unilaterally to reduce strategic nuclear arsenals, withdraw and eliminate certain tactical nuclear weapons, and discontinue strategic bomber ground alert and continuous airborne command post operations.

This will not affect commitment of U.S. forces to NATO contingency plans.

Discussions between Russia and the U.S. on strategic stability will continue. In addition, the U.S. is conducting a comprehensive Nuclear Posture Review to take into account rapidly changing strategic circumstances. This review is to be completed later this year. It is possible that other measures along these lines may be recommended in the future.

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary
(Moscow, Russia)

For Immediate Release

January 14, 1994

HIGHLY-ENRICHED URANIUM (HEU)

Large numbers of nuclear warheads of the arsenal of the former Soviet Union are being withdrawn from service as a result of arms control agreements such as INF and START, and unilateral initiatives to reduce tactical nuclear forces. As these warheads are dismantled, valuable nuclear material is removed.

An important non-proliferation objective of the United States is to ensure that the highly-enriched uranium (HEU) removed from nuclear weapons is converted to low-enriched uranium (LEU), which cannot be used for nuclear weapons purposes. Conversion of this material to LEU would eliminate the risk that HEU might fall into the wrong hands, and would make any future build-up of nuclear forces in Russia extremely expensive and time-consuming.

LEU has economic value as fuel for nuclear power stations, opening up an opportunity for using the reductions in nuclear forces to support economic reform.

Under the terms of the HEU contract signed in Moscow, Russia will convert 500 tons of HEU to LEU and sell the LEU to the United States Enrichment Corporation (USEC), a U.S. Government corporation. USEC will use the LEU it purchases from Russia to fulfill contracts it has to supply fuel for nuclear power stations in the United States and throughout the world. Over the 20-year life of this contract, Russia will earn approximately \$12 billion from sales of enriched uranium that will be sold to commercial nuclear power stations. There will be no net cost to the U.S. Government.

In addition, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus will receive compensation for the value of the HEU in warheads transferred to Russia. In the case of Ukraine, as warheads are transferred to Russia for dismantling, Ukraine will receive in compensation fuel assemblies for its nuclear power stations. Some of the LEU derived from HEU removed from nuclear warheads transferred from Ukraine will be sold to USEC to cover expenses incurred by Russia for the conversion of HEU to LEU and fabrication of fuel assemblies.

To help begin this process, USEC will advance to Russia \$60 million to help cover expenses for the initial production of fuel assemblies for Ukraine. USEC will recover the \$60 million advance payment with funds that would otherwise be paid to Russia under the HEU contract.

This agreement for the purchase of LEU derived from HEU removed from nuclear warheads will benefit all nations involved. It will eliminate a substantial amount of weapons-grade nuclear material, foreclosing any possibility that this material will fall into the wrong hands. It will provide substantial funds to Russia to promote economic reform and the transition to a market economy. It will provide important energy resources to Ukraine, and compensation to Kazakhstan and Belarus as well. This transaction demonstrates how the United States can work with the states of the former Soviet Union to promote our mutual security, non-proliferation, and economic interests.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

January 14, 1994

JOINT STATEMENT
BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION
AND
THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
ON NON-PROLIFERATION OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION
AND THE MEANS OF THEIR DELIVERY

President Clinton and President Yeltsin, during their meeting in Moscow on January 14, 1994, agreed that the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their missile delivery systems represents an acute threat to international security in the period following the end of the Cold War. They declared the resolve of their countries to cooperate actively and closely with each other, and also with other interested states, for the purpose of preventing and reducing this threat.

The Presidents noted that the proliferation of nuclear weapons creates a serious threat to the security of all states, and expressed their intention to take energetic measures aimed at prevention of such proliferation.

- Considering the Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons as the basis for efforts to ensure the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, they called for its indefinite and unconditional extension at conference of its participants in 1995, and they urged that all states that have not yet done so accede to this treaty.
- They expressed their resolve to implement effective measures to limit and reduce nuclear weapons. In this connection, they advocated the most rapid possible entry into force of the START I and START II treaties.
- They agreed to review jointly appropriate ways to strengthen security assurances for the states which have renounced the possession of nuclear weapons and that comply strictly with their nonproliferation obligations.
- They expressed their support for the International Atomic Energy Agency in its efforts to carry out its safeguards responsibilities. They also expressed their intention to provide assistance to the Agency in the safeguards field, including through joint efforts of their relevant laboratories to improve safeguards.
- They supported the Nuclear Suppliers Group, and agreed with the need for effective implementation of the principle of full-scope IAEA safeguards as a condition for nuclear exports with the need for export controls on dual-use materials and technology in the nuclear field.

- They reaffirmed their countries' commitment to the conclusion as soon as possible of an international treaty to achieve a comprehensive ban on nuclear test explosions and welcomed the decision to begin negotiations at the conference on disarmament. They declared their firm intention to provide political support for the negotiating process, and appealed to other states to refrain from carrying out nuclear explosions while these talks are being held.
- They noted that an important contribution to the goal of nonproliferation of nuclear weapons would be made by a verifiable ban on the production of fissile materials for nuclear weapons and by the most rapid conclusion of an international convention to this effect with the widest possible participation of states and on a non-discriminatory basis.
- They agreed to cooperate with each other and also with other states to elaborate measures designed to prevent the accumulation of excessive stocks of fissile materials and over time to reduce such stocks.
- They agreed to establish a joint working group to consider:
 - including in their voluntary IAEA safeguards offers all source and special fissionable materials, excluding only those facilities associated with activities having direct national security significance;
 - steps to ensure the transparency and irreversibility of the process of reduction of nuclear weapons, including the possibility of putting a portion of fissionable material under IAEA safeguards. Particular attention would be given to materials released in the process of nuclear disarmament and steps to ensure that these materials would not be used again for nuclear weapons.
- The Presidents also tasked their experts to study options for the long-term disposition of fissile materials, particularly of plutonium, taking into account the issues of nonproliferation, environmental protection, safety, and technical and economic factors.
- They reaffirmed the intention of interested organizations of the two countries to complete within a short time a joint study of the possibilities of terminating the production of weapon-grade plutonium.
- The Presidents agreed that reduction of the risk of theft or diversion of nuclear materials is a high priority, and in this context they noted the usefulness of the September 1993 Agreement to cooperate in improving the system of controls, accounting, and physical protection for nuclear materials. They attached great significance to further joint work on the separate but mutually connected problems of accounting

for nuclear materials used in the civilian and military fields.

Both Presidents favored a further increase in the efforts to prevent the proliferation of chemical and biological weapons.

- As the heads of the countries that have the world's largest stockpiles of chemical weapons, they acknowledged particular responsibility for eliminating the threat posed by these weapons. In this context, they declare their resolute support for the Convention on the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, and their intention to promote ratification as rapidly as possible and entry into force of the Convention not later than 1995.
- To promote implementation of a comprehensive ban on chemical weapons, they welcomed the conclusion of the implementing documents for the Wyoming Memorandum of Understanding and agreed to conclude work in as short a time as possible on the implementing documents for the Bilateral Agreement on the Destruction of Chemical Weapons.
- The Presidents reaffirmed their desire to facilitate the safe, secure, timely, and ecologically sound destruction of chemical weapons in the Russian Federation and the United States. They applauded the joint Chemical Weapons Destruction Work Plan recently concluded between the two countries which leads the way for the United States to provide an additional \$30 million in assistance to support an analytical chemical laboratory in Russia to facilitate chemical weapons destruction. The United States also agreed to consider appropriate additional measures to support Russia's chemical weapons destruction program.
- They reiterated the importance of strict compliance with the Convention on the Prohibition of Biological and Toxin Weapons and of continued implementation of measures in accordance with the Russia-America-British Statement of September 1992, which provided inter alia for the reciprocal visits of facilities and meetings between experts in order to ensure confidence in the compliance with the Convention.
- They supported convening a special conference of the states' parties to the Convention on the Prohibition of Biological and Toxin Weapons in order to consider measures that would contribute to transparency and thereby confidence in compliance with the Convention and its effectiveness.

The Presidents expressed the determination of their countries to cooperate with each other in preventing the proliferation of missiles capable of carrying weapons of mass destruction.

- They welcomed the conclusion of the Bilateral Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the United States of America Concerning the Export of Missile Equipment and Technologies, signed in September 1993, noted the importance of this Agreement for ensuring mutually beneficial

cooperation between the U.S. and Russia in the field of space exploration, and agreed to collaborate closely in order to ensure its full and timely implementation.

- The U.S. welcomed Russia's intention to join the Missile Technology Control Regime and undertook to cooperate with Russia in facilitating its membership at an early date. The Russian Federation and the United States of America are certain that further improving the MTCR, including the prudent expansion of membership, will help reduce the threat of proliferation of missiles and missile technologies in the regional context as well.

The Presidents of the two countries agreed that, in addition to strengthening global norms of nonproliferation and working out agreements to this effect, close cooperation is essential in order to develop policies on nonproliferation applicable to specific regions posing the greatest risk of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery.

- They agreed that nuclear weapons on the Korean Peninsula would represent a grave threat to regional and international security, and decided that their countries would consult with each other on ways to eliminate this danger. They called upon the DPRK to honor fully its obligation under the Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and its safeguards agreement with the IAEA in connection with the Treaty, and to resolve the problems of safeguards implementation, inter alia, through dialogue between IAEA and DPRK. They also urged full and speedy implementation of the Joint Declaration of the ROK and the DPRK on Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula.
- They support efforts to reach agreement on the establishment of a multilateral forum to consider measures in the field of arms control in nonproliferation that could strengthen security in South Asia. They call on India and Pakistan to join in the negotiation of and become original signatories to the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapons Test Explosions and the proposed Convention to Ban Production of Fissile Materials for Nuclear Explosives and to refrain from deploying ballistic missiles capable of delivering weapons of mass destruction to each other's territories.
- They agreed that the U.S. and Russia, as co-chairs in the Middle East peace process, would actively promote progress in the activity of the working group for Arms Control and Regional Security in the Middle East, striving for speedy implementation of confidence-building measures and working toward turning the Middle East into a region free of weapons of mass destruction, where conventional forces would not exceed reasonable defense needs.
- They firmly supported the efforts of the UN Special Commission and the IAEA to put into operation a long-term monitoring system of the military potential of Iraq, and called upon Iraq to comply with all UN Security Council resolutions.

January 14, 1994
Pool Report #39

Clinton arrived at the Ostankino TV Station at about 3:05 pm for his debut Russian electronic town hall. The building is a 1960s era boxy thing, sort of a dingier version of the Department of Transportation Bldg in Washington. On the third floor, next to the entrance to the TV studio, a jazz band with a red grand piano was playing "Moondance." The audience chosen for the event was full of academics from Moscow State University, students, political leaders and journalists. A broadcaster came out 10 minutes before Clinton appeared to ask the audience to ask to have a microphone passed to them, rather than going to the center of the room to bunching around a standing mike. "We ask you not to repeat the errors of the former Supreme Soviet and crowd the mike," he joked. He instructed: "Don't engage in a polemic with the President." Among the government officials in the group were aides to Andrei Kozyrev, foreign minister; Gavriil Popov, former Moscow mayor, was present as well. The audience gave polite applause to Hillary Clinton, who was ushered in just before Clinton appeared, and sat in the fourth row. As you saw from the broadcast, the audience was generally polite, though a few students looked a bit bored as it ran on. Afterwards, some audience members said they were impressed with the way Clinton handled himself. Yuri Zinchenko, a member of the Moscow State psychology faculty, said Clinton was "very open. It is a great difference from our own president." Zinchenko said he supported Yeltsin more or less by default, because of a lack of any more attractive leader. Maxim Woznyak, a medical student at MSU, said: "I think I can believe him." He said he didn't think Clinton had a perfect grasp of the intricacies of Russian politics, but ventured that his advice to Russians was worth some attention nonetheless. "He gave a good impression," said another young student, a woman. "I liked him. He was very lively." She said she had some reservations about him, but couldn't express them because of her poor command of foreign languages. After chatting with the crowd for about 10 minutes after the show, Clinton headed off for a brief interview with Tom Brokaw.

The whole session is transcribed.
Paul Richter, LA Times

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
Moscow, Russia

For Immediate Release

January 14, 1994

OPIC ANNOUNCEMENTS FOR PRESIDENT CLINTON'S VISIT

As a demonstration of the President's support of Russian reform efforts, President of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), Ruth R. Harkin signed in Washington on January 7 three OPIC protocols supporting U.S. private investments in Russia. These protocol agreements are described below.

U.S. West

To help modernize Russia's telecommunications systems, OPIC plans to provide close to \$80 million in finance and insurance to U.S. West International for their newly established \$150 million telecommunications holding company in Russia. The Denver-based firm endeavors to position itself as a leader in Russian telecommunications development by serving as a source of financing for future Russian telecommunications projects. U.S. West will develop and operate this project and subsequent telecommunications projects utilizing state-of-the-art Western practices and applying state-of-the-art technology. U.S. West is in the process of applying for OPIC financing of up to \$60 million for this project, and \$20 million in political risk insurance for a related cellular telephone project.

Snyder Oil

This joint venture will restart oil production from existing, idle wells. OPIC would provide up to \$140 million in financing and insurance for Snyder's joint venture project with a Russian state-owned company, Incorporated Works Permneft, located 800 miles east of Moscow. Snyder through its subsidiaries recently established a 50/50 joint venture, Permtex with the Incorporated Works Permneft, a regional production association operating under the auspices of the Government of the Russian Federation, to engage in the development of existing major oil producing areas in the Perm Region of Russia. Snyder expects peak production to yield an average annual production of 8,000,000 barrels of oil. Snyder will develop and operate the project utilizing Western environmental practices and applying state-of-the-art production technologies.

Dresser/Petro-Hunt

In an effort to boost oil production and generate hard currency exports, OPIC will provide \$100 million of financing and insurance to Dresser/Petro-Hunt for their crude oil production project.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
Moscow, Russia

For Immediate Release

January 14, 1994

FUND FOR LARGE ENTERPRISES IN RUSSIA

The President today named Michael Blumenthal, former Secretary of Treasury under President Carter, as Chairman of the Fund for Large Enterprises in Russia. The Fund will promote private sector development in the Russian Federation.

The U.S. plans to capitalize the Fund with \$100 million in foreign assistance appropriations this year. The Fund, which will be managed by a Board of Directors selected from the private sector, will have authority to make equity investments and loans in the largest state enterprise and will be encouraged to work with the Overseas Private Investment Corporation and the U.S. Export-Import Bank to expand its capital resources. The Fund will also offer technical assistance to promote restructuring and help strengthen private enterprises in several of Russia's major centers of reform.

The Fund for Large Enterprises in Russia will function similarly to the successful Enterprise Funds in Poland, Hungary, Czech and Slovak Republics, and Bulgaria. The Fund's establishment was announced when the G-7 countries created the \$3 billion Special Privatization and Restructuring Program at the July 1993 Tokyo Summit. Its activities will complement other U.S. assistance programs underway. It will also coordinate its activities with the Russian-American Enterprise Fund which targets small and medium-size Russian enterprises.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary (Moscow)

For Immediate Release

January 14, 1994

Statement by the Press Secretary

The President was saddened to learn yesterday of the death of Norwegian Foreign Minister Johan Jorgen Holst. Throughout his long and distinguished career, Minister Holst was one of the world's leading experts and wisest thinkers on international security issues. As his nation's defense minister, head of a leading research institute and foreign minister, he was in the forefront of those designing and implementing international security policies during the Cold War and adapting those policies to the post-Cold War period.

Americans remember him best for his leading role in the Israeli-PLO negotiations that led to the breakthrough in the Middle East Peace Process last September. The President was proud to have the opportunity to honor Minister Holst at the White House signing ceremony on September 13.

The White House expresses its deepest sympathies to the family and friends of this great statesman.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Moscow, Russia)

BACKGROUND BRIEFING
BY
SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL

January 14, 1994

The Briefing Room

2:07 P.M. (L)

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Good afternoon. I'd like to just briefly review the events of the day and then take you through the basic documents that were signed or issued today by the U.S. and Russia.

Let me just say first that the President came to Moscow with several objectives. One was to reaffirm the U.S.-Russian partnership that he established with Yeltsin in Vancouver. I think as a result of the past two days in the meetings, the agreements, that he has done that.

The second was to emphasize continuation of U.S. support for reform in Russia, economic and political, strong U.S. support. In his statements and in his meetings, he did that as well.

The third was to reach out to a broader cross-section of the Russian leadership and the Russian population in order to build a policy that can be sustained over the long-term and not just over the short-term. That is why he met with so many varied political leaders last night at Spaso House. That's why he saw the Patriarch of Russia yesterday. And it's also why he's been out walking the streets seeing average Russians.

There were four issues that ran through the two days of meetings that have just been concluded. Four major issues have dominated. And let me just review the progress on these four issues. On economics, of course, we heard from President Yeltsin an unambiguous, unequivocal pledge that reform would continue. You heard that at the press conference today.

On Partnership For Peace, a very strong interest on the part of the Russian government in this NATO proposal and a specific pledge by Russia to participate in this proposal, much like the pledge that President Kravchuk of Ukraine gave a couple of nights ago at the airport.

Third, and probably most importantly, was the trilateral nuclear deal that was signed this morning that my colleague will speak to. And fourth was a discussion of foreign policy issues that took place both yesterday and today. And that discussion centered on the cooperation we have on foreign policy and also on some of the differences that we have on foreign policy.

And I would like to note one issue in particular, and that is the Baltics. The two Presidents discussed Latvia and Estonia and the presence of Russian troops in Latvia and Estonia yesterday. They followed up and discussed that issue today. I think it's fair to say that I believe -- we believe that we've made some progress over the last 24 hours on that issue. We are very hopeful that there will be an agreement soon between Russia

MORE

and Latvia to withdraw troops and an agreement -- similar agreement between Russia and Estonia.

Having said that, let me just mention the documents that were signed today. Earlier today in the Kremlin, the President, President Kravchuk and President Yeltsin signed the trilateral nuclear agreement. And my colleague will be speaking to that.

Secondly, the President and President Yeltsin in their bilateral press conference signed the Moscow Declaration. This is a very broad declaration that speaks to the security, economic and political foundations of the relationship. Included in it is a reference to detargeting. Also included in it is Russia's interest, specific interest in Partnership For Peace, and lots of other things if you care to talk about that.

There were two documents issued in the name of President Yeltsin and President Clinton. One was a joint statement on human rights. This is a very interesting document. It calls specifically for a rejection of anti-semitism, and it appeals for ethnic and religious tolerance -- gap -- back a few years have spoken together on the issue of anti-semitism. And we were very pleased to be able to conclude this agreement. There was also a joint statement on nonproliferation that my colleague will discuss with you.

In addition to those presidential documents, Secretary of State Christopher and Foreign Minister Kozyrev signed a number of agreements. Let me just list them for you, and if you have questions we'd be glad to take them: A memorandum of intent concerning the cooperation in the area of export control -- my colleague will speak to that; an air transport agreement; an agreement on cooperation in the fields of public health and biomedical research; an agreement on cooperation in radiation health effects. And there are also two documents issued in the names of the Foreign Ministers -- one on the Middle East and another on COCOM.

Q Are we going to get those?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: You'll be getting all these shortly. Let me just say my colleague will be speaking now to the trilateral agreement and to detargeting. My other colleague will discuss nonproliferation and export control. My other colleague -- who can talk more specifically about the Moscow Declaration and human rights.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: We'll take questions after everybody's done a little sum up -- right?

Let me just take you through the trilateral statement and its accompanying annex. The statement signed by the three Presidents this morning is a statement that essentially does two things. First of all, it lays out the commitment once again of Ukraine to become a nonnuclear state in the earliest possible time, according to the overall obligations laid out in the Lisbon Protocol.

That agreement -- as you know, the Lisbon Protocol is an integral part of the START I Treaty and is also associated with the NPT. However, you also know that for some time the commitment of Ukraine to that document has been in a somewhat -- in a stall mode. And we had both, I think -- in Washington, Moscow and in the Kravchuk government in Kiev have been very concerned about that stall mode. And I think overall the implication of the statement signed today by the three Presidents is that it breaks loose the stall and again lays out a very firm commitment by Ukraine to proceed to eliminate strategic nuclear weapons from its territory in the earliest possible time. It's very positive in that regard also in that it begins to define

exactly what is meant by the earliest possible time. And I'll get into that in just a moment.

But first I wanted to mention to you what exactly is the annex. There are two parts. The statement, as I said, lays out the commitment once again to Lisbon, but it also lays out the incentives for Ukraine. That is the security assurances that are very clearly laid out there for the first time in print; also the promise for technical and economic assistance for dismantlement of the weapons. That's associated with the Nunn-Lugar program. And finally, the compensation for the HEU in the warheads -- strategic nuclear warheads in Ukraine.

Those are all things that the Rada has indicated concern and interest in seeing come to Ukraine, and they are now laid out very clearly in this commitment by the three Presidents.

Now, the Annex is an interesting document. I said that this set of documents really breaks loose the whole problem that was associated with the Lisbon Protocol in Ukraine, and I think the Annex was a key part of that process of breaking it all loose. It's what we call the three-corner deal because it allows for the early transfer from Ukraine to Russia by the end of October -- I'm sorry, mid-November 1994. Then the other part of it is that Ukraine will be immediately compensated for those warheads as they are transferred from Ukraine to Russia. And what made that early compensation possible was the United States' willingness to advance money -- \$60 million -- on the HEU deal. And that's why we call it the three-corner deal. That was a key agreement that was put together between the three sides that really moves the process forward.

Now, let me talk for a minute about the definition issue -- what I mean when I said that now we are getting some definition on the phrase, "at the earliest possible time." All of the most modern and deadly weapons in Ukraine -- the SS-24 ICBM missiles -- that's 46 missiles, 460 warheads -- will have their warheads removed within 10 months. They will be deactivated and no longer in operational -- combat operational status.

Q Could you repeat the numbers?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Forty-six missiles and 460 warheads; 10 warheads per missile.

Their warheads, along with some SS-19 warheads, will begin to return to Russia by also the same date -- 10 months within the signature of the agreement, which is today.

Now, that, you may recall, has been a subject of some rancor between the Rada and the Ukrainian government over the last six to nine months. Those in Ukraine who are interested in thinking about a nuclear future were very focused on the SS-24 missiles as weapons that would be in place for some time.

The other weapons in Ukraine, the SS-19s, which, by the way, Ukraine is also committed to continue deactivating -- they have been deactivating those systems since the summer -- there are now two regiments of SS-19 missiles that have been deactivated by having their warheads removed. That amounts to 20 missiles overall, and 120 warheads total.

So they have actually begun and that's the kind of evidence we've seen that has given us some encouragement that this deal is really going to unfold at a steady pace.

The SS-19 warheads and their missiles, however, are older systems that are entering into obsolescence in any case. And so the Ukrainians -- from the outset across the Ukrainian political spectrum there has been agreement that they should get rid of those systems. The SS-19s have very volatile liquid

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propellant and there has been an agreement, a consensus, in the Ukrainian body politic, both executive and legislative branch, that those things should just be gotten rid of because they pose a profound danger.

So I really think that the value of the annex, this three-corner deal and the associated statement, is that it gets the 24s off the block, so to speak, gets them off the agenda in Kiev. And I think that is extremely valuable.

Let's see what else. Okay, now, as far as the other aspects of what has been discussed with regard to the statement and the annex, we have discussed today -- the three Presidents discussed today certain understandings. The Russian side and the Ukrainian side discussed between them certain understandings which they wish to keep private, and we're going to respect that -- they're diplomatic exchanges.

I wanted to assure you very strongly that the United States itself has not entered into any private obligations or private agreements of any kind. These were strictly private matters between Ukraine and Russia which they wish to keep confidential, and we have agreed to respect that. These were issues that the three Presidents discussed this morning.

Q Private on what score?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Private on what score?

Q Yes, in what area?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: They are simply issues that they wish to keep confidential and we're going to basically respect that.

Oh, a few words about detargeting. This is actually part of the joint statement and I think it is also a very exciting part of what has begun to occur now as the two sides, U.S. and Russia, come out of the Cold War and are less and less on a hair trigger with regard to their strategic nuclear forces and their armed forces overall. We've seen on the conventional side, of course, an overall disengagement of the Warsaw Pact as it, of course, has gone away, and NATO. But on the strategic side, as well, we're in a situation now where we do not need to be at very hair-trigger levels of combat readiness.

And the overall, I think, importance of this detargeting arrangement is that in terms of the day to day operational readiness of the forces, they are at a level where any country is no longer -- no country is any longer targeted by the arsenals of Russia or the United States. And this is a very, very positive development, and should be, I think, of reassurance not only to our two countries, but to other countries around the world. So that is an extremely positive step today.

And I will be willing to take all kinds of questions about the technical details of that. I understand you've had some briefings the last couple of days, but if anybody has any questions on that, I'll be definitely willing to talk about that. That was a key part of the Moscow Declaration.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Let me only make a couple of brief comments, in part because you don't have the documents that I was going to discuss with you and, until you have the documents, it will probably not be able to have too many questions.

But there are three documents that are linked. The first one is the joint statement on non-proliferation that was agreed to by the two Presidents.

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Q We have that.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: And you have that one. So I'd be happy to go through that one with you. And then there are two that Secretary Christopher signed with Minister Kozyrev. You don't have those; the State Department will get those to you as soon as I possibly can. And if some of you would like to talk about those later I'd be willing to come back and talk to you.

But one is a joint statement on conventional weapons and export controls. This follows on from the promise that President Clinton made to President Yeltsin at Vancouver whereby we would aim to phase out the old regime of export controls known as COCOM, and put in its place a new multilateral regime to control armaments and sensitive dual-use technologies in trade for areas of concern, and particularly trade for rogue countries among those being, in the view of the United States, Iran, Iraq, Libya, North Korea.

You will see in the joint statement once you have a chance to read it that we have outlined a common set of goals and purposes between the United States and Russia for this new regime and what we would be seeking in that new regime. And in that connection, signed a memorandum of intent on export control cooperation whereby the United States and Russia will work together to put in place in Russia a responsible export control regime that will cover not only weapons of mass destruction, but also conventional weapons. So it's an aspect of nonproliferation that is a little less known to many of you, but an important part of President Clinton's overall agenda. Thanks.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Let me just say we are now all available to take any questions you may have.

Q Can you tell us what's involved in detargeting? And let's say you aim a missile for the middle of the North Atlantic and you want to retarget it back to what its original target was, say, perhaps where we're sitting now. How long does that take?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Let me just underline that this is what we think of as a strategic confidence-building measure. It is a measure that's taken by the two parties because they are at a point where the whole nuclear doctrine of the two sides is not dependent on these kinds of hair trigger approaches -- fast response, early turnaround and so forth. So it is a confidence-building measure, but from a technical point of view it is possible to retarget or insert targets in some cases into these missiles fairly rapidly, within a fairly short period of time. So it is --

Q Within a matter of seconds?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Not a matter of seconds, no, but within a fairly short time, within a matter of minutes. So it is -- let me say that it differs somewhat from weapon system to weapon system. I know there have been a lot of questions out there about, well, are they all targeted at the ocean or what are the targets now.

For the more modern of our systems, the Peacekeeper, for example, the D-5, the more modern systems, they actually are detargeted in that their targets are removed. The older systems, the Minuteman III, for example, its guidance system needs to continue its guidance computer, needs to have a target in it. And those are the missiles that are actually, then, targeted into what are called open ocean areas.

There has been quite a bit of discussion at this point, I know. Let me just underline for you where these target sets are concerned, they would only be affected -- in other

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words, they would only be struck by a missile in the case of a complete accidental or unauthorized launch. But we are very confident in our overall means and methods of controlling unauthorized or accidental launch. And, in fact, these strategic detargeting measures improve the overall, or strengthen the measures of control against accidental or unauthorized launch. So I really think it's extremely, extremely unlikely that targets in the open ocean area would ever be struck by a missile.

Q -- are teams from each country going to observe any detargeting procedures? Will there be a kind of ceremony? Any kind of verification of this at all?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Let me say how this thing came about. We have had now -- actually, there are antecedents back into the Bush administration of the so-called "Strategic Stability Working Group." There is now a strategic stability working group that is very active, run on our side out of OSD, the Department of Defense; and on the Russian side out of the Ministry of Defense. They are talking about a number of so-called "strategic stability measures," or what I like to call "strategic confidence-building measures," that include things like notifications of exercises and that type of thing. Lowering overall levels of readiness -- what we call Def Con levels -- that type of thing.

There are a number of measures that are under discussion in this group. It's a very active group, and one of the first things they have defined sufficiently and are ready to get out there is this strategic detargeting measure. So I can say it is a group that is also truly a symbol of a new era in the idea that Russian generals, heads of the strategic rocket forces would be sitting down from some of our leaders from OSD, dealing with strategic issues; and talking at this level of detail I think would have been simply astonishing a few years ago.

Q Can you elaborate about the --

Q On May 30th, are you simply going to announce the missiles have been retargeted? Is there to be some ceremony? Are teams to be exchanged? What is there to this outside from today's announcement?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I don't know if there is any ceremony that will be planned for the 30th of May. But there will not be any verification measures associated with this.

Q So there's nothing beyond today's announcement?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I'm not sure. On May 30th there may very well be a ceremony of some kind. But as I said, there will certainly be continued discussions as this unfolds. One fascinating part of this whole process of getting to where we are today is that the two groups actually exchanged very detailed discussions of how they would go about detargeting these missiles. This is astonishing that we could get to this level of detail of talk through this stuff.

But, no, there are no actual verification measures associated with this. This is in the realm of the parallel unilateral activities that we have taken on in recent years, for example, to remove warheads from tactical nuclear weapons, to take bombs off of bombers and take them off of operational alert. None of that is associated with a verification regime as under START.

However, we have still considered these parallel unilateral activities to be both an extraordinarily useful piece of evidence -- that we are moving away from the Cold War era. And don't forget they are also linked with this very, as I said,

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interactive process between the MOD and our DOD. So I really think that they are a very useful nature.

Q Do they object to verification?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: No, the issue didn't really come up.

Q Can I ask you about Yeltsin's comments regarding the Partnership? At the news conference, he said, "If you admit them one by one" -- the countries -- "that's not good. I'm opposed." So where is this explicit acceptance of the Partnership? His interpretation seems to be that he is in favor of some long-term integration of these countries, but not individual admission, which is the sense of what the President has proposed.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I think he was referring to one aspect of the larger question. And I remember the question, it was, what is the future relationship between Russia and NATO, which is a different question than what is Russia's position on the Partnership For Peace.

President Yeltsin gave President Clinton a specific commitment that Russia was not only enthusiastic about the Partnership For Peace, but that Russia is going to participate in the Partnership For Peace. That allowed President Clinton in his statement at the press conference to say categorically, unambiguously that Yeltsin had made this statement to him that Russia would participate. In addition to that, here in the Moscow Declaration is a specific commitment in writing to the Russian government to participate.

Q What do you mean by participate? Do you mean that Russia would seek admission the way the Czech Republic has?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Yes, as you remember, on Tuesday -- I believe it was -- it was either Monday or Tuesday in Brussels, NATO offered -- made an open invitation to the countries of the East to participate in Partnership For Peace. There is a process by which you, in effect, sign up. And a number of the Eastern, Central European, Eastern European countries have done that. Ukraine has expressed an interest. And now Russia has expressed an interest. So they will need to obviously be in contact with NATO and go through this process of completing forms. But that's just a technicality. The political commitment was made today.

Q But he is not acknowledging that participation would eventually lead to individual entry by --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: No, not at all. And, again, I think that -- as I understood the question posed to President Yeltsin and his answer, he was speaking on a longer-term basis. But on this specific question of PFP, it's clear. It's in writing. It was direct in the relationship --

Q No, no, on both points I have the same question and I don't think you've answered it, honestly.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: You don't think I've answered honestly, or honestly, you don't --

Q No, I don't think you've answered it. On participation -- you talk about filling out forms. Participation involves joining exercises --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Yes.

Q -- sitting with NATO commanders.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Right.

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Q Is Yeltsin's consent to that arrangement as far as Russia is concerned mean that Russian officers will now take part in those experiments? And secondly, he is saying about -- it seems to me he's saying all or none go into NATO. And you know there are gradations of interest among the Eastern European countries. So he's not talking in some theoretic term. He's saying en masse or not at all.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: No. Let's separate the two for just a minute. Let me ask the question. I'll ask the question, then I'll try to answer it. Did President Yeltsin say to President Clinton that he wanted Russia to join the Partnership For Peace? The answer is yes.

Q As a preliminary to --

Q Wait a second. Let him finish.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: The answer is yes. He said unequivocally and unambiguously, Russia will join the Partnership For Peace. Russia intends to go through the process of joining.

Prior to today, both in Washington and in Moscow -- including in several hours of discussion yesterday at the Russian Ministry of Defense, meetings at the State Department a week ago Monday -- we talked through -- our experts talked through with Russian military and civilian experts the process of joining the Partnership For Peace. The Russian government has a very clear understanding of what that is. So there's no doubt in our minds that he's made the commitment. It is also here in writing in the Moscow Declaration.

You talked about joint exercises, active participation. We already have joint military exercises planned between one of our divisions and a Russian division later on in '94.

Q NATO. NATO. They're going to have them in Poland. Will they have them in Russia?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Right. And so now we must begin the process between NATO and Russia, Russia joining the Partnership For Peace, to define exactly the military activities -- training, whatever -- that we will undertake with Russia. The two presidents did not get into a discussion at that level of detail. As leaders of the two countries, they made a political commitment to each other to engage in this process. Now those of us who work beneath a level of president must meet and define what it is exactly that Russia will do. But there's just no question on our part.

Q Now, how about joining -- the whole group, all or nothing? Andrea is exactly right. He said very firmly, "I oppose it." He has something in mind that he doesn't like. I don't think it was a philosophical statement. There's a process underway where various Eastern and Central European countries will come at different times. And he is saying, "Uh-uh, all together or not at all." That's what I think he's saying. Am I wrong?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Well, is there a question? Do you have a question?

Q The question is, what is his stand on the granting and entering of Eastern and Central European countries, including Russia, into membership in NATO?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I was not in the one-on-one, but I have seen the transcript of the one-on-one and as far as I can recollect, the two presidents did not discuss

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that particular issue. Now, President Yeltsin made the statement that he did in the press conference. He's made a number of statements in the past. That is a much larger question which we see as a longer term question. And you know what our position is from having been in Brussels and Prague.

Our position is that NATO is not now going to make a decision on new members; that this is an evolutionary process; that the Partnership For Peace and the way that countries engage in it with NATO will be a large determinant of whether or not they're going to be new members and which of the countries will be the first to enter. So that would be my answer to you on that.

Q Just to follow on that, did it come up at any level here -- did a Russian concern get expressed at any level here when they said, "Okay, joining Partnership For Peace is good, we're interested. But what concerns us is that further down the road you're going to let the Central Europeans into NATO as full members before Russia or the former republics will be ready, and we want to let you know right here, right now we're not in favor of that. It's everybody or nobody." You said it didn't come up in one-on-one. Did it come up anywhere? Are they expressing any concern?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Yeah, again, I wasn't in that particular meeting so I can't speak to everything that was in that discussion, but I don't believe that particular point came up in this summit. But it's fair to say that in the past couple of months in our private discussions with the Russians and in the past, and certainly in public, the Russians have enunciated variations of that point of view. And that's really not a surprise.

Q Can you please tell me what's happening to the 600 gravity bombs and the bombers in Ukraine? Are they part of this deal?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Yes, they are part of the deal. They are not actually gravity bombs, they are air-launched cruise missiles.

Q All of them?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: All of them are affected by --

Q All the weapons on the bombers are air-launched cruise missiles?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Yes.

Q What's happening to them, and why aren't they noted -- why isn't it noted in what we have, in the documents we have?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Well, the language in the statement refers to elimination of all nuclear weapons in Ukraine and all systems to be affected by the deactivation. So in fact all weapons are covered. And that's clearly understood by all parties to this agreement that that covers the 46 SS-24s, 130 SS-19s and the 600 ALCMs, each of which has a single warhead on it.

Q And what happens to the long-range bombers?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Well, under START they are required to eliminate those systems under START in the seven-year reduction period of START. By the way, I think one of the important things about this statement and annex is that, as I said, it gives us some definition now on this issue of what is the earliest possible time. I am confident that we can

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significantly beat the seven-year START reduction period for a lot of these systems based on what they're willing to commit to now on early deactivation.

But let me get back to your question on how you eliminate systems under START. Under START they can eliminate those bombers by cutting them up, otherwise destroying them, or they can convert them to conventional platforms. And that is -- they have to decide how they're going to do that. That was all worked out as part of the Lisbon deal.

Q Will those airplanes belong to Ukraine?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Yes.

Q Could you clarify one point on the SS-24s? In the first 10 months do they get dismantled or -- rather deactivated, or do they get deactivated and moved to Russia?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: They get deactivated by having their warheads removed. And some of their warheads start moving back to Russia. We begin a process of warhead transfer that will continue. Some of that is dependent on the availability of transport capability. By the way, that's one of the things we helped them with under Nunn-Lugar -- containers and that type of things, rail cars. So part of it will depend upon capacity and part of it depends on how fast they can actually move the systems.

Q How difficult or time-consuming would it be for Ukraine if it still had SS-24 warheads on its territory at some point to reinstall those before the final transfers are completed?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Well, don't forget the way the SRF works in Ukraine these days is that those systems are still under the control of -- well, it's very difficult to say because the SRF guys are professional rocket forces officers, most of whom have sworn allegiance to Ukraine. But we hear again and again from both the Ukrainian and the Russian sides that they continue to work very closely with their colleagues in Moscow. I think it would be, to me -- I just don't know. It's a very difficult question to think about, but it gets to the question of how you're going to handle those personnel. And really I think those personnel once deactivation begins to occur will not be really in a position to get them back on the missiles.

Q To what extent does the Zhirinovsky factor drive this thing to conclusion here this week?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I think it was an economic issue -- the crisis in the --

Q The deactivation, detargeting; not the Ukraine issue. To what extent does the Zhirinovsky factor drive this deal to a conclusion?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I don't think at all. Not at all. Not at all. It really had to do with, as I said, some overall strategic confidence-building measures that have long been talked about between the two sides. And this was just a very good opportunity to do so. And also in the context of what we were doing with Ukraine, it was an additional kind of beneficial effect for the Ukrainians.

Q This is the third time by my count that Kravchuk has solemnly signed a document promising to get rid of Ukraine's nuclear weapons -- at least three times, including Lisbon, but Lisbon was only the second time. And each time, the deadlines change. I'd like to ask you, in terms of your sense of Ukrainian politics, do you expect him to bring this up for ratification to this Rada or to wait until the new elections?

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And if so, aren't you worried that same process that happened in Russia in the parliamentary elections will happen in Ukraine, where after all there's hyperinflation and real economic problems?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I think, first of all, let me say that I think that we are feeling very good about this agreement because, as I said, it breaks lose the kind of stalling that occurred with Lisbon. And it does that in two ways. First of all, there are some real incentives for the Ukrainian Parliament and for the Ukrainian people overall.

But the Parliament had expressed its concern in particular ways and done so very openly over the last couple of months. We know exactly what those concerns are. And the statement deals with those concerns. We know that President Kravchuk is going to go back, confer very closely with his Parliament and basically talk them through it and show them that their concerns have been met. That's number one.

And number two, we had started in the summer to work very closely with the Ukrainians. You may remember when Les Aspin went in June. We first broached the idea of an early deactivation initiative just as the United States is deactivating systems that would come down under START I, and Russia is doing so. We suggested that Ukraine might wish to join in an early deactivation initiative as well. And they have shown us in concrete ways that they are willing to do so. I said we've seen 120 SS-19 warheads come off missiles. And we have begun to see that same process unfold with the SS-24s. So I think that there's good reason to feel confident.

Q If I could, just the specific question -- do you expect him to bring this up for ratification for this Rada or to wait for new elections to another one, which after all are in March?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: The question of whether it has to be ratified or not as START is ratified is a subject for discussion between Kravchuk and his Parliament. I know because he has told us that he is going to confer with them very, very closely.

I said the other night, I think, that you have to recall that Lisbon, START I, NPT are nested very closely together with this statement which, in fact, as I said, fulfills some of the desiderata or some of the requirements that the desiderata had. So whether he uses it essentially as a mechanism for conferring with them or uses it in some other way, I just can't -- I know he's going to do the first; I don't know what else will happen.

Q They haven't ratified START I in the sense that you believe it to be ratified, is it?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Well, I didn't say anything different from that. I mean, I did not say that I believe that they ratified it.

Q Why is this thing called a statement and not an agreement? He keeps saying agreement and you keep saying it's a statement. What is the difference between a statement and an agreement?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: A statement of this kind is standard diplomatic practice. When you have a commitment of three presidents in this case, it is associated, as I said, with START I and the Lisbon Protocol, which is an integral part. They are integral documents and this statement is associated with that in such a way as to move forward the implementation of Lisbon and the overall implementation after it enters into force of START I.

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So it's essentially a mechanism and a standard diplomatic mechanism to move forward obligations that in this case, by the commitment of the Presidents of these three countries. Not only President Kravchuk, I might add, but President Yeltsin of Russia and our own President, President Clinton. So there are three presidents associated with this document.

Q So it's not this that has to be ratified, it's START I that has to be ratified.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Yes.

Q And then the seven years begins once the ratification is complete?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: The obligations -- the time frame obligations undertaken here, that is to deactivate all SS-24s by 10 months, is from the date of signature of this document, January 14, 1994. EIF of START, entry into force of START starts that clock running.

Q A statement is less than an agreement? It's what you'd --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I don't know if it's less an agreement --

Q Doesn't anybody know?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: It's a different kind of diplomatic mechanism.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Let me just try to address your question. It is in writing called a statement. But when three presidents sit in front of the whole world and all of you and sign something and commit themselves to it -- and we've gone through months of negotiations that are represented in a very detailed annex, that have very specific commitments that need to be matched, that is an agreement, that is a commitment that one country makes to another. In this case, the three countries make to each other.

So what's lying in back of your question as I hear it is, is there some way that this is kind of less than an agreement that countries have to agree to? No, it's not. This is something -- this is an agreement between three countries represented in a statement, if you will, that all three of the countries expect will be adhered to. And we take that seriously and Kravchuk does, as well.

Q I'm sure they take it all seriously, but if what you say was true it could have been the "North American Free Trade Statement" and the "North Atlantic Statement Organization." I mean, it's clear that this language is not chosen randomly.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: We did not sit down and try to think of a word that would confuse you or a word that would mean something less than certainty.

Q Why did you choose this word?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: We sat down and we negotiated an agreement, a series of commitments as represented in that annex among three countries. And so in reality, we expect that this will be carried out and the commitments will be adhered to, and that is what is most important.

Q And so what you're saying -- can you answer one more question? How does this differ from their agreement to sign the Lisbon Protocol, for example, other than that President

Clinton is now -- two other Presidents watched him say he was going to -- what's the difference?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: There's another way to come at the question that I've heard several people answer, and that is the Lisbon Protocol and START and the NPT already exist. That is a treaty regime. There is an existing treaty regime that is, really this statement, this commitment of the three presidents, both reconfirms and gives a push forward. And that is its overall value. There is an existing treaty regime. We didn't need to do Lisbon over again.

What we needed to do was give a kick-start to Lisbon and that is what this statement and its annex does, particularly, I must say, I think -- as I said, there's a certain genius to this three-corner deal because it really does get the process of warhead transfer going in a way that clearly provides incentives for the two parties in question, Ukraine and Russia.

Q And the only public thing you've said about the warhead transfer process is the 24s and the ten months?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: It's a combination of SS-19 and SS-24's -- 200 of them in 10 months.

Q What's the state of free trade after this between the two countries? What are the barriers on each side? And is the volume of trade supposed to increase in either or both directions?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: The question is what is the status of free trade and the restrictions on each side. This is in many ways one of the more important long term issues in the relationship because if the Russian economy is going to grow and privatize, they've got to find a way to reduce their barriers to trade. And I think it's fair to say that the West had to find a way to reduce its barriers to trade with the import of Russian products.

There was a general discussion in the economic meeting of this subject. President Yeltsin raised it and President Clinton had a number of ideas on how we could work together. And as you saw in the press conference today, President Yeltsin had a number of things to say about it. So very important. We're hoping to expand trade and investment and by giving it a higher profile and by knocking down barriers on both sides.

Q What are some of the existing U.S. barriers and what were some of President Clinton's ideas to eliminate them?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Well, there had been a barrier of -- Russia had not had access to the generalized system of preferences. It now does as a result of Vancouver. And this is preferential treatment for Russian exports to the United States and in 44,000 categories, Russia now has duty free access. Just in the last couple of months that it did not have before and that is a very specific thing that we have done.

In addition, we have signed a bilateral investment treaty which provides for national treatment and that needs to be ratified now by the Russian Parliament.

I think it's fair to say that our dumping laws, in many respects, restrict the access of Russian, the export of Russian commodities to the United States and that's been a real problem with uranium and aluminum and steel and potash and other areas.

On the other side of the ledger, there are a number of regulatory and tax barriers that inhibit our companies from trading and investing, we think on a fair basis. So there was an

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agreement that Vice President Gore and Vice President Chernomyrdin would continue to work on these issues.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

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2:53 P.M. (L)

Pool Report #38
Moscow
January 14, 1994

- A) Clinton-Yeltsin Bilateral at Kremlin
- B) Clinton-Yeltsin Signing Ceremony at Kremlin
- C) Mark Gearan on success of Clinton foreign policy team
- D) Gearan discussing Clinton's efforts to deal with death of his mother

A) Clinton-Yeltsin Bilateral: Pool escorted into St. Catherine's Hall inside the onion-domed Kremlin Grand Palace to see Clinton and Yeltsin enter, shake hands and sit down for their final bilateral. Clinton, who saw Yeltsin moments earlier at the trilateral with Kravchuk, still offered Yeltsin a hearty "Good morning," with a handshake for the cameras.

A tone of impatience prevailed. "I suggest we begin this session on international affairs," Yeltsin told the president in Russian as the pair sat down with their respective delegations seated across from each other at the white oval table. Seconds after taking his seat, Clinton gave the finger whirl to signal aides it was time to escort the media out of the barrel vaulted, gilded chamber.

St. Catherine's Hall is a long, rectangular room honoring the Order of St. Catherine, the lone Russian order that honors women. The order was founded by Peter the Great to honor Catherine the Great who bought his freedom when he was held hostage as a child. (See Russian history if you want more.)

B) Clinton-Yeltsin Signing Ceremony: Clinton and Yeltsin descended a red-carpeted stairway to take their seats at an ornate white and gilded table in domed St. Vladimir's Hall, site of the Nixon-Brezhnev signing of SALT I in the early 1970s and START II by Bush and Yeltsin last January. A rank of aides flanked each leader. The American and Russian flag stood behind the table. Clinton and Yeltsin signed the Moscow Declaration subsequently distributed by the White House Press Office. The sparse audience applauded. They rose and shook hands, both beaming.

Secretary of State Warren Christopher and Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev then took their places at the table to sign four separate documents, also released by the press office. Hand shakes and applause followed.

Waiters arrived with trays of champagne and an unidentified non-alcoholic juice. Clinton and Yeltsin and most of the dignitaries up front chose champagne. The officials clinked glasses but there were no formal toasts. Clinton and Yeltsin

Pool #38

chatted through an interpreter with several other officials joining them.

As the pool exited, the sound of a breaking glass echoed through the arched and domed hall. Georgi Arbatov of the U.S.-Canada Institute either dropped a glass or knocked one off a waiter's tray.

C) Mark Gearan spoke to the pool at St. Vladimir's Hall before the signing ceremony about the strength of the Clinton foreign policy team.

Secretary of State Warren Christopher has ``done a very able job setting the context'' for Clinton's successes here in Europe, Gearan said. Every initiative adopted by NATO was a U.S. initiative ``sold successfully to our 16 allies,' ' Gearan said. (15 plus the U.S.) Gearan hailed the efforts of Christopher, Lake, Talbott and Gore (who worked the Ukraine deal) ``What they accomplished speaks well of this team,' ' Gearan said.

Gearan said the president's visit across Europe found keen interest in a prominent U.S. role. ``People are thirsty for American leadership,' ' Gearan said. ``With the position of the country we're in right now (i.e. Russia), given the world order, Christopher saw the opportunity that arose for the U.S. leadership. He did a good job.' ' (Gearan said Clinton had no reaction to Christopher's nod off during the Brussels town hall speech. Gearan said he was with Clinton after the speech and the president made no mention of the snooze to Christopher.)

D) Gearan spoke at some length about Clinton's efforts to focus on the affairs of state days after burying his mother in Hope, Ark. Gearan reiterated again how moved Clinton was by the priest's invitation to light a candle in his mother's memory at Kazansky Cathedral, the 17th century Russian Orthodox church Clinton visited Wednesday.

Clinton also has reminisced with McLarty about the friends and acquaintances who turned out for the funeral service last Saturday in Hot Springs, Ark., Gearan said. The coincidental visit to Moscow by Carolyn Staley, Clinton's school chum, also has helped the president, Gearan said. Staley, who was in Moscow to sing with the orchestra conducted by Sarah Caldwell when Virginia Kelley died, flew home for the funeral and then returned to resume her concert schedule. Clinton saw Staley Wednesday night at the reception at the residence of U.S. Ambassador Thomas Pickering.

``I think the president believes his mother understood his job and wanted him to do the best job he can,' ' Gearan said. Clinton spoke with his mother by telephone the evening she died. The president knew his mother was failing, Gearan said. ``His mother would want him to get about the important business he's doing so even the social events (on this trip) have been maintained,' ' Gearan said.

Stewart Powell -- Hearst Newspapers

January 14, 1994
Pool Report #33
Moscow - Spaso

Clinton motorcade left hotel at 4:20 p.m. for 15 minute drive to Central Clinical Hospital, where he paid a 30 minute visit to the ailing Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, Alexy II. Nestled in a sylvan park-like district, the hospital is normally used "for government officials and ordinary people," according to a Russian security man on the scene.

Motorcade with blue lights spinning then sped to Spaso House for reception. Motorcade pool was fed sandwiches while Clinton talked to guests. Then we were put in an adjoining room while he spoke at 6:30. To speak, he stood between two massive white marble Ionic pillars in the ornate vaulted reception hall. No Russian responded to his remarks.

Embassy staffers told the pool that about 180 guests were invited, along with about 50 embassy and traveling U.S. staff. To the pool, it seemed the crowd was smaller. Among those seen by the pool was Communist Party of Russia General Secretary Gennady Zuganov, 49, the leader of the Communist fraction in the Duma.

We looked for, but did not see, the Liberal Democratic Party's foreign policy chief, Aleksei Mitrofanov, who was on the invitation list. It turned out that the LDP sent a 25-year-old junior figure in the party, Maxim Travkin, in place of Mitrofanov. As expected, Zhirinovsky was nowhere to be seen.

Other guests sighted by the pool included: Yevgeny Primakov, head of the Foreign Intelligence Service; Boris Nemtsov, governor in Nizhny Novgorod; the priest Gleb Yakunin, a pro-Yeltsin deputy in the Duma; Aleksander Yakovlev, the new head of Ostankino state television; Yelena Bonner; anti-Yeltsin Duma member Sergei Baburin; Vitaly Tretyakov, chief editor of Nezavisimaya Gazeta; former Moscow Mayor Gavril Popov; Yeltsin's national security advisor, Yuri Baturin.

Among those NOT seen by the pool were invitees Yeltsin, Viktor Chernomyrdin and First Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaidar.

Following Spaso reception, motorcade drove northward 30 minutes to a Russian guest house where Yeltsin received Clinton for dinner. Pool was held phoneless outside gates. One press-handling agent said the Russians denied White House requests to install hard-wired phone lines for Clinton and the press. The agent said, "They wouldn't let us drop one line." He said the president relied while at the guest house on "Roadrunner," the black step van that accompanies the president and provides secure uplinks to Imarsat and military satellites.

Stay tuned for the next pool report from inside the guest house that will have some Clinton and Yeltsin quotes. From what I overheard from TV folk, Yeltsin said that the day was spent mostly on discussions of economic questions.

Albright, Cox Newspapers Moscow Bureau.

January 13, 1994
Pool Report #32
Moscow

This report covers the president's two meetings with Yeltsin, a (subfreezing) walk around the kremlin, a bit of spin from Yeltsin's spokesman, shopping at two shops, and a walk through Red Square.

The president drove through the Kremlin gate at 9:10. After initial greeting (seen by other pool), he went to their one-on-one talks in the Green Room, one of the three formal meetings rooms in the palace connected to each other in a row.

Entering from opposite sides, Yeltsin had a big, big smile as they shook hands and sat down. Clinton accompanied by Strobe Talbott and interpreter. At little chit-chat. Clinton said in response to a question, "I believe that we have a clear opportunity to work together to build a new framework of security for Europe based on free political systems, free economic systems and nations that respect one another. And President Yeltsin has been trying to do that here and he deserves the support of the United States."

Yeltsin said something that sounded like, "We are going to engage in a joint enterprise in the interest of security and peace."

That meeting was followed by a walking tour of part of the Kremlin past stakeout that had to wait 90 minutes in the 17 degree (f) temperatures for the photo op. 20 minute walk. Both Clinton and Yeltsin were hatless, but wore their smiles.

Then they went into their expanded bilateral, held in the ornate St. Catherine's Hall. The US side included Christopher, Bensten, Talbott, Lake, Pickering, Summers. Russian side included PM Chernomyrdin, Fom Min, Kozyrev and other top officials. They were seated around a donut shaped table.

After taking their places, Yeltsin and Clinton fumbled for a moment with earphones which they thought would be used for translations. Someone told Yeltsin that they wouldn't be used and there would be consecutive translation.

Yeltsin, seeking Clinton still trying to figure it out, waved his hand and said "no, Bill (Beel), no, no." So we know they are on a first name basis.

As we were being sent away, Yeltsin began by saying, "I'd like to express my satisfaction at the outcome of the first round of the one-on-one talks. We have discussed the current situation in Russia after the elections to the federal assembly and ratification of the new constitution, the economic situation, and we also discussed the situation in the United States as seen by the US president. We also discussed a number of other issues related to bilateral relations."

While those talks were going on, Yeltsin's spokesman Vyacheslav Kostikov held a brief, ad hoc briefing. The main point he seemed to want to make is that the U.S. and Russia are equal partners, as opposed to Russia being in a position where it has to plead for American help. He made a remark, paraphrased here, about after the elections Russia is now in the ranks of major constitutional democracies. He made the point that Russia is more and more a leading power and that the US now realizes that without Russia it can't solve any of the major problems in Europe.

He said that in the morning session, Yeltsin and Clinton discussed the political situation in Russia, Clinton talked about the relationship in the U.S. between the President and Congress, and some mention of NATO and Partnership for Peace. Kostikov expressed a view that P4P is an interesting concept but that it remains a rather vaguely defined. He said that Yeltsin and

Clinton agreed that no new dividing line should be drawn through Europe.

Clinton left the Kremlin at 2 pm, about an hour later than scheduled. His 1:30pm meeting with Patriarch Aleksai II was cancelled because of illness.

So it was press the flesh time. Clinton's motorcade stopped a few blocks from the Kremlin, at a shopping street off Lubyanskaya Sq., home of the old KGB building. It was crowded with shoppers, which turned into something of an enthusiastic mob scene when he got out of his car. He went into a bread shop and a fish/meat shop on Bolshaya Cherkasskaya, off Nikolsky St (spellings as given). After the cheering and shoving of crowds on the street who swarmed around his limo, Clinton went into a bread shop where were waiting in line for bread and seemed largely unmoved by the arrival of this American customer.

After walking around shaking hands, he went to the lady behind the counter to ask for a loaf of bread. Dark or light, she wanted to know. "Dark," the president requested. She replied what sounded like, "I would be better if you take the white bread, its fresher." When brought one of each, he took the dark. He seemed to have some rubles in his pocket to pay, but we were ushered out.

In response to a pool question about Russian aid, Clinton said he had given Yeltsin a kind of map showing where the aid has gone, apparently by regions (oblasts). "WE talked about what we could do to speed up the aid," Clinton said.

"All these folks working hard need to know that in the end they will be rewarded," he said.

One woman remarked, "the Russian president never came here, but the American President did."

From there, Clinton went a couple of door further and into a store selling fish, meat (and Ultra Slim Fast, according to a sign behind the counter.) One man, who apparently saw the president on the street and raced into the store ahead of him, said to Clinton, "You look like John F. Kennedy."

After chit-chat with others, Clinton remarked "I've just finished a meeting with your president talking about how we can work together to make life better for the working people of your country."

To one of the customers, Clinton said, "I want us to be friends. We'll work together."

A woman said, I guess in response, "I wish you success." Said Clinton, "We'll work hard."

One woman apparently said she was from Siberia, which brought a response from Clinton about work on US-Russian joint energy ventures for Siberia.

Clinton got back into the Limo, and drove a little further down the street to the edge of Red Square. This time when he got out he had a grey fur hat on. He headed over to Kazansky Cathedral, where bellringers in the tower chimed the bells to mark his arrival and later his departure. He remarked briefly on the history of the church -- originally built in the 1600s, destroyed in Stalin era, newly rebuilt and rededicated--as he stood for photo with Russian Orthodox priest (which perhaps sends the same kind of message as the photo he wasn't able to do with the Patriarch). Clinton made remarks that he had specifically requested to go see the cathedral after hearing about his history and its rebuilding. "It was very moving inside, the Christmas season is still going on."

We didn't get into the Church, but he said afterwards that "the priest took me to the side where people can pray for their relatives." (You heard at the backgrounder that he lit a candle to his mother). It was evident when he came out that it was an emotional stop.

The he stood waving for a Kodak moment with the domes of St. Basil's in the background. He did a brisk walk across Red Square, accompanied by Amb. Pickering.

A senior spinner who was trailing behind said that the morning sessions had gone very well. "Their personal chemistry is excellent." He noted that the first sessions, the one on one, ran about 30 minutes over schedule and the bigger session ran over by 50 minutes.

Atlas, Chicago Tribune

January 14, 1994
Pool Report #39

Clinton arrived at the Ostankino TV Station at about 3:05 pm for his debut Russian electronic town hall. The building is a 1960s era boxy thing, sort of a dingier version of the Department of Transportation Bldg in Washington. On the third floor, next to the entrance to the TV studio, a jazz band with a red grand piano was playing "Moondance." The audience chosen for the event was full of academics from Moscow State University, students, political leaders and journalists. A broadcaster came out 10 minutes before Clinton appeared to ask the audience to ask to have a microphone passed to them, rather than going to the center of the room to bunching around a standing mike. "We ask you not to repeat the errors of the former Supreme Soviet and crowd the mike," he joked. He instructed: "Don't engage in a polemic with the President." Among the government officials in the group were aides to Andrei Kozyrev, foreign minister; Gavriil Popov, former Moscow mayor, was present as well. The audience gave polite applause to Hillary Clinton, who was ushered in just before Clinton appeared, and sat in the fourth row. As you saw from the broadcast, the audience was generally polite, though a few students looked a bit bored as it ran on. Afterwards, some audience members said they were impressed with the way Clinton handled himself. Yuri Zinchenko, a member of the Moscow State psychology faculty, said Clinton was "very open. It is a great difference from our own president." Zinchenko said he supported Yeltsin more or less by default, because of a lack of any more attractive leader. Maxim Woznyak, a medical student at MSU, said: "I think I can believe him." He said he didn't think Clinton had a perfect grasp of the intricacies of Russian politics, but ventured that his advice to Russians was worth some attention nonetheless. "He gave a good impression," said another young student, a woman. "I liked him. He was very lively." She said she had some reservations about him, but couldn't express them because of her poor command of foreign languages. After chatting with the crowd for about 10 minutes after the show, Clinton headed off for a brief interview with Tom Brokaw.

The whole session is transcribed.
Paul Richter, LA Times

POOL REPORT # 37

TRILATERAL TREATY SIGNING

Clinton greeted Yeltsin by saying "Hello, Boris" and shaking hands as they entered the opulent St. Catherine's room in the Kremlin prior to the signing ceremony. They entered the room from opposite doors accompanied by their entourages. As Clinton walked to his seat, a pooler asked if this was a good day.

"Good day" affirmed the POTUS.

"How'd you like your dacha last night?" he was asked.

"Nice humble little place," Clinton said.

Yeltsin began a statement this way: "We have got together this day to put the last dot to the last problem of the Cold War. We are giving a great boost to the global nuclear disarmament. We are cementing and consolidating the global non-proliferation regime. And we are startin to use the peaceful dividend of nuclear disarmament."

Then your pool was kicked out until the ceremony 20 minutes later.

Before hitting that however, a note on St. Catherine's room, which is fit for Versailles. It is named after Catherine I, wife of Tsar Peter the Great. She was captured by Turks, but he bought her freedom and bestowed a religious order for her enshrined in this room. Twelve giant squares mark the walls, each ringed in red and gold borders, each crowned by what appear to be diamond-encrusted medallions featuring Christ holding a cross, but in fact represent Catherine. The medallions were framed by a sash with the order's slogan: For Love and Fatherland.

This room, which guards present said had remained unchanged throughout the godless Soviet era, is so ornate that being in it is like being inside a Christmas gift. Gilt trim abounds. Giant slabs of white and green marble grace the walls. Silver and gold chandeliers hang from the ceiling, stand on glass pedestals, extend from the walls. The parquet floor featured an elaborate diamond pattern. The doors featured elaborate carvings of what seemed solid gold.

Clinton and Yeltsin faced each other across an oval table of blond wood, open in the middle. Six sections of mineral water and Coke were placed around it. The arm chairs were of the same blond wood (ash?) with beige cushions.

After a brief private talk, the leaders let the press into the adjoining GREEN Room, which features walls, ceiling and carpet in shades of green patterns. Equally opulent, with gilt everywhere, blinding chandeliers, etc...

Clinton sat to Yeltsin's right, Kravchuk to his left, the trio at a table where they signed the documents committing the Ukraine to abolish its nuclear weapons.

After signing, the three stood, shook hands and applauded themselves. They went in front of the table and took a few questions.

Asked if Ukraine would lose authority along with its weapons, Clinton said "of course not...In the end this is a question the Ukraine has to answer for itself...My opinion is the Ukraine will increase its authority," because by this act it has increased the security of the United States and Russia.

Asked what timetable would be met for destruction of the weapons, Clinton ducked, saying they had agreed that some details would not be made public, but adding "I am completely comfortable with the agreement."

Kravchuk was asked what Ukraine gets out of this deal. He said "greater security," consistency in its policy, compensation, and normal relations with other nations.

Clinton led Yeltsin and Kravchuk in a photogenic threeway handshake at the end.

Rankin-Knight-Ridder

POOL REPORT #36

Another View of the Tomb

January 14. 1994

More details of the wreath-laying as seen from the headon position:

Pre-dawn gloom broken by 15 klieg lights. The red brick wall of the Kremlin that Clinton faced as he stood before the wreath and tomb was snow-covered. Above the wall loomed the ochre and white wall of the Arsenal, which was lighted moments before Clinton arrived. The treacherous ice on the dark-red stone walk was spread with Kitty Litter-like material several times before Clinton arrived, scattered about by a classic babushka, head kerchief and all. A young woman swept water off the adjacent walk with a giant squeegee.

The porphyry tomb is draped with a sculpted metal flag on a staff and topped with a helmet. In a shallow pit in front of the tomb is a five-point star from which blazes an eternal flame. In front of the flame is the inscription which translates: "Your name is unknown, but your glorious deeds are immortal."

To reach the tomb, Clinton and party walked through a grove of birch and other trees and then past the block monuments, glittering with frost under the floodlights. The "hero cities," in the order they were passed by Clinton are: Smolensk, Murmansk, Tula, Brest Fortress, Novorossisk, Kerch, Odessa, Sebastopol, Volgograd, Minsk, Kiev, Leningrad.

The tomb is also a spot that brides and grooms visit on their wedding day. Why? "I don't know, just tradition," said an embassy translator who said she, too, had made the trek when she was married.

Clinton's overcoat was double-breasted. When he stepped in front of the wreath, the ribbon he momentarily adjusted read "President of the United States." The wreath, a post-ceremony inspection showed, was of red and white carnation with a few orange-red rose buds and a lot of fir greenery as background.

As Clinton departed the garden, he stopped briefly to thank the three-man crew that marched ahead of him with the wreath and two officers.

Cragg Hines
Houston Chronicle

Pool Report #35 Tomb of the Unknown
Friday, Jan. 14, 1994

President Clinton, hatless and wearing a long dark overcoat, visited the black and red granite Tomb of the Unknown Soldier near Red Square and adjacent to the Kremlin wall shortly after 8 a.m. Friday. It was dark. The president's party included U.S. Ambassador Thomas Pickering, Secretary of State Warren Christopher, Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen, Marine officer Leo Mercado, the president's military aide, Russian Foreign Minister Andrei V. Kozyrev, and Russian Gen. Lt. Nikolayavich Smirnov, commandant of the Moscow military garrison.

The president and his party walked into the north end of Alexander Garden and along the Kremlin wall with the wall to their right, following three goose-stepping Russian soldiers, two of whom were bearing a wreath. The group walked solemnly between two rows of Russian soldiers dressed in battleship-gray great coats standing at attention and holding ceremonial rifles with glistening fixed bayonets. An adjacent band played the Shuman March.

Clinton and the group then turned to right, mounted several steps and stood before the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and the eternal flame that billowed atop a black granite slab. Two soldiers, accompanied by Clinton, placed the wreath on a stand slightly to the right of the tomb and the flame. Clinton stood alone before the wreath for about 10 seconds with his head bowed and his hands clasped at his waist before returning to the group. The band then played the Star Spangled Banner and the Russian national anthem. Military officers from both countries saluted during the two anthems.

Clinton briefly spoke through a translator with Gen. Lt. Smirnov for several moments after the ceremony before shaking hands and leaving with his party to drive into the Kremlin for his last bi-lateral with Yeltsin. The memorial commemorates Soviet losses during what is locally described as the Great Fatherland War from 1941 to 1945. Completed in 1967, the memorial contains the remains of soldiers who died in the defense of Moscow in 1941 when Soviet resistance and winter repelled Nazi invaders from the outskirts of Moscow. Earth from cities awarded the designation ``Hero City'' for their roles during World War II is contained in a series of stone blocks adjacent to the memorial.

The inscription on the memorial reads: ``Your name is unknown but your deed is eternal.''

Stewart Powell -- Hearst Newspapers
Walter Shapiro -- Esquire

Pool #43
Minsk, Belarus
1-15-93
3:20pm
Clinton at Victory Square

Clinton arrived at Victory Square, the monument to victims of World War II, in the center of Minsk at 2:20 pm. in a 32-vehicle motorcade led by eight motorcycle police. The monument is a plinth to Russians who liberated Belarus and has an eternal flame in front. The square was lined with more soldiers than citizens until just before Clinton arrived but many more people were held more than a block away so they couldn't see him. A banner across the square said in English "We warmly welcome the President of the United States of America".

As Clinton arrived, a military band played a funeral dirge and Clinton walked behind two soldiers carrying a large wreath with white roses. Clinton looked solemn and walked with measured step beside Shuskevich and Kebich. The soldiers placed the wreath against the foot of the monument. Clinton bent over and rearranged blue white and red ribbons on the wreath.

The band played the Star Spangled and the Belarus National anthem and Clinton began working the crowd, bareheaded and no gloves. Shushkevich told his friend that he wished he could get a reaction like Clinton did. So many people pressed forward that the Secret Service agents told a State Dept guy to get on the PA from the President's limo and tell them not to panic and not to push, over and over again. Clinton shook around 200 hands and seemed delighted at the response. Asked about his reception he said to the pool, "Amazing; it's great".

Dee Dee Myers said ON BACKGROUND that the Communists did not want Clinton to go to the Kuropaty Memorial and the compromise was that Clinton would go at the end of his visit instead of at the start of his visit. Photographers worried that the delay might make the light too bad for good pictures.

As Clinton got into his motorcade to go to the national academy of sciences several in the crowd called, "God Bless You" in English. Clinton said "Thank you" and waved a US and Belarus flag. People lined the street all the way to his speech site, several blocks, and waved and cheered. They even cheered the press.

Anne McFeatters, Scripps Howard
Bob Cohn, Newsweek

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

January 14, 1994

TRILATERAL STATEMENT BY
THE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES, RUSSIA AND UKRAINE

Presidents Clinton, Yeltsin and Kravchuk met in Moscow on January 14. The three Presidents reiterated that they will deal with one another as full and equal partners and that relations among their countries must be conducted on the basis of respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each nation.

The three Presidents agreed on the importance of developing mutually beneficial, comprehensive and cooperative economic relations. In this connection, they welcomed the intention of the United States to provide assistance to Ukraine and Russia to support the creation of effective market economies.

The three Presidents reviewed the progress that has been made in reducing nuclear forces. Deactivation of strategic forces is already well underway in the United States, Russia and Ukraine. The Presidents welcomed the ongoing deactivation of RS-18s (SS-19s) and RS-22s (SS-24s) on Ukrainian territory by having their warheads removed.

The Presidents look forward to the entry into force of the START I Treaty, including the Lisbon Protocol and associated documents, and President Kravchuk reiterated his commitment that Ukraine accede to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty as a non-nuclear-weapon state in the shortest possible time. Presidents Clinton and Yeltsin noted that entry into force of START I will allow them to seek early ratification of START II. The Presidents discussed, in this regard, steps their countries would take to resolve certain nuclear weapons questions.

The Presidents emphasized the importance of ensuring the safety and security of nuclear weapons pending their dismantlement.

The Presidents recognize the importance of compensation to Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus for the value of the highly-enriched uranium in nuclear warheads located on their territories. Arrangements have been worked out to provide fair and timely compensation to Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus as the nuclear warheads on their territory are transferred to Russia for dismantling.

Presidents Clinton and Yeltsin expressed satisfaction with the completion of the highly-enriched uranium contract, which was signed by appropriate authorities of the United States and Russia. By converting weapons-grade uranium into uranium which can only be used for peaceful purposes, the highly-enriched uranium agreement is a major step forward in fulfilling the countries' mutual non-proliferation objectives.

The three Presidents decided on simultaneous actions on transfer of nuclear warheads from Ukraine and delivery of compensation to Ukraine in the form of fuel assemblies for nuclear power stations.

Presidents Clinton and Yeltsin informed President Kravchuk that the United States and Russia are prepared to provide security assurances to Ukraine. In particular, once the START I Treaty enters into force and Ukraine becomes a non-nuclear-weapon state party to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), the United States and Russia will:

- Reaffirm their commitment to Ukraine, in accordance with the principles of the CSCE Final Act, to respect the independence and sovereignty and the existing borders of the CSCE member states and recognize that border changes can be made only by peaceful and consensual means; and reaffirm their obligation to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, and that none of their weapons will ever be used except in self-defense or otherwise in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations;
- Reaffirm their commitment to Ukraine, in accordance with the principles of the CSCE Final Act, to refrain from economic coercion designed to subordinate to their own interest the exercise by another CSCE participating state of the rights inherent in its sovereignty and thus to secure advantages of any kind;
- Reaffirm their commitment to seek immediate UN Security Council action to provide assistance to Ukraine, as a non-nuclear-weapon state party to the NPT, if Ukraine should become a victim of an act of aggression or an object of a threat of aggression in which nuclear weapons are used; and
- Reaffirm, in the case of Ukraine, their commitment not to use nuclear weapons against any non-nuclear-weapon state party to the NPT, except in the case of an attack on themselves, their territories or dependent territories, their armed forces, or their allies, by such a state in association or alliance with a nuclear weapon state.

Presidents Clinton and Yeltsin informed President Kravchuk that consultations have been held with the United Kingdom, the third depositary state of the NPT, and the United Kingdom is prepared to offer the same security assurances to Ukraine once it becomes a non-nuclear-weapon state party to the NPT.

President Clinton reaffirmed the United States commitment to provide technical and financial assistance for the safe and secure dismantling of nuclear forces and storage of fissile materials. The United States has agreed under the Nunn-Lugar program to provide Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus with nearly USD 800 million in such assistance, including a minimum of USD 175 million to Ukraine. The United States Congress has authorized additional Nunn-Lugar funds for this program, and the United States will work intensively with Russia, Ukraine,

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Kazakhstan and Belarus to expand assistance for this important purpose. The United States will also work to promote rapid implementation of the assistance agreements that are already in place.

For the United States of America:
WILLIAM J. CLINTON

For Ukraine:
LEONID KRAVCHUK

For the Russian Federation:
BORIS YELTSIN

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ANNEX TO THE JANUARY 14 TRILATERAL STATEMENT BY
THE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES, RUSSIA AND UKRAINE

The three Presidents decided that, to begin the process of compensation for Ukraine, Russia will provide to Ukraine within ten months fuel assemblies for nuclear power stations containing 100 tons of low-enriched uranium. By the same date, at least 200 nuclear warheads from RS-18 (SS-19) and RS-22 (SS-24) missiles will be transferred from Ukraine to Russia for dismantling. Ukrainian representatives will monitor the dismantling of these warheads. The United States will provide USD 60 million as an advance payment to Russia, to be deducted from payments due to Russia under the highly-enriched uranium contract. These funds would be available to help cover expenses for the transportation and dismantling of strategic warheads and the production of fuel assemblies.

All nuclear warheads will be transferred from the territory of Ukraine to Russia for the purpose of their subsequent dismantling in the shortest possible time. Russia will provide compensation in the form of supplies of fuel assemblies to Ukraine for the needs of its nuclear power industry within the same time period.

Ukraine will ensure the elimination of all nuclear weapons, including strategic offensive arms, located on its territory in accordance with the relevant agreements and during the seven-year period as provided by the START I Treaty and within the context of the Verkhova Rada Statement on the non-nuclear status of Ukraine. All SS-24s on the territory of Ukraine will be deactivated within ten months by having their warheads removed.

Pursuant to agreements reached between Russia and Ukraine in 1993, Russia will provide for the servicing and ensure the safety of nuclear warheads and Ukraine will cooperate in providing conditions for Russia to carry out these operations.

Russia and the United States will promote the elaboration and adoption by the IAEA of an agreement placing all nuclear activities of Ukraine under IAEA safeguards, which will allow the unimpeded export of fuel assemblies from Russia to Ukraine for Ukraine's nuclear power industry.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Moscow, Russia)

For Immediate Release

TRILATERAL STATEMENT AND ANNEX: SUMMARY

The Trilateral Statement and Annex signed by Presidents Yeltsin, Kravchuk and Clinton represent a significant victory for all three countries. They culminate a trilateral process begun last summer -- at U.S. initiative -- to assist Russia and Ukraine in resolving the complex questions regarding nuclear weapons located on Ukrainian territory.

The Statement and Annex provide for transfer of all nuclear weapons in Ukraine to Russia for dismantlement; specify prompt compensation by Russia to Ukraine for the highly-enriched uranium (HEU) in transferred nuclear weapons; preview security assurances the U.S., Russia and United Kingdom will provide Ukraine on its accession to the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) as a non-nuclear weapons state; and reaffirm U.S. commitment to assist the safe and secure dismantlement of nuclear forces.

The Presidents look forward to early entry-into-force of START I, including the Lisbon Protocol and associated documents, which commit Ukraine to accede to the NPT in the shortest possible time and eliminate all nuclear arms on its territory.

The Presidents note that arrangements have been worked out to provide Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus with fair and timely compensation for the value of the HEU in nuclear weapons on their territory. For its part, Ukraine will receive compensation simultaneously with the transfer of weapons to Russia.

Presidents Clinton and Yeltsin informed President Kravchuk of the security assurances the U.S., Russia and United Kingdom (the NPT depositary states) will provide Ukraine once START I enters into force and Ukraine joins the NPT. These include commitments: to respect Ukraine's independence and sovereignty and refrain from the threat or use of force against it; to refrain from economic coercion; to seek UN Security Council assistance if Ukraine should be the object of a threat involving nuclear weapons; and not to use nuclear weapons against it.

President Clinton reaffirmed the U.S. commitment to assist the safe and secure dismantlement of nuclear forces. The U.S. has to date agreed to provide almost 800 million dollars in Nunn-Lugar funds for projects in Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus. Additional funds have been authorized by Congress.

The Annex records the three President's decision to take certain steps within ten months. These include: provision to Ukraine of fuel assemblies containing 100 tons of low-enriched uranium (to begin the process of compensation); transfer of at least 200 warheads from SS-19 and SS-24 missiles for dismantlement; and an advance payment of 60 million dollars to Russia against the HEU contract to help defer costs of transporting and disassembling warheads and to produce fuel assemblies.

In the context of eliminating all strategic arms on its territory within the seven-year period specified in START I and the Lisbon documents, Ukraine has agreed to deactivate all SS-24s on its territory by having their warheads removed.

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Selected Regional Distribution of the Vancouver Initiatives for Russia

- Humanitarian and Health Assistance
- Private Sector Development
- Democracy Corps
- Energy and Environment
- Officer Resettlement
- Trade and Investment
- Security Assistance



THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

January 14, 1994

SUPPORT IMPLEMENTATION GROUP

President Clinton today named Michael Gillette as the first Director of the Support Implementation Group (SIG), a group established by the G-7 countries to improve the implementation of multilateral support efforts for Russia. Mr. Gillette, 56, is a graduate of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point and a Rhodes Scholar. He has a long and distinguished record of public service in the U.S. military, government and in the World Bank.

The SIG grew out of discussions between Presidents Clinton and Yeltsin at the April 1993 Vancouver Summit. There, the two leaders identified the need to establish a mechanism to ensure more timely disbursement of external support for Russian reform. After the Vancouver Summit, the U.S. took the lead in working with its G-7 partners and proposed the creation of the SIG.

The establishment of the SIG was endorsed by the G-7 Heads of State in July at the Tokyo Economic Summit. The group held its inaugural session in Moscow in September 1993 and has met seven times since then. Senior economic counselors of the G-7 Embassies in Moscow make up the permanent membership of the SIG. Representatives of the IMP and World Bank, based in Moscow, have also participated in SIG meetings.

The Russian Government has established a committee, under the supervision of Finance Minister Fedorov, to ensure effective cooperation with the SIG. This cooperative effort has already yielded practical results, allowing the SIG to document some of the principal obstacles to the flow of external support.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Prague, Czech Republic)

For Immediate Release

January 11, 1994

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT CLINTON
AND PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL OF THE CZECH REPUBLIC

First Courtyard
Prague Castle
Prague, Czech Republic

6:50 P.M. (L)

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.

Q (Asked in Czech.)

THE PRESIDENT: 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: (Answers in Czech.)

END

6:53 P.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Moscow, Russia)

For Immediate Release

January 13, 1994

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT CLINTON
AND PRESIDENT YELTSIN
IN OFFICIAL GREETING CEREMONY

St. George's Hall
The Kremlin
Moscow, Russia

9:16 A.M. (L)

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 two 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. (Applause.)

END

9:21 A.M. (L)

TOTAL P.002

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Prague, Czech Republic)

For Immediate Release

January 12, 1994

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN PHOTO OPPORTUNITY WITH PRESIDENT KOVAC OF SLOVAKIA

Library
U.S. Ambassador's Residence
Prague, Czech Republic

11:06 A.M. (L)

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.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

11:07 A.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Geneva, Switzerland)

For Immediate Release

January 16, 1994

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT CLINTON
AND PRESIDENT ASSAD OF SYRIA IN PHOTO OPPORTUNITY

Intercontinental Hotel
Geneva, Switzerland

10:15 A.M. (L)

Q President Clinton, are you going to talk about terrorist issues at this meeting today?

PRESIDENT CLINTON: We'll have a statement later when we finish. We just met. We haven't started the meeting yet.

Q Are you happy to be here and can you tell us what you expect from the meeting, sir?

PRESIDENT ASSAD: I'm delighted to be meeting with President Clinton and his assistants. We are at the table not to think about expectations but to do the work.

Q Like what?

Q What kind of work?

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

10:16 A.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

January 19, 1994

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

President Clinton will meet with King Hussein of Jordan on January 21. They will be discussing the Middle East peace process in addition to bilateral and other regional issues. The King is seeing the President while on a private visit to the United States.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Minsk, Belarus)

Embargoed For Release
Until Saturday, January 15, 1994
At 10:06 A.M. EST

RADIO ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT TO THE NATION

The Kremlin
Moscow, Russia

THE PRESIDENT: Good morning. Today I'm speaking to you from Moscow, where I'm completing a series of meetings with President Boris Yeltsin and other Russian reformers. My visit here comes near the end of a week of European meetings designed to increase American security and American prosperity by working to make Europe more united through shared democratic values and institutions, free trading market economies, and defense cooperation.

Despite the challenges we face at home from health care reform to fighting crime, to retraining our work force and creating more jobs, we still must remain engaged in world affairs. That's the only way we can spur worldwide economic growth and open foreign markets, so that we can boost our exports and create new American jobs. We also have to exert leadership in world affairs to protect our nation and keep small problems today from growing into dangerous crises tomorrow.

No part of the world is more important to us than Europe. Our people fought two world wars in this century to protect Europe's democracies. Today, Europe remains at the heart of our security and is also our most valuable partner in trade and investment.

Now, Europe stands at a key moment -- the Cold War is over. Western Europe no longer fears invasion. And we no longer live in the shadow of nuclear annihilation. The Soviet Union has given way to a dozen new independent and largely democratic states from Central Asia to the Baltic countries.

Yet despite these advances for freedom, we still need to work with our transatlantic partners to build a new security. Many nations of the former Soviet bloc are fighting economic hardship that could threaten their new democracies. In many of these countries militant nationalists are fanning the flames of ancient, ethnic and religious hatreds. And we still have to finish the work of reducing the Cold War nuclear stockpiles. We can't afford to ignore these challenges.

Our country tried turning our back on Europe after World War I. The result was a global depression, the rise of fascism and another world war. After World War II we acted more wisely. We stood firm against communist expansion. We founded NATO. We created new institutions to help expand global trade. We helped turned Western Europe's warring neighbors into solid allies. The result has been one of the most peaceful and prosperous times in all history.

One key to our new security is helping Europe's former communist states succeed themselves in building democratic governments, market economies and peaceful militaries. Our best security investment today is to support these practices of

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freedom in Europe's eastern half in places such as Poland, Ukraine and Russia. That was my top goal on this trip.

In Brussels, I met with European leaders about ways to strengthen all our nations by expanding trade and economic growth. I also attended a summit to adapt NATO, history's greatest military alliance, to this new era. Our NATO partners approved my proposal for a Partnership For Peace, a partnership which invites Europe's eastern nations to participate in military cooperation with NATO's forces.

In Prague I met with the leaders of the Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary and Slovakia. These countries have been at the forefront of communism's collapse and democracy's rebirth. As I met with such famous democratic heroes, as President Lech Walesa of Poland and President Vaclav Havel of the Czech Republic, I assured them that the security of their countries is important to our security, and I outlined new ways to help their economic reform succeed.

Then I flew to Kiev in the Ukraine. I met with Ukraine's President Kravchuk to nail down an agreement to eliminate over 1,800 nuclear warheads that were left in Ukraine when the Soviet Union broke apart. Most of those warheads have been targeted at the United States. And their elimination will make all of us safer, not only from nuclear accidents but from nuclear terrorism.

And now I'm in Moscow -- the weather's cold, but our work has brought us to a new season of partnership, warm partnership with Russia's reformers. President Yeltsin and I reached a series of agreements to expand our trade ties, protect human rights, and reduce the threat of nuclear accidents of proliferation.

One of the experiences I enjoyed most here in Moscow was speaking to an audience of Russians, many of them young people. In many ways their concerns reminded me of those voiced by our own young people, especially as they spoke about their educations and their careers, their hopes and their fears about the future. But their comments also suggested that their hopes for a new Russia, despite all the problems that they have today -- a new Russia, proud and free -- outweigh their fears. I tried to convince them that their peaceful transition to a more open society is important not only to them but to all the rest of us in the world as well. And I urged them to stay the course of economic and political reform.

In the end, the next generation is what this entire trip is about -- the young people in America, the young people in Europe and throughout the rest of the world. The kind of efforts we're pursuing this week, the kind of efforts that will increase democracy, provide for military cooperation instead of conflict and provide for more open markets for more jobs for our people and other people. These are the things which will make our young people's future more promising, more prosperous and more secure.

Thanks for listening.

END

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary
(Geneva, Switzerland)

BACKGROUND BRIEFING
BY
SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL

January 16, 1994

The Intercontinental Hotel
Geneva, Switzerland

5:12 P.M. (L)

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Due to popular demand, I will start out with a little bit of perspective. You didn't hear me say that. I will keep it very brief, because we want to have a chance to sort of go with your questions.

I think what is significant from the standpoint of people like us that have been involved in this process for a long time is that there are a number of elements in President Assad's statement that he has simply not said before. The commitment to the end of the conflict stated as explicitly as it was; the commitment to peace with Israel, stated explicitly; and the use of the phrase "normal peaceful relations" all represent the use of language and terminology that has not been used before. And, obviously, many of you who have been involved in reporting on this issue for a long time know that words take on a certain meaning, especially if they're used or they're not used. And so, from that standpoint, I think we have seen new ground broken, at least in terms of the terminology. And I find that, I think, to be important.

You want to add anything?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Just for the record, I'm told by the timekeepers that the meeting lasted for four hours and 30 minutes -- or four hours and 26 minutes -- followed by a 50-minute one-on-one, with just President Clinton, President Assad and their interpreters.

Q Fifteen or fifty?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Five, zero - 50 minutes. And the President was very pleased that his stamina outlasted the stamina both of his Secretary of State and his National Security Advisor. (Laughter.)

Q Did the President or the discussions talk specifically about what "normal peaceful relations" meant? Was there a discussion of trade, open borders, diplomatic relations? Any indication from Assad that he was willing in principle to sign a peace treaty? Anything specific?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I'm not sure that he talked about seeds of peace, but I'll let my colleague answer the rest. (Laughter.)

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Well, as the President said, he wasn't going to get into the details of the exchanges that we have had. And so we're not going to go beyond what he said in that regard, either.

Q You are saying that for the first time, Assad has used the phrase "normal meaningful relationship" --

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SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Peaceful

Q Peaceful, right. Now, the President doesn't want to give us the details. We're asking you, did Assad give the President any of the specific details that you well know Israel insists on -- its definition of meaningful peace? Did he tell the President specifically what that kind of normal relationship meant in his mind?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: He certainly conveyed to us that he -- to use language that he used out there -- understands the requirements of peace, understands the broad elements of peace, and I really don't want to take it farther than that.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: But I would just emphasize in terms of what he said publicly, that he said that he was ready to respond to the requirements.

Q What about -- the President said that he raised some specific concerns relating to terrorism. Did he get a commitment from Assad that Assad would do something about those American concerns and a commitment in return that they would be dropped from the terrorism list? Was there anything -- was that specifically discussed?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Well, no, not that specifically, because, in fact, what I think you may have heard them say is that this is clearly an area of difference between us. And there is no meeting of the minds on that, but there was a recognition that the way to try to deal with something like this that is a difference in our relations and it is an impediment to the development of good relations is, in fact, to develop a mechanism that would allow us to follow up and see if we could overcome those differences.

Q -- President Assad was pretty inaudible here. I'd like to check something. Did he say, "I'm ready for normal relations," or did he only imply he would be ready once -- Syrian conditions for global peace are fulfilled?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I believe if you look at his statement -- and there should be copies of it -- he talked about his -- what you could call his vision of peace, which included "normal peaceful relations" were the words he used. There were two other elements that I would draw your attention to if you didn't hear clearly the statement, which was that he talked about ending the Arab-Israeli conflict and he talked about a comprehensive peace with Israel.

Q Are there any mechanisms set up like the one that you set up for the bilateral relations? Are there any mechanisms now that you expect to develop for dealing with the definition of "normal peaceful relations"? Is there anything different about the way that that process is going to be conducted?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: You're going to have, beginning within a week's time, a more flexible format for the negotiations. You're going to have heads of delegations meeting in an environment that, by definition, is going to be less structured, less rigid than you had before. This is one of the things that was agreed in December.

And, obviously, in that kind of a context, they will be able to explore everything. They'll have more of an opportunity to probe ideas, to try out ideas and not be in a position where they have to present only what would amount to a kind of set peace presentation. So I think that that will allow them to get not only at the issue that you're raising, but obviously to the other issues as well.

MORE

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Q As you know, one of the problems has been who goes, first PLO or -- and he talks about comprehensive and that he doesn't want any separate peace. Now, it's been to his advantage in the past to try to talk -- separate peace. And he has not encouraged the separate peace of the PLO and the Israelis. Did he make any pledges that he would encourage or at least -- that he'd stop encouraging the 10 groups in Damascus who have been opposing that, that he would support it? He did not say a single word in support of the PLO. As a matter of fact, he seemed to still be rather tough on the fact that there shall be no separate deals.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I think the one thing he said very clearly again to us is that even though they didn't favor the Israeli-PLO agreement, the way it was done in particular they had made it very clear that they would not oppose it, and they have stuck to that position of not opposing it.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Let me just add one thing there. I don't know whether you noticed that the GCC states met with Syria and Egypt and Damascus a few days ago, and they issued a joint communique which included a Syrian signature on that communique which endorsed the Israel-PLO agreement as a first step towards a comprehensive solution. That is a new position on the Syrian part.

Q Did he tell the President that he saw that as a first step, that the PLO thing was a first step?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I can't say that he did not say it that way. He has made it clear that he sees what has gone on between the Israelis and the Palestinians as something that represents what is to be done in the interim period.

Q In the past, the Syrian position has been that there should be -- still is, apparently -- that there should not be final peace agreements with any of the parties until Syria, too, is ready to do it? That's what Syria has meant historically by a comprehensive peace. President Clinton today said he understood there could not be a lasting peace without Syria. Does Syria still object to others signing final agreements until Syria, too, is ready? And what's the United States' position on that?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Let me do the United States' position on it first, then I'll tell you what we heard. Our position has been, as you heard the President say, one, that we favor a comprehensive peace settlement, because we do see that as being something that is more likely to endure. At the same time, we think progress should be made where it can be made. And we would obviously like to see that progress codified in some way. And so, our position is, in the end you want a comprehensive peace settlement, but you want to produce progress wherever it can be produced and in whatever form in which it can be produced, and we see that contributing to moving towards that ultimate objective.

We did not hear from him today anything that was specific on what you said. In other words, he did not make the statement you said, but I can't tell you that that reflects one thing or another, he didn't describe things in that terminology.

Q I'd just like to follow up on Saul's question. Okay, so Syria is still saying that it is not going to oppose this. What about the Palestinian elements that are opposing it? Are the Syrians telling you they're going to rein those elements in? Are they making any more commitments on that score than they have in the past? And did you say to them, we think you need to do more to make sure that this agreement gets all the support it needs between Israel and the PLO?

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SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: We have had many discussions prior to today in which we've emphasized the importance of implementation of the Israel-Palestinian Declaration of Principles, and that the sooner it gets implemented the better it's going to be from our standpoint in terms of promoting the process as a whole, consistent with what I was saying before about making progress wherever you can, that that actually contributes to achieving a comprehensive peace settlement. So we've made that point many times before. We've said that those groups that oppose it are really not working towards, in our view, towards the objective of a comprehensive peace settlement.

We did not have a discussion, again, specifically that went beyond that today. We had -- while the meeting was, itself, four hours and 26 minutes -- is that what you said -- the fact is we covered an awful lot of ground. We spent a lot of time talking about the peace process. We spent a lot of time talking about some of the bilateral issues. We spent a lot of time talking about other parts of the region. And we didn't get into all of -- at least into some of these areas at least from that perspective.

So I can't say, in answer to your question, that on that particular issue we heard anything particularly differently, but we also didn't have an extended discussion precisely on that point.

Q -- on Pan Am 103, please? Terrorists and Pan Am 103. Do you want it in writing?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: We got the question. It's a problem of -- getting the answer is a little more complicated. (Laughter.)

Q Repeat the question.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Pan AM 103 did come up and the President made very clear that this was a very serious issue for the United States and it was absolutely essential that Libya, Gadhafi give up those two people who were charged with doing it, and that that was an absolute requirement of the United States.

Q When Assad had a chance to really state what he meant by normal peaceful relations, he dodged it. Why did he do that?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Well, it's a question of definition whether he dodged your question. I thought he actually came at it the back way. But the words that I write down that I thought were interesting was that he ended up by saying, yes, I will respond to the requirements. And so I think that he has broken new ground today in the way that he talked about his vision of peace, an honorable peace in which he referred to his role directly as making peace with Israel. I believe that is the first time he has done that. And he talked about a vision of normal peaceful relations with Israel.

So to expect him to go beyond that at his point I think is perhaps unrealistic. He, in the past, has been extremely reluctant to do any of those things, spell any of those things out. The fact that he did so today I think is an important first step. Obviously, this process is going to continue and the negotiations will continue, and hopefully his vision of peace will become fuller and clearer to you all as we go along.

Q The big question is, which comes first? Does Assad get specific, or the Syrians get specific about the kind of peace? Do the Israelis get specific about how much withdrawal?

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You say it was unrealistic for Assad to be any more specific. What would you as the U.S. as the honest broker expect now? Do you expect Israel to be specific in the negotiations about withdrawal? What is the next step that you think should be taken in breaking that deadlock?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I think you ought to look at it from a couple of different levels. One, the question that Wolf asked of my colleague was, did he try to dodge it, and my colleague's response is, he talked about meeting the requirements of peace.

He also, you may recall, didn't just talk about peace with Israel for the first time, he also referred to it as a strategic choice, that Syria had made a strategic choice for peace with Israel. And I think he obviously is involved in a negotiation just as the Israelis on their side are involved in the negotiation. They will be making judgments, the two of them, when they resume those talks about how they want to try to get it -- cracking the nut of these complex of issues of withdrawal, of peace and of security. And they'll be in a different negotiating format which allows them more flexibility, we believe, to try out ideas. So that's the next step.

Q Yes, but you're satisfied -- the U.S. apparently thinks that that is as much as you could expect at this point from Assad to make what you consider to be a major new statement, that it would be unrealistic to expect specificity. I'm asking you if you think it is now realistic for Israel to be specific about the kind of withdrawal it should engage in?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I think that -- obviously when you're involved, each side is going to have to determine how best to approach the negotiations. They'll make their judgment about what the other side is saying, both in terms of its content and in terms of its level of specificity. And I would suspect that in that light, judgments will be made that reflect what they think is equivalent to a parallel.

Q What is the practical significance then for the process of these statements that you think is so significant?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Well, I think the practical significance --

Q Repeat the question.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: The question? The question was, what's the practical significance of these statements that we think are so significant? All I was doing was repeating the question. I didn't even give an answer. Do you want to give the answer? (Laughter.)

Q How about you guys take a break?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: How about us guys take a break? That's possible. We have to move on. The practical significance is that clearly, many in Israel for a long time have wanted to hear President Assad and the Syrians say certain things about peace with Israel. They've heard abstract statements about peace, but they've rarely, if ever, heard --

Q But that's --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Well, strategic choice for peace with Israel? Is that not qualitatively different than something that they've heard before? Well, and the use of normal peaceful --

Q No, we're beating up Barry, not you guys.
(Laughter.)

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SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: The use of normal peaceful relations? What you're doing is you're -- there is an Israeli public that has looked at Syria and wanted to know what kinds of intentions Syria had vis a vis Israel with regard to peace. Not having heard certain statements before, like, for example, strategic choice for peace with Israel, normal peaceful relations. I would assume that those are the kinds of statements in conjunction with the language on ending the Arab-Israeli conflict. I would assume that those kinds of statements take things to a new level, at least in terms of what the Israelis have heard from the Syrians and they'll make their own judgments about what to make of it.

Q Did your discussions with the Israelis before this --

Q -- choreography now expect a statement by Israel that is something new?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Let's do the follow-up, and I heard your question.

Q Did your discussions with the Israelis before the meeting today lead you to believe that they would find this significant in terms of public opinion and their strategy and attitude towards further negotiations?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I would just refer you to the front page of the International Herald Tribune yesterday, an article by Clyde Haberman in which I think the headline is what the Israelis are waiting to hear is the word "normal."

Q What are the Syrians waiting to hear from Israel? Without reading The Herald Tribune. (Laughter.)

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: We were asked about the practical impact. There is going to be a negotiation at heads of delegation level in a matter of days or the beginning of next week, and this creates the environment in which they will be able to sit down and begin their negotiations again.

Bear in mind, though, there has not been a Syrian-Israeli negotiation since last August -- September. And the practical impact of this is to kick those negotiations off in a much more positive environment.

Q What I'm asking is, is there now in this choreography a statement with magic words that will come out of Israel?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: That's something -- There is an art -- that I have to adhere to, so I'm going to try to do it and then my colleague will correct it because I, undoubtedly will not get it right.

There are some administration officials who will be going down from here to brief Prime Minister Rabin. And obviously that is part of the preparation, as my colleague was saying, for how you create an environment to give the negotiations that will begin in a more flexible format more of a push.

Q When do they start -- these streamlined talks?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: We haven't made a final determination, but it will probably be either the end of this week or the beginning of next.

Q What kind of message do you think what happened here today will send to the Palestinians? Those talks have been stalled, the Israeli-PLO talks, over the border issues and the

MORE

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size of Jericho. Do you think this will send an important message to them?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Well, I would hope that it would send them a message of general encouragement that, in fact, the process along with the resumption of negotiations on this track and some of the other tracks that there is an environment that is likely to make it more likely to make progress; and that's the sort of thing that perhaps should be encouraging to them.

Q What's the mood music of this meeting? What was the chemistry between Assad and Clinton?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I think it was -- I think they had a positive meeting. The discussions, I think, were characterized by -- I think they themselves said it -- a good atmosphere and there was real openness. I think there was an interest, as the President said, in creating an element of trust and confidence that will make it possible to move things forward. That doesn't mean the disagreements necessarily disappear, obviously, but it means that you're creating a context in which you're trying to deal with those agreements in a way that we think will be productive from the standpoint of peace.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Let me just add one thing. I think it is accurate to characterize the President as fully engaged with President Assad, and that there was also a common sense of the historic moment that both of them had about his being a year, as both of them said, in which breakthroughs in the peace process can be achieved.

Q If Syria now shares the U.S. goals in the peace process of a truly comprehensive peace and normal relations, what were their goals before?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Well, one has not -- to begin with, one has never heard them talk about normal peaceful relations as a goal before. So, I mean, they obviously are explaining in greater detail what some of their goals for the process are. Comprehensive peace is something that has been their goal for a long time -- that's the way they described it. But they have not used this kind of a terminology to talk about their vision of peace, and their vision is which would provide for, as President Assad said, normal, peaceful relations, a genuine peace -- language where he also talked about, in a sense, they fought with honor; now they need to make peace with honor and negotiate with honor.

Q How do the new bilateral talks work? And as good negotiators, did you supply the Syrians with a kind of a timetable to solve those bilateral questions?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: No, we have just -- the two foreign ministers will work out the shape of this mechanism and also the timing of when it will get underway.

I would say -- unless we're told otherwise -- since a couple of these officials do have to move on quickly, how about we take two more questions and that's it.

Q You were talking before about the magic word in the international Herald Tribune, but the word there isn't "normal peaceful relations," it's normalization. And that is the word that Assad balked at using. Would you care to address that issue?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I think the question highlights that in the Middle East there is a tendency to dissect every word that is used. And in doing that, when a word appears that you haven't seen before that gets to the heart of something like normalization, I think that's important. That's what we're noting. The words "normal peaceful relations" -- that haven't been conveyed before.

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Q But you wouldn't argue that it's the same, would you?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I mean, obviously, I think our view of normal peaceful relations would be the same as normalization. We would not draw a distinction between those two terms.

Q Did Assad respond on Pan Am 103? Did he say anything --

Q We've had, over the last two years, with every start of the new round of peace talks, almost every time we've had peace talks we've had more and more violence in south Lebanon. And that's hardly conducive for peace talks and for pushing them forward. Has south Lebanon come up in this summit and what have they decided to do to rein in all the various parties there?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: South Lebanon, ~~per se~~, did not come up. Lebanon as a whole did come up. The issue of Taif did come up. But south Lebanon did not.

I think that was two questions.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

5:41 P.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Moscow, Russia)

BACKGROUND BRIEFING
BY
SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL

January 14, 1994

The Radisson Hotel
Moscow, Russia

12:12 A.M. (L)

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: The dinner took place at a dacha. We agreed it was southeast of Moscow, about a half-an-hour motorcade ride -- Novo Ogaryevo.

This, by the way, for history buffs, is the dacha where the former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev held the Union Treaty talks shortly before the collapse of the Soviet Union.

I'll start with just some very general statements, no details at all, on the substance of the evening. One reason, of course, that I'm not going to go into substance is because it was a very candid and freewheeling exchange.

Q That's why we'd like to get it --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I know, I know, Helen. And the other is because many of the points of substance will be touched upon in public events and documents that will be released tomorrow.

There was a continuation of the discussion that began between the two Presidents this morning in their one-on-one talk about the interaction between Russian politics and international politics. President Yeltsin shared with President Clinton and the others -- and I'll come to the guest list in just a second -- some further thoughts on the prospects for the new Parliament and how he and the government intend to work with the new Parliament.

As was the case this morning, he was clearly very aware of the difficulties, the complexities that face the reformers in the Parliament and that face the government. But he also evinced considerable confidence and optimism about the ability of the Executive Branch to work with the new Legislative Branch. And there was a good deal of conversation about how some of the jockeying for different positions in the Parliament is turning out and what that's likely to mean.

But the overall tone of it was certainly one of confidence on President Yeltsin's part both about the ability of the reform program to stand up in the legislature and the ability of the Executive Branch to work with the legislature.

There was a discussion of a number of foreign policy issues, particularly European and Eurasian security issues. This was in part in the context of some further discussion of Partnership For Peace.

The Defense Minister, General Grachev, was at the dinner. He participated in that part of the discussion. There was some talk about U.S.-Russian military-to-military contacts.

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Defense Minister Grachev talked about how much he appreciated the relationship that he had developed with Secretary of Defense Aspin. He referred to the meeting that he had with Mr. Aspin in Garmisch back in June, I believe, talked about inaugurating a direct telephone link between the Defense Ministry here in Russia and the Pentagon last week -- on Wednesday of last week. And President Yeltsin expressed a desire to broaden contacts of that kind not only in the military-to-military area, but more generally between the two governments.

The issue of the Middle East came up a little bit, and particularly with regard to Russia's desire to coordinate its policy interests with those of the United States throughout the region.

The two Presidents also talked rather briefly at the beginning of the discussion about the plans for tomorrow. One reason that that was fairly brief was that it had pretty well all been arranged in advance. There was some talk about how the trilateral meeting would go procedurally. There was virtually no discussion at the dinner of the substance of the trilateral meeting because that we believe is well in hand, although there has been ongoing work during the course of the day at the working level of the government on conforming the three-language text for the agreement that will be signed in the trilateral meeting.

Let me go to color, of which actually there is quite a bit. It was a fairly musical evening, and musically eclectic. There was a string quartet playing in the anteroom of this very elegant dacha when we arrived. That continued until we sat down for dinner. About half way through the dinner -- and I do have the menu if anyone is interested --

Q I am.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: That will take up all my briefing time because it looks to be about 24 courses, or at least 24 dishes. (Laughter.) About half way through, President Yeltsin presented President Clinton with a gift which is a small Gzhel blue porcelain figurine of President Clinton with his hand upraised waving to a crowd, signifying his stature as a politician, and his other hand carrying a saxophone. The figurine is probably five inches high. That turned the conversation to the saxophone; there just happened to be a saxophone on the premises.

Q Oh, God.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I know, I know. Do you want this or not?

Q Yes. Yes. (Laughter.)

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Okay.

Q You buried the lead. (Laughter.)

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: We always save the best for the kicker -- In any event, there was what I thought was a fairly great moment where the President was standing at his place with the saxophone, kind of tuning up and playing a few bars. And the pianist who was there with the quartet in the other room sort of picked up the melody line and began jamming with him back and forth between the room where the dinner was held and the anteroom where the string quartet was waiting. So President Clinton suggested that the dinner party adjourn to the other room. And he then played two numbers: *Summertime* and *My Funny* -- in C Minor, by the way. He's specified that it be in C Minor.

Q Does he know anything else? (Laughter.)

MORE

Q What was the other one?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: My Funny Valentine.

Prime Minister Chernomyrdin, by the way, turned to one of the Americans present when President Clinton started playing Summertime and said, "I recognize that. That's Summertime."

The menu was very long indeed. It ranges from fresh caviar through pickled mushrooms. It says duck in red wine sauce, but instead of duck in red wine stuff we were served -- this is true -- lip of moose. (Laughter.) Lip of moose. That's not a chocolate dessert, that's -- (laughter.)

Q How was it?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: It was -- umm -- it was good. (Laughter.) It was unusual. And stuffed carp. There was also a suckling pig -- or actually, two suckling pigs served, and that prompted some conversation from the President on Razorback hogs -- (laughter) -- the state beast. Only symbolic and social and very much in the spirit of the event.

The guest list on the Russian side was President Yeltsin, of course; Defense Minister Grachev; Foreign Minister Kozyrev; Mr. Ilyshin, who is a senior advisor to President Yeltsin; the First Deputy Prime Minister Oleg Soskovets; and Prime Minister Chernomyrdin.

On the American side, it was Tony Lake, Warren Christopher, Lloyd Bentsen, the President, and Tom Pickering.

Have I beaten you into submission here?

Q You said that Mr. Yeltsin told the President he's broadening his contacts with Russian political figures --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Yes.

Q Is he, indeed? And could you give some description of the breadth of these new contacts and why?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I'm sorry, the contacts of --

Q With various Russian figures. And why is the President doing this?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Well, Barry, in fact, there was some discussion at the beginning of the evening about the reception at Spaso House, which President Clinton had enjoyed for many reasons. And one reason he enjoyed it was because it gave him a chance to meet quite a wide sampling of deputies to the new Parliament. And he said that he was looking forward to both personally getting to know some of them in the future and that he was sure that other American officials, and particularly members of the Congress, would want to have extensive contact. And the Russian side of the table seemed to think that that was a good idea.

We have said all along, of course, that what we're supporting is a process of reform and we're looking for every manifestation of that. And we think that the creation of a Parliament is, itself, a manifestation of reform. Both the Executive and the Legislative Branches of the U.S. government are going to seek very broad contacts with the Parliament, and I think that was in evidence tonight.

Let me just quickly glance -- oh, yes, I'm sorry. There were a couple --

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Q Any toasts?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: There were just very -- there were no formal toasts at all. In fact, there was practically no formal diplomatic discourse at all during the course of the evening.

Q But there was vodka, I assume, or wine?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: There was vodka, there was wine and there was lots of mineral water.

The President mentioned that the First Lady and Chelsea are going to be arriving fairly shortly. That prompted President Yeltsin to say that he had arranged for his grandchildren -- I'm sorry, I don't have the names and ages, but they're sort of in the nine-to-13 range --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Boris and I think there's another girl --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Katarina, maybe? Katarina? He's arranged for his grandchildren to accompany Chelsea Clinton to the circus tomorrow.

Q Were any women present at this dinner?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: As it happens, no.

Q As it always happens.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I feel responsible for so much here. (Laughter.)

Q How long did the dinner last altogether?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: About three hours. I think we got out there maybe 7:50 p.m., and broke up promptly at 11:00 p.m.

Q What was the President's gift to Yeltsin? You told us about his gift to Clinton.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I don't think there was a gift to Yeltsin.

Q Gift to Yeltsin.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: No, I heard the question. There was no formal presentation of gifts. This was kind of a souvenir that President Yeltsin gave to President Clinton.

Q As they talked about cooperation in foreign policy, were there any -- during the discussion, were there any points of diversion or differences on foreign policy that you can --

Q Bosnia?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Yes, I would say that there are not only some differences, but there was also some discussion of the healthiness that there would be differences and, of course, the inevitability of it, and satisfaction that both points in common and points of divergence could be discussed in an atmosphere of the kind that prevailed.

Q Where were the differences? Bosnia?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I'm not going to go into that. Yes, there was indeed some discussion of the former Yugoslavia.

Q You mentioned that General Grachev discussed the Partnership For Peace NATO proposal. What was his reaction, and what was Yeltsin's reaction to the initiative?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: The Defense Minister did not speak so much about Partnership For Peace per se as the value he found in military to military cooperation with the United States.

President Yeltsin -- I think you were briefed earlier today from this podium, that President Yeltsin's response on the subject of Partnership For Peace during the one-on-one this morning was positive, and there was more positive comment from him during the course of the dinner. And he mentioned that he had said to the press during the course of the day -- and I honestly don't know whether it was the international press or the Russian press -- that the Russian government supported the initiative.

Q Did the two Presidents agree to announce their detargeting deal tomorrow?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: There was no discussion of that at all.

Q When is the communique going to be issued? And is this telephone link a hot line, too, or is it already in --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: No, it's already in effect and it's already been used. I wouldn't call it a hot line. It's a direct telephone link between the two Ministries of Defense.

Q Did the question of how to deal with Zhirinovsky and his forces in the Parliament come up?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: No.

Q Did President Clinton offer any advice or --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: No. Certainly not. There was some discussion of the Liberal Democratic Party and Mr. Zhirinovsky during the one-on-one this morning, but not much of that per se. It was more on some developments during the course of the day. As you all know, I'm sure, the new Parliament is forming itself now, people are jockeying for positions. And there was some discussion of that.

Q -- Yeltsin had invited the Clintons to all stay over at the Kremlin. Did the President give his response?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Do you have anything on that, Dee Dee, on whether the Clintons will be staying over in the Kremlin on Friday?

MS. MYERS: Yes, he will, tomorrow night.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Dee Dee says it's okay for me to confirm that that, in fact, will happen.

Q Will?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Will, affirmative.

Q Tomorrow night?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Tomorrow night. Right, Dee Dee?

MS. MYERS: The President and family.

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SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: President Clinton and family.

Q When do we get the communique?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I honestly don't know the timing of the release of the documents.

Q What is the significance of staying over at the Kremlin? I mean, how unusual is that?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I'm sure the White House has background information on this. I do recall that President Nixon, I think, stayed at the Kremlin on at least one occasion.

MS. MYERS: In '72, I think.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: A long time ago. It was thought to be both a significant gesture and a very friendly one, and obviously an exciting possibility. So the First Family jumped at the chance.

Q Did they speak about the very strong chance that Kravchuk will again be unable to keep his promise to give up nukes?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: No, quite the contrary. I think there was a shared sense that this deal --

Q This time they'll do it?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: As I say, there was very little discussion. There was a very little felt need for much discussion on the trilateral except for a couple of procedural points.

Thanks very much.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

12:30 A.M. (L_)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Brussels, Belgium)

For Immediate Release

January 10, 1994

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT INTERVENTION FOR THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL SUMMIT

NATO Headquarters
Brussels, Belgium

THE PRESIDENT: 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 reform in these nations succeeds 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 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 seven 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.

MORE

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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 two 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

MORE

THE WHITE HOUSE

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MORE

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 understand 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 Lippman. Three days after the North Atlantic Treaty was signed Lippman 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.

END

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 understand that we are serious. If we leave the sentence in the Declaration we have to mean it.

MORE

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Minsk, Belarus)

For Immediate Release

January 15, 1994

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE FUTURE LEADERS OF BELARUS

Academy of Sciences
Minsk, Belarus

3:17 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Sergei Gaponenko, the President of the National Academy of Sciences; and to my friend, Chairman Shushkevich; ladies and gentlemen. Thank you all for coming here. I hope the translation is working well. (Laughter.) Does the laughing mean yes or no? (Laughter.) Yes, I think.

I'm delighted to be here at your National Academy of Sciences, with many representatives of my government and representatives of yours. But most of all, I'm glad to see so many young people here, because it is your future I wish to talk about today.

I want to thank Chairman Shushkevich for inviting me and for suggesting that I meet with you. The Chairman is a leader of real courage, in recording the terrible toll of Chernobyl and in leading your nation's reforms. And I'm delighted to be with him here today.

I wanted to come to Belarus because I am impressed with much of what you have done and because I believe you can and will do even more. Your generation has been given an opportunity to build a strong and free nation. While you face hard times today, you have much with which to build a better future. You stand at the crossroads of continents. You have a highly educated people and great institutions of higher learning. You have good, strong high technology industries. Above all, you have reclaimed your freedom and your destiny is now in your own hands.

And so now you must decide what to do with your nation and your future. You are, I assure you, not alone in facing that question. For this is a time of profound change all across the world. Nations everywhere face the challenge of shaping their future amid all the technological, economic and political changes sweeping the globe.

Nations everywhere must now grapple with the question of how to compete in a global economy; how to reward and support hard-working families and their children; how to make their governments more effective and more responsive; how to address social problems such as unemployment and inequality and crime; how to combine cultural and spiritual traditions with the demands of modern life; how to define, indeed, a nation's security and greatness in a modern era in which money and information and technological changes fly across the globe in a millisecond -- in which we will be judged, I believe, more on whether we can develop the full capacities of every man and woman within each nation's border than on whether we can tell other people beyond our borders what to do and how they must live.

I have not come here to tell you what I think the solutions should be to these questions for your nation and your future. That is for you alone to decide. But I do come here as a friend and supporter of the democratic and economic reforms you

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are beginning in your nation. I've come to show my support for those reforms and for your determination to build a better and safer and stronger future -- for your nation and for this entire region.

The work of reform before you today also has a larger significance. For what you do here might encourage other nations facing the same challenges. It can help to build a broader Europe that is no longer divided, but integrated -- integrated by democratic governments, market economies and peaceful coexistence and respect for national borders.

If we can accomplish this kind of integration all across Europe, east and west, then we can make both Europe and America safer and more prosperous. This nation, which lost one in four of its citizens in the second world war, must surely know better than any other on the face of the earth the terrible price Europeans have paid for their constant divisions -- not only in the two world wars of the 20th century, but indeed throughout the entire history of nations in Europe.

Now for the first time we have a chance to build a Europe without divisions where all countries respect each other's borders, all countries observe democratic traditions of majority rule and individual and minority rights. All countries trade freely with each other and help each other to achieve the true measure of greatness developing the capacities of their people.

Today I want to speak briefly about three opportunities I see before you: the renewal of your economy, the reform of your political system, and your work to define a new security for a new era.

First, let me say a word about economic transition. Of course you inherited an economic system imposed from above. And it has left you with, frankly, a mixed legacy. On the one hand, clearly it helped to rebuild Belarus from the ruins of World War II. But that same centrally-planned system is ill-suited for the fast-changing global economy.

That is clear everywhere. Everywhere in the world and every in every continent the people that are doing well are people who live in economies where investment and a well-trained work force make it possible for people to produce high-quality goods and services which they sell to each other and beyond their borders.

So now you must face the challenge of taking what is best about your economy, your highly-skilled people and your advanced industries and adapting it to the rigors of this new global competition. It is a hard transition. Almost every place which has sought to do it has faced, as you have, among other things, very steep inflation -- something you faced in this summer's increases in the prices of meat and butter.

Many people are struggling to get by as a result of this inflation. In a cruel way, inflation hurts the people economies should reward the most, those who simply get up and go to work every day obeying the law and trying to make their contribution.

But there is cause for hope because, as you privatize more of your economy, as more of it works in a market system, people will have reason to invest more and generate more economic growth. The government's plan to privatize 20 percent of state property this year is, I believe, a step in the right direction.

The United States wishes to support this kind of change. Since you became independent, we have provided over \$150 million in food, medicine and other forms of assistance. During this trip I announced additional steps to assist your movement to

MORE

a market economy: The establishment of a business center here in your nation to help to coordinate business efforts both within the country and with other businesses not only in my country but around the world; a new regional enterprise fund to help to start new businesses, which will include Belarus, Ukraine and Moldova; and a U.S.-Belarus Investment Treaty to encourage more private trade and investment between our two countries.

Ultimately your economic success will depend upon your own efforts. But you must have good neighbors who wish to be good partners. The United States wants to be one of those. And I believe there is no reason that Belarus be left behind in this march to a global economy. I urge you to press ahead with these economic reforms; to do it in a sensible and a clear-headed way as possible; to learn from the experience of other nations because I believe that it is the key to a better future.

You also face the challenge of political transition. Just as modern economies need the benefit of every individual's productive capacity, modern nations need the benefit, indeed cannot do well without the benefit of the diverse and informed views of all of their people. The world does not work very well from the top down anymore. It requires the active engagement of all individuals.

When voices are silenced by authoritarianism, by closed political systems or, as in the case with too many democracies today, by the apathy of citizens themselves who stay home and stay out of political dialogue, then wisdom is lost, debate becomes more hollow, challenges are avoided instead of being faced, and in the end, tyrants find it easier to grab or to hold on to power. We know where that low road leads. It leads to economic stagnation and social intolerance.

You have learned from your own hard history that there is a better way. I applaud your democratic reforms. I hope you will follow through with the commitments that have been made to hold new elections in March of this year. I hope you will press ahead with plans to craft a new constitution. I hope you will, in short, create a foundation for your economic renewal by protecting and promoting the political and human rights of your people, without which, over the long run, it will be very difficult to have a strong economy.

One of the most encouraging signs of your economic renewal is the political ferment that is bubbling up from your people. You have new political movements such as the Belarusian Popular Front. I was pleased to meet some of their members early today. You have environment groups which formed after the Chernobyl disaster. Such groups along with free labor unions, business associations and others can help to create a culture of participation, of debate, of personal investment in your nation's future. These private associations are important, just almost as important as the right to vote in the elections. It requires both a participation in the decisions of who will represent you at the state and who will be able to organize privately to make life more satisfactory and they'll give views a wider range.

Finally, let me say a word about your efforts to build a new nation that defines its strength and greatness in new ways. There is no better example than your determination to live as a nuclear-free state. Since I became the President of the United States, I have been determined to work with the other nuclear nations, and especially with Russia, to try to help the other republics of the former Soviet Union become nuclear-free; and we have gone a long way to finance that. Belarus led the way, and you deserve the credit and thanks of citizens all over the world.

Seventy-six nuclear weapons were here when the Soviet Union dissolved. As a new nation, one of your first decisions was to do away with them. It would have been easier to

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look backward and say, well, these 76 weapons somehow make us a great nation; they make us stronger, we will keep them, we will use them and rattle them around as threats if people don't help us or do what we want them to do. But you made a braver and a better choice -- to live nuclear-free.

I am sure that your tragic experience with Chernobyl helped to shape that choice. But I also imagine that many, many of you had a clear understanding that these weapons, powerful and intimidating though they might be, offer you little in the way of real security. Real security lies in the integration with your neighbors -- their political and economic values and respect for their borders.

So you freely chose to eliminate these weapons. You became the first of the newly-independent states of the former Soviet Union to ratify the START Treaty and to accede to the nonproliferation treaty. That is part of why I was so pleased to welcome Chairman Shushkevich to Washington last July, early in my administration. I wanted to express my admiration for the courage and the vision that he and that all of you have demonstrated by making the choice to be nuclear-free.

We are committed to helping you to prove to all the people of the world that that was the right choice, that you were building a new and a better security. We are helping you to remove these weapons safely and security technical advice. You suffered through one nuclear tragedy. We are determined to see that you do not endure another.

Today I informed the Chairman that the United States will make additional funds available to Belarus for this purpose which will bring the total we have provided over the last two years in '93 and '94 to \$100 million.

As you move away from the weapons of the old security, we want to help you to build a new security by helping you to be a part of a new and democratic Europe.

Earlier this week I joined our NATO allies in creating the Partnership For Peace. The Partnership For Peace invites all of the nations of the former Soviet Union and the former Warsaw Pact and all other non-NATO nations in Europe, all of them together to join with NATO in a partnership that will permit us together to provide for the common security. It will permit non-NATO members to do military planning and training and exercises with NATO members as long as they promise to respect the sovereignty, the independence and the existing territorial boundaries of all of the nations which participate.

I hope Belarus will give careful consideration to this partnership. It is a part of our strategy to try to have a Europe that is undivided for the first time in its history, that uses the prospect of military cooperation genuinely to ensure the peace instead of simply to prepare for war.

You are a new nation with a long history. During this century you have endured as much or more hardship as any people we have ever known. And now you face difficult and challenging political and economic transitions. They are so challenging that they can even be disorienting. And if you move to elections, which I hope and pray that you will, you will find that when people are in trouble they sometimes vote their frustrations as well as their hopes. That is still true in the United States, and we've been working at it for 200 years now.

But there is no substitute for putting the people of the nation in the driver's seat. Over the long -- (applause) -- and we must be aware of this, no matter how sophisticated a people are, no matter how much information is available to decision-makers. There is so much going on in this world today, economically, politically, culturally. The changes are so

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sweeping there is no way that one group of people, sitting atop a society, can make decisions which suffice to guarantee the best possible life for all of the people who live in that society.

Therefore, I believe that free political systems and free economic systems also happen to be good economics for the world in which we are living and the world which we will live in the 21st century for the foreseeable future. You face possibilities that are as sweeping as your land. The new freedom you are building has many difficulties, but it can also work miracles. It can make your cities thrive, it can help your land to blossom. Most important of all, it can give the wonderful children that I was shaking hands with just a few moments ago real hope.

END

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Brussels, Belgium)

For Immediate Release

January 10, 1994

PRESS CONFERENCE BY THE PRESIDENT

The Conrad Hotel
Brussels, Belgium

6:42 P.M. (L)

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 have 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 break-up 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 nonproliferation 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.

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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.

Q Mr. President, there is 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. Zhirinovsky 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 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. Zhirinovsky 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 govern Russia, thank goodness.

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

THE PRESIDENT: They are certainly welcome to do so. We've issued --

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Brussels, Belgium)

For Immediate Release

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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.

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. NATO -- 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 can -- 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.

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.

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

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East. Over the long run, that will have a greater significance, in my judgement, 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.

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 nonnuclear state, the states that have nuclear weapons promise not to use them against them 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.

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 -- we've already bunched too many stories in one day, haven't we? (Laughter.) I really can't -- I can't say anymore 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.

END

6:56 P.M. (L)

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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.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Prague, Czech Republic)

For Immediate Release

January 12, 1994

PRESS CONFERENCE BY THE PRESIDENT
WITH VISEGRAD LEADERS

U.S. Ambassador's Residence
Prague, Czech Republic

1:55 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: 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 Vaclav 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 five 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 advisors 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

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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 dialogue 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 grass roots 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.

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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 toward 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.

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?

THE PRESIDENT: 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. 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.

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Helen?

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 --

THE PRESIDENT: 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 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?

THE PRESIDENT: I think it is doubtful; that's right. I think your reading -- 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 I think had a question for President Walesa, and then I'd like a question from the foreign press next. But, Wolf, go ahead.

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 into 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.

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.)

THE PRESIDENT: 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 to say hello. And seeing the changes

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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. The President gave me a saxophone with his name inscribed in 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. (Laughter.)

Is there another question from the foreign press?

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

THE PRESIDENT: 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 am going to solicit some more.

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?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, let's see what happens in Kiev. I think -- 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.

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?

THE PRESIDENT: We'll talk about it in Kiev and beyond. Let's watch it unfold and see.

Q Mr. President, I had planned to ask the question that Mark 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?

THE PRESIDENT: 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.

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And 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.

END

2:19 P.M> (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Brussels, Belgium)

For Immediate Release

January 11, 1994

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN MEETING WITH AMERICAN BUSINESS COMMUNITY

Conrad Hotel
Brussels, Belgium

8:06 A.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: 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

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nearly three million Western Europeans alone. And back home, trade with Europe generated \$120 billion worth of exports and about two and a half 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 freefall, 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 four 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

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Brussels, Belgium)

For Immediate Release

January 11, 1994

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN MEETING WITH AMERICAN BUSINESS COMMUNITY

Conrad Hotel
Brussels, Belgium

8:06 A.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: 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.

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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 seven 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 onto 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.

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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 embolden 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 a well.

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

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

8:20 A.M. (L)

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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.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Brussels, Belgium)

For Immediate Release

January 11, 1994

PRESS CONFERENCE BY THE PRESIDENT

Joseph Luns Theatre
NATO Headquarters
Brussels, Belgium

10:50 A.M. (L)

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

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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.

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.

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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 us 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.

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 unanswered 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 answer -- 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 --

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THE PRESIDENT: But I believe, based on what several of them said to me privately -- 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 wave length; 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 Majors' amendment adding to 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.

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 a final -- 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 I -- 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

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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.

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'll be glad to -- 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.

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.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

11:09 A.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

January 6, 1994

REMARKS BY THE VICE PRESIDENT
IN FOREIGN POLICY SPEECH

Pabst Theater
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

11:51 A.M. CST

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen. Thank you so much for your welcome. And thank you, Secretary Aspin, Dr. Bowman.

Over the past 14 months, Wisconsin gave the Clinton administration three very fine presents. The first was voting for us in November of 1992. (Applause.) I'll never forget that rally in Madison, incidentally. The second and third were lending us Donna Shalala and Les Aspin. (Applause.) Les has made a lasting contribution to our nation's security not just as Secretary of Defense, but in serving this state in Congress for two decades -- where, as he mentioned, we became close, personal friends. And on this occasion, I want to ask all of you to join me in thanking Les Aspin for his tremendous public service. (Applause.)

I'm delighted to be here in Milwaukee with your congressional delegation and your other excellent public leaders. I want to acknowledge Governor Thompson. I want to especially acknowledge my warm and close friends and allies, working partners Senator Herb Kohl and Senator Russ Feingold. We've worked very hard together to help get this country on the right track again and create more jobs and bring interest rates down and get the economy moving. I want to acknowledge my friend, the dean of your House delegation, David Obey -- a long-time friend and partner. And also Tom Barrett, Peter Barca, Gerald Kleczka, Thomas Petri; and also the local and state officials, Mayor John Norquist and Attorney General James Doyle, Speaker Walter Kunicki and County Executive Thomas Ament, Sheriff Richard Artison and others.

As you know, and as has already been mentioned, the President had planned to be here today and was looking forward to it, but had to go early this morning to Arkansas instead because his mother, Virginia Kelley, passed away in the wee hours of the morning. The President, when we spoke this morning, asked me to express his deep regret at not being able to join you, and I'm sure that you join me this morning in expressing our deep condolences to the President and his family as they confront the sad loss.

The President came to this very theater 15 months ago during the campaign when he was a candidate and came at a critical moment. As I look at this beautiful hall and this wonderful audience, I can see why he was so eager to come back and see you again. And I know that he was especially eager to come here today and join in celebrating the victory of the 1994 Rose Bowl Champions, the University of Wisconsin Badgers. (Applause.) It was a wonderful game. And may I say that I watched it with my family, including my mother, who has been spending some time with us the last couple of weeks, who attended law school at the University of Wisconsin. (Applause.) So I claimed honorary Badgerhood on that occasion.

And, boy, if you could have seen Donna Shalala the next day -- (laughter) -- walking -- was she a sight? When the two of them walked into the Cabinet Room and Donna was talking about the football program and the game and everything, it was a great, great day.

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SECRETARY ASPIN: -- taller than anybody in the room.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: She was taller than anybody in the room that day. (Applause.) That's a pretty good line, Les. (Laughter and applause.) It's true, too.

When the President was here 15 months ago, on that October day he spoke about America's need for a strong pro-democracy national security policy. In two days, President Clinton will leave for Europe for a series of meetings designed to advance that goal. He will go to Brussels to stress the importance of our economic and security ties with NATO and Europe. He will go to Prague and stress our strong commitment to the new democracies in Poland, Hungary, the Czech republic and Slovakia. He will visit Moscow and stress our support for Democratic reforms there and elsewhere. And he will visit Minsk in Belarus and stress the importance of the progress that state and others are making to dismantle nuclear weapons.

Before he left our shores to talk with foreign leaders, the President wanted to come and talk with you about why this trip is important to the American people. And the President has now asked me to share his views directly with you today because at this point in history, all of Europe stands at a turning point with deep implications for our own security and prosperity.

That's why the President and I and why the President has insisted that our administration focus so much on Europe, particularly Central and Eastern Europe and Russia. At the President's request, my first trip abroad as Vice President was to Poland. There are at least a couple of people here who traveled with me on that occasion. While there I had extensive meetings with President Walesa and shared prayer and communion with him at morning mass in his private chapel.

I just recently visited Hungary last month and met with the new leadership in Budapest. In addition, at the President's request, I enjoyed a lengthy one-on-one meeting during the same visit to Europe with President Kravchuk of Ukraine. And may I say that since taking office, the President and I have met with almost all of the leaders of virtually every Central and Eastern European nation and many of the leaders of the former Soviet republics as well because President Clinton feels so strongly about the importance of our nation's role in contributing to the positive change which is taking place and must continue to take place.

We live at a time of astounding changes. After a half-century of standing firm against Soviet aggression in the Cold War, suddenly the Cold War is over and the Soviet Union is gone. After decades of praying for reconciliation between black and white in South Africa and between Arab and Jew in the Middle East, suddenly we witness handshakes of hope that rivet the world. After decades of dreaming and working for the freedom of captive nations -- as I know many of you have with all your hearts -- suddenly those states are free, and new democracies have blossomed across Europe. And the President has told me that one of the things he is most looking forward to is meeting again with some of those democratic heroes, such as Vaclav Havel and Lech Walesa.

At the same time, some of the world's changes hold great danger for us, such as the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the degradation of the global environment. And we face the changes of a new global economy, changes that offer us many new opportunities but that also can be unsettling for our jobs and our communities. In the face of all these changes, some Americans would prefer that we stay out of the world's squabbles and focus only on our challenges here at home. Europe is facing even harder economic challenges: double-digit unemployment and very sluggish

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growth. And many Europeans also might prefer not to get involved with problems beyond their borders. And the economic transformation facing Russia and the other former communist states are more daunting still.

So there is a great temptation in all our nations to focus only on our own problems. But my message today -- and the message of the President's trip -- is very simply this: In order to be strong at home, we must engage abroad as well. We must work with other nations to get the world's economy growing and open foreign markets if we want to sell more exports. We must engage with other nations to lock in the end of the Cold War, or else we would simply end up needing to spend more on defense and less on the domestic investments that we need. We tried running away from the world after World War I. What did it bring us? A depression and another horrible war. But when we helped shape world events after World War II, what did that bring us? Decades of security and prosperity. And that is what we must do again.

During the campaign, the President and I said our foreign policy would be based on economic renewal, strong defenses and the promotion of democracy overseas. In the past year we have made progress toward those goals. We began, of course, by putting our country's economic house back in order; because without a strong economy, we cannot compete and lead abroad. We passed an economic package to cut a half a trillion dollars from our deficits, while investing in education, technology and defense conversion. And, incidentally, if you can remember it, the projection for next year's deficit when we took office was \$300 billion. The projection now is way down to \$190 billion. The effort is already yielding dividends not just with a reduced deficit which is so important -- we're enjoying low inflation and historically low interest rates.

Consumer confidence is up. Housing starts are booming -- highest number last month in the entire history of the United States of America. And our nation has created more private sector jobs in the past 12 months than in the previous four years combined. And we still have a long way to go. We understand that. And to take one example, we still need to ensure health care for every American that can never be taken away. And we're going to do that, with your help. (Applause.) But we've made a good start. It's been a good first year.

Well, in any event, after putting our own economic house in order, we next took major steps to open up foreign markets to U.S. goods and services so we can boost exports and create more new jobs. We passed the North American Free Trade Agreement, which will lower tariffs on our exports and create over 200,000 new American jobs. We expanded our ties with the fast-growing economies of Asia. And just last month we reached an historic new agreement in the GATT world trade talks that will create another hundreds of thousands -- another set of hundreds of thousands of American jobs and also provide a boost to the entire world economy so that we can get it moving again.

With these steps and others we're putting the economic interests of the American people back at the heart of our foreign policy. We have restored America's leadership on the environment as well. And this past year we have worked to strengthen our nation's defenses.

Under Les Aspin's able leadership, we completed a sweeping review of our military to ensure that we have the forces we need to respond to the diverse threats of this new era. And when we were threatened abroad, such as when we learned of that Iraqi plot to try and assassinate former President Bush, President Clinton used those military forces to hit back hard, to send a clear, unmistakable message.

We also have worked to promote democratic movements around the world with significantly increased support for reformers in Russia, Ukraine, Armenia and the other new states of the former Soviet Union who seek to close the door to a communist past and usher in a democratic future. We lifted sanctions on South Africa as soon as there was an agreement to end apartheid and hold a nonracial election. (Applause.) And isn't that a sign of hope in our world? (Applause.)

And despite intense budget pressures, we substantially increased funding for programs to support grass roots, democratic organizing from Central America to Asia to Eastern Europe. The success of these new democracies, like the ones in Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia is important to our nation and our security. We must help them succeed. We didn't spend years supporting solidarity just to lose democracy in Poland. We didn't celebrate the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia just to see that birth of freedom die from neglect. We prevailed in the Cold War for their sake and ours. And now we must prevail for their sake and ours in building a broader democratic peace throughout Europe.

The steps we have taken this year make America stronger and safer. I want to take a moment to acknowledge in particular the service of all the men and women who wear our nation's uniform and protect us all over the world. As President Clinton has often said, America's Armed Forces are the best this world has ever known, and we are determined to make sure they remain just that. (Applause.) We're going to make certain they remain the best-trained, best-equipped, best-prepared fighting force on the face of this Earth.

Now, we have done much this past year to make America more secure. But nothing is more important to our security than our relations with Europe. With the Cold War over, some may think Europe doesn't matter as much to our nation as it used to. President Clinton says, they're wrong. The fact is, Europe remains our most valuable trading partner, and our military security remains as interwoven with that of Europe as ever in our history.

Twice in this century, we sent our sons and daughters to Europe to repel aggression and protect the survival of democracy. Two world wars left us with a lesson that is understood in every VFW and American Legion Hall in Wisconsin and across our nation. When Europe fights, we suffer. When Europe is safe and free, we thrive here in the United States.

Now, Europe is enjoying a rebirth of freedom. After a half century of captivity, we've seen the Baltic nations regain their rightful independence. We've seen great dissident heroes, such as Vaclav Havel and Lech Walesa help throw off communist rule and emerge as leaders of their people. We've seen Boris Yeltsin and other courageous democratic reformers in Russia hold elections and write a constitution in the face of fierce reactionary resistance.

This democratic renaissance is cause for hope. But, of course, there is also a dark cloud on Europe's horizon. It is the threat of fiery nationalism, ignited by old resentments, fueled by economic frustration, fanned by self-serving demagogues. We already see it burning across the former Yugoslavia. But it smolders in other states as well, particularly in Europe's East. If we do not begin building new forms of protection, these embers could flare and engulf Europe again, just as they have during this century's worst crises.

President Clinton's goal on this trip is to help build that protection. It cannot come from new walls topped with barbed wire. Rather, the protection new states of Europe need today is the kind all of us carry inside our souls -- the protection that keeps our darkest nature from spilling out into public life, the sense of

growth. And many Europeans also might prefer not to get involved with problems beyond their borders. And the economic transformation facing Russia and the other former communist states are more daunting still.

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tolerance and the habits of the heart that are built up by the practices of free commerce, open democracy, robust civic life and respect for differences among individuals and nations.

To those who would ask where in the world such tolerance can be found, I would say come to Milwaukee. Just look at your city. Your roots trace back to Poland, Russia, Ukraine, the Baltics, to Germany, Italy and England, to Africa, Asia and Latin America. You may be Christian, Jewish or Muslim, and yet you are all one community. Why? Because you all share the American belief that there is strength in all our differences; that we can build a collective civic space large enough for all our separate identities, that we can be E Pluribus Unum, out of one many. We take that for granted here in our blessed United States of America. But that idea is not foreign to Europe. Those very ideas that Jefferson and Madison wrote into our Declaration of Independence and our Constitution were European imports, derived from Europe's great age of reason.

But throughout the former Soviet Union's bloc, those ideas were strangled by false ideologies and decades of dictatorship. Now, we have the opportunity to help our cherished values of freedom take root in places that were homelands to so many of us and our ancestors. We can help erase the false lines that divided Europe for too long and heal the scars those divisions left behind. Fostering the integration of Europe will not only express our highest ideals, it also will be the best investment we can make in our own security and prosperity.

President Clinton's first goal on this trip will be to reinvigorate NATO and help ensure that NATO is prepared to meet the challenges that I just described. NATO is the greatest military alliance in all human history. We couldn't have won the Cold War without it. But now, the Soviet Union it helped deter is gone. It is time for NATO to address Europe's new security challenges, such as consolidating democracy's gains among NATO's eastern neighbors and warding off ethnic conflict.

At the NATO summit in Brussels, the President will propose that NATO create a Partnership For Peace as a major step toward the new security Europe needs. The Partnership is a new way of drawing the former communist states into cooperation with the rest of Europe. It advances an evolutionary process of formal NATO enlargement, a step toward adding new members of NATO. (Applause.)

The Partnership For Peace invites Europe's new democracies to take part right away in military and political cooperation with NATO members as well as with each other. Those states that join the partnership can participate in military planning, exercises and operations. The partnership will help foster democratic practices that can prepare these states for full NATO membership. The new NATO must address the concerns of those nations that lie between Russia and Western Europe, for the security of these states affects the security of America. Let me say that again: The security of the states that lie between Western Europe and Russia affects the security of America. (Applause.) Especially after Russia's recent elections, those states are naturally concerned about whether they will again be rendered pieces of a buffer zone, prizes to be argued over by others.

The Partnership For Peace is designed to offer these states the confidence that they can integrate into the West rather than always fear what could happen to their East. The Partnership For Peace does not divide East and West in a way that could create a self-fulfilling prophecy of future confrontation. Instead, it tries to integrate a broader Europe. On an equal basis, it provides an open door for all the nations of Central and Eastern Europe as well as the nations emerging from the former Soviet Union, it invites all

of them to forge a new relationship with NATO based on a belief that freedom's boundaries now must recognize not just old history, but also new behavior.

The Partnership for Peace can build the habits of cooperation that have been the sinews behind NATO and NATO's formal security guarantees. We look forward to beginning such cooperation soon with Poland, the Czech Republic and other former communist states as we create the foundation for a new and broader Europe.

President Clinton's second goal will be to show our support for those people and leaders in former Communist states working to build democracy, and to lay the building blocks of a civil society: political parties, labor unions, business associations and a free press. In Prague, he will meet with leaders of the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia -- the Visegrad nations -- nations that are playing such leading roles in Europe's wave of reform. In Minsk, the President will voice our support for Chairman Shushkevich and other leaders of Belarus's democratic progress. And in Moscow, he will meet with President Boris Yeltsin and other Russian reformers who are steering their nation toward a democratic, market-based and peaceful future.

The strong support for reactionary candidates in the recent Russian elections gave all of us cause for concern. We would be foolish to ignore those results; and it is our duty to condemn the voices of racism and intolerant nationalism wherever such voices are heard. (Applause.) But make no mistake about it, there was another larger message of hope in those Russian elections. An election that looked doubtful only months before was held in a free and fair manner. And when they voted, the Russian people ratified a democratic constitution and elected Russia's first post-Soviet legislature.

All these can help Russia's reformers move ahead. We must not lose faith in the process of reform simply because it moves slowly or encounters setbacks. Changing an entire society is the work of generations. Along the way, the people of Russia and the other new states will doubtless make some bad choices, just as we often have done at times in our own history. Democracy, after all, doesn't turn us into angels, it simply gives us a way to learn collectively from our very human trials and errors. As long as these nations support freedom with protections for ethnic and religious minorities and political dissent, we have faith that reaction will give way to reform.

President Clinton's third goal will be to help reduce the dangers of weapons of mass destruction. (Applause.) When the Soviet Union dissolved, four states were left with its nuclear weapons -- Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus. One key to our security is making sure there is only one nuclear successor state to the Soviet Union. Under the leadership of President Nazarbayev, Kazakhstan has agreed to give up its nuclear weapons. I was pleased to be in Alma-Ata last month on the day his parliament ratified the decision.

We're working with Ukraine to secure a similar agreement. And one reason the President is going to Minsk is to congratulate the people of Belarus and the leaders of Belarus for ratifying the START Treaty and agreeing to live as a nonnuclear state. In addition, in Brussels, we expect NATO to adopt our proposal to address the threat posed by nuclear, biological and chemical weapons as well.

Now, the President's final goal is to support the dramatic progress toward market reforms throughout the former communist states and to work for a greater Europe that is more economically vibrant. Most of Europe, as we all know, is deep in

tolerance and the habits of the heart that are built up by the practices of free commerce, open democracy, robust civic life and respect for differences among individuals and nations.

To those who would ask where in the world such tolerance can be found, I would say come to Milwaukee. Just look at your city. Your roots trace back to Poland, Russia, Ukraine, the Baltics, to Germany, Italy and England, to Africa, Asia and Latin America. You may be Christian, Jewish or Muslim, and yet you are all one community. Why? Because you all share the American belief that there is strength in all our differences; that we can build a collective civic space large enough for all our separate identities, that we can be E Pluribus Unum, out of one many. We take that for granted here in our blessed United States of America. But that idea is not foreign to Europe. Those very ideas that Jefferson and Madison wrote into our Declaration of Independence and our Constitution were European imports, derived from Europe's great age of reason.

But throughout the former Soviet Union's bloc, those ideas were strangled by false ideologies and decades of dictatorship. Now, we have the opportunity to help our cherished values of freedom take root in places that were homelands to so many of us and our ancestors. We can help erase the false lines that divided Europe for too long and heal the scars those divisions left behind. Fostering the integration of Europe will not only express our highest ideals, it also will be the best investment we can make in our own security and prosperity.

President Clinton's first goal on this trip will be to reinvigorate NATO and help ensure that NATO is prepared to meet the challenges that I just described. NATO is the greatest military alliance in all human history. We couldn't have won the Cold War without it. But now, the Soviet Union it helped deter is gone. It is time for NATO to address Europe's new security challenges, such as consolidating democracy's gains among NATO's eastern neighbors and warding off ethnic conflict.

At the NATO summit in Brussels, the President will propose that NATO create a Partnership For Peace as a major step toward the new security Europe needs. The Partnership is a new way of drawing the former communist states into cooperation with the rest of Europe. It advances an evolutionary process of formal NATO enlargement, a step toward adding new members of NATO. (Applause.)

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recession, and if those nations can start growing again we will benefit from more exports and more jobs here in our own nation. Equally important, we must help ensure that economic growth reaches all the way into the former communist states which are making the hard transition to market economies.

Some of the greatest heroes of that flight from communism are people whose names will we never know -- the farmer outside of Sofia working with new pride now that he once again owns the land of his grandfather; the entrepreneur in Riga running a new business out of his apartment; the factory worker in St. Petersburg trying to adapt to the new habits and uncertainties of capitalism.

Freedom's success will depend in large part on their labors. We need to do all that we can to ensure that their labors are rewarded. In Brussels, the President will urge Western Europe's leaders to join our nation in taking steps to make all of our markets more open to goods from Europe's new democracies. In Prague, Moscow and Minsk, he will work with the leaders of those new market democracies to ensure that our economic assistance and trade and investment efforts are well targeted to provide the greatest possible support as these nations make the very difficult transitions to market economies.

Today, the people of the former communist nations are performing human miracles on a daily basis. Without much at all in the way of resources or experience, they're turning economic ruin into working markets. They're replacing gray Orwellian life with the bright and diverse cultures their people once enjoyed. They're reviving the religious traditions that communism could not stamp out. And they're planting strong seedlings of democracy on terrain once laid bear by dictatorship and devastated by the wild fires of war.

The hard work of political and economic transformation belongs to the people of the region and they are making heroic progress, but the stakes for our own nation are enormous. And we must put our shoulder behind the cause of reform as well. It is in America's self-interest for those reforms to succeed and endure. If they do, we will all be more secure. We can prevent another all-engulfing European war. We can make further progress to dismantle the world's doomsday weapons. We can continue maintaining our security with far lower defense budgets. We can create new markets for our exports and new jobs for our people as these new economies begin to grow and thrive. That's why we must not sit on the sidelines. We must continue working to build a broader and freer Europe.

I think back to the Polish uprising of 1863, in which the motto of the Polish fighters was, "For your freedom and ours." (Applause.) They believed in their hearts that their own liberation would liberate others since they were fighting for a broader principle of liberty. Today, the fight for freedom in Europe continues with new hope and high stakes.

The President, as he leaves for these countries, and all of us who have worked with him, know that the struggle to erase communism's scars and ensure democracy's success is not their struggle alone. It must also be our struggle. It is the fight of a lifetime -- our lifetimes. It is the story of a century -- our century. President Clinton and I are committed to make it the work of our nation.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

12:27 P.M. CST

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Brussels, Belgium)

For Immediate Release

January 11, 1994

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN STATEMENT WITH EU LEADERS

News Conference Theatre
EU Headquarters
Brussels, Belgium

12:49 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: 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.

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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 Papandreu both made 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 democracies 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 are 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.

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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 have 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 that what I could add to what Prime Minister Papandreou has spoken on behalf of the Community.

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 two years of shelling, bombing, slaughter?

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Well, keep in mind now the resolution was directed toward a specific set of circumstances. They reaffirmed -- 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 proceed 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 us that no peace agreement has been made and that explicit debate should give this vote the credibility that I believe it deserves.

Q Listening to what you said about growth and jobs and also defense of the environment and social rights, I'm

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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 no priority when we are tackling mass unemployment 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.

THE PRESIDENT: 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 policy 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 that 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.

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

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out, without delivering? At what point does it become, as you warned about yesterday, an empty threat?

THE PRESIDENT: 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. So we'll just have to -- part of it depends upon -- 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.

It depends in part -- 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.

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?

THE PRESIDENT: 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 four 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 three years from these countries. We

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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.

PRIME MINISTER 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.

THE PRESIDENT: 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

MORE

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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.

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.

THE PRESS: Thank you very much.

END

1:19 P.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Brussels, Belgium)

For Immediate Release

January 11, 1994

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN STATEMENT WITH EU LEADERS

News Conference Theatre
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Brussels, Belgium

12:49 P.M. (L)

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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.

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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 Papandreu both made 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 democracies 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 are 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.

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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 have 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.

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 two years of shelling, bombing, slaughter?

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Well, keep in mind now the resolution was directed toward a specific set of circumstances. They reaffirmed -- 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 proceed 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.

Q Listening to what you said about growth and jobs and also defense of the environment and social rights, I'm

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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 no priority when we are tackling mass unemployment 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.

THE PRESIDENT: 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 policy 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 that 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.

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

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out, without delivering? At what point does it become, as you warned about yesterday, an empty threat?

THE PRESIDENT: 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. So we'll just have to -- part of it depends upon -- 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.

It depends in part -- 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.

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?

THE PRESIDENT: 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 four 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 three years from these countries. We

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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.

PRIME MINISTER 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.

THE PRESIDENT: 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

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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.

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 Papandreu 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.

THE PRESS: Thank you very much.

END

1:19 P.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Brussels, Belgium)

For Immediate Release

January 11, 1994

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN STATEMENT WITH EU LEADERS

News Conference Theatre
EU Headquarters
Brussels, Belgium

12:49 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: 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.

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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 made 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 democracies 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 are 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.

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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 have 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.

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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.

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 two years of shelling, bombing, slaughter?

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Well, keep in mind now the resolution was directed toward a specific set of circumstances. They reaffirmed -- 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 proceed 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.

Q Listening to what you said about growth and jobs and also defense of the environment and social rights, I'm

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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 no priority when we are tackling mass unemployment 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.

THE PRESIDENT: First of all, I think it is fair to say that President Delors and I share a lot of common ideas. Prime Minister Papandreu 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 policy 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 that 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.

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

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out, without delivering? At what point does it become, as you warned about yesterday, an empty threat?

THE PRESIDENT: 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. So we'll just have to -- part of it depends upon -- 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.

It depends in part -- 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.

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?

THE PRESIDENT: 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 four 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 three years from these countries. We

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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.

PRIME MINISTER 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.

THE PRESIDENT: 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

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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.

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 Papandreu 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.

THE PRESS: Thank you very much.

END

1:19 P.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

January 10, 1994

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

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate ReleaseJanuary 10, 1994

Taken Questions on Ukraine Nuclear Issues

Q. Is there a time frame for the trilateral agreement on nuclear issues with Ukraine, Russia and the United States?

A. There are timing aspects of this agreement that cannot be discussed publicly at this point. As was stated earlier by an Administration official, at a minimum, under the agreement to be signed Friday, Ukraine would meet its START obligation within seven years.

Our concern about the nuclear situation in Ukraine, however, led us to insist on a shorter time frame for the dismantlement of Ukraine's most dangerous warheads. We will have additional information to provide on this aspect of the agreement after it is signed on Friday, January 14.

Q. Could you clarify the financial aspects of this agreement?

A. The estimated value of the highly-enriched uranium (HEU) in Ukrainian warheads is approximately \$1 billion. The compensation for this HEU under the agreement to be signed Friday will be in the form of fuel rods for Ukraine's civilian nuclear energy program.

On the basis of this compensation agreement with Ukraine, as well as Russia's commitments to share HEU proceeds with Kazakhstan and Belarus, the U.S. Enrichment Corporation will be able to sign a \$12 billion commercial contract with Russia.

The United States will also be providing, under the agreement to be signed Friday, up-front funds to Russia to get the compensation process immediately underway. There will be more details on this funding provided on Friday.

Q. Will Ukraine be receiving other assistance?

A. As previously announced, the United States is prepared to provide at least \$175 million to Ukraine in Nunn-Lugar assistance for the safe and secure dismantlement and destruction of nuclear weapons systems.

The United States is also prepared to provide \$155 million to Ukraine in economic assistance in fiscal year 1994. This amount could be doubled if Ukraine undertakes significant economic reforms.

Pool Report #11

POOL REPORT NATO HEADQUARTERS
January 10, 1994 4:30 p.m. local
(Delivery delayed)

BACKGROUNDER with senior White House official following NATO leaders signing Partnership for Peace

NATO CONSULTATIONS:

The official, speaking to the pool, said there were no disagreements among NATO leaders at the morning session about the Partnership for Peace or any of the other issues on the agenda.

The leaders subsequently signed the framework agreement for Partnership for Peace and issued the invitations to former Warsaw Pact, CIS and neutrals at a televised ceremony shortly before 4 p.m..

Seven of the 14 NATO leaders made sequential statements on the full range of business before NATO during the morning session -- including Bosnia, the official said. Although NATO summits allow leaders to challenge or discuss points made by their colleagues, there was no follow up discussion on any subject, the official said.

PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE: "

"The plan has been to sign today. I'll level with you and say there is a very heavy substantive agenda here and we thought if we could get one interesting story today and another tomorrow, it's as simple as that." (Today- Partners for Peace; tomorrow: summit declaration, Clinton news conference, Prague).

The official said there were no last minute refinements in the Partnership for Peace documents. "We came into this summit with no brackets (around words on which there is disagreement). As far as I know that's unique in NATO history," the official said. "And there's been a certain amount of joshing about how are we going to make this interesting when we have no disagreements. But believe me it's very happy joshing."

"There were no disagreements or important differences on the nuances (on partnership for peace). Everyone said how wonderful the partnership is and what a great idea," the official said. Leaders emphasized that "we absolutely have to be sensitive to the sense of the Central European countries that they are in a gray area but also the sense of the countries to the south of that and to the east of that not to be on the wrong side of a new dividing line."

The official said joint military exercises involving unnamed Eastern European nations are expected this year, possibly by spring.

The official said the U.S. does not expect Eastern European leaders to sign any NATO partnership documents during Clinton's visit to Prague on Wednesday. Leaders will need to consult political leaders in their respective countries. Some leaders might announce their intention to join. "They could sign the framework agreement anytime they like," the official said. The official suggested that Eastern European leaders have "all wanted to see the fine print" before seeking partnership status. The official said the process would require presentation of signed framework agreements to NATO in response to the

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invitations being issued today. The official said the U.S. hopes Russia will join but gave no indication whether Moscow's application is expected during the visit to Russia.

"I am confident that President Clinton will be meeting with tomorrow and several others are going to want to be very early members in this. I don't have any doubt about that at all. But when they feel they can make a formal announcement (is unknown.) They certainly could announce that they plan to join if they want too. Technically I guess anything is possible but I have not heard any suggestion that he (Clinton) would take this framework document on behalf of NATO and go traveling with it."

CHALLENGE OF EXTENDING U.S. NUCLEAR GUARANTEES TO EASTERN EUROPE:

"The nuclear issue is not the issue that people raise. People raise the problem, various problems with NATO expansion, like the negative consequences, who would fear they would be on the wrong side of the new line. People do raise the question, 'Are we ready for new commitments?' It's interesting, I've never heard anyone raise the nuclear commitment. I've heard people talk about the conventional commitment, defense budgets, reaction of some countries if NATO soldiers were stationed closer to their borders, certainly the consequences for defense budgets. The fact that people who would like to be in NATO do not now have militaries that are compatible or capable of making a contribution. But it's a very interesting question. ...It's not to say that in some conversation I have been party to someone hasn't raised the nuclear issue. But no one has (raised it formally). People are thinking about how we would defend Eastern Europe with conventional means if necessary" once Eastern European nations become members.

"Actually anybody can be wrong. But my impression is that the Central Europeans themselves do not think they face an imminent Russian military threat. The Poles and others have, given their history, some reason, a lot of reason to worry about what might be the course of Russia over the future. But they don't come to us and say we need a NATO guarantee because we think there is a near or even medium Russian military threat.

"They say the perception of living in a security vacuum of the West not caring about us, being in a gray area, has a very negative impact on domestic politics, on whether we should cast our road with the West whether reform is worth the pain. All of these things are very very important but they are not worried about a near term Russian military attack on them which is not to say they're not worried about the longer term future."

BOSNIA:

The official acknowledged that several leaders raised the issue of Bosnia and the statement essentially will affirm previous NATO policy regarding air strikes. Clinton mentioned Bosnia toward the end of his remarks and no one challenged what he said, the official said.

"People have talked about Bosnia, yes and about what NATO already is doing, which is considerable, about the commitment NATO has made to implement a viable settlement on the conditions everybody knows about... and have talked about the air strike warning. But what they've been doing is agreeing that everything they've agreed in the past remains very much on the table," the official said.

Bob Rankin--Knight Ridder
Stewart Powell--Hearst Newspapers

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary
(Brussels, Belgium)

For Immediate Release

January 10, 1994

PRESS BRIEFING
BY
SECRETARY WARREN CHRISTOPHER

Conrad Hotel
Brussels, Belgium

7:35 P.M. EST

SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER: Good evening. The President has made a rather full statement. I'm here mainly to take your questions about the President's day. It was really an unusual day in which he achieved two very important diplomatic breakthroughs that, in my judgment, will increase the security of the United States and the security of the world as a whole.

Before taking your questions I want to make just a few remarks. They will be very brief because I want to be very careful not to put any of you to sleep. (Laughter.)

By adopting the Partnership For Peace NATO took an historic step; I think, clearly, one of the most NATO meetings perhaps in all the history of NATO. By its action today, NATO almost instantaneously became relevant in the post-Cold War world.

This was a United States' initiative which we have been working on all year, and it was endorsed unanimously and enthusiastically by all the members of NATO.

The second breakthrough today was the announcement by the President which you've just heard, the trilateral agreement between Russia, Ukraine and the United States. The significance of this agreement, I think, is you really have to let it sink in on you. This agreement means that it will eliminate over time 175 intercontinental ballistic missiles with about 1,500 warheads that have been pointed, targeted at the United States up to this time. Clearly, one of the most important nonproliferation steps that have been taken in years.

I'd point to the symbolic significance of these two steps. They're, in a way, two sides of a coin. The Ukraine step is reflective of the end of the Cold War. It's clearing up some the remnants of the Cold War and the nuclear danger that we confronted for such a long time.

On the other hand, the step taken in NATO today is the beginning of a new era with NATO looking to incorporate over time in a process the emerging democracies to the East. There are two other major initiatives today, both U.S. initiatives -- the Combined Joint Task Forces, which will allow NATO to adapt to the new world by permitting NATO forces to be used in other structures with European countries' forces.

The other initiative is an initiative to place nonproliferation at the core of the NATO effort, a very important new initiative to make NATO relevant in this post-Cold War period.

I just say in conclusion that sitting there in the room today, one could see and feel the reemergence of U.S. leadership in this post-Cold War period. This was President

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Clinton's summit. He called the summit. He developed the three initiatives, which were enthusiastically and unanimously endorsed. And I believe, in the judgment of those in the room, he made the strongest most powerful statement today. So it was a good day for President Clinton.

And I'd be glad to respond to any questions that you might have.

Q Mr. Secretary, the President essentially said Mr. Kravchuk -- worrying about the Ukrainian Parliament -- is a man of his word. But you and your predecessor both had some unhappy experiences with the Parliament not following through. Why should we assume that this time the Parliament, which is so divided and has so many parties, will indeed ratify the agreement?

SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER: Well, I don't want to pose as an expert on Ukrainian politics. We have -- we will have the solemn undertaking of the government of Ukraine. But I say that they are very strong incentives for Ukraine to proceed with this. First, they'll receive security guarantees. Second, they'll receive a very substantial amount of Nunn-Lugar funds for the dismantlement of these nuclear weapons. And third, they stand to receive a very substantial amount of compensation for the highly enriched uranium.

In the present stringent conditions in Ukraine, I would think that would be a major incentive, but we'll have to let that work its way out. We have the commitment from President Kravchuk, and we're going to take that and we're going to also recognize, as I say, these three strong reasons why this agreement is in the interest of Ukraine as well as in the interest of the United States and Russia.

Q Sir, is it your understanding that he actually has to get it through the Parliament or will he be able to take his own executive action?

SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER: The latter. My understanding is he can do this by executive action.

Q Mr. Secretary, could you please tell us a little bit more about what went on in the meeting? You say that the President reasserted U.S. leadership. Most of what we saw here, at least what we got from the remarks of the President, had to do with Bosnia, and yet the President came out here and said, well, there still seems to be a lot of disagreement, we have to meet more on that. What is going on in Bosnia right now, and where do you think this is going to go?

SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER: Well, the President's statement today was by no means devoted to Bosnia. Most of it was devoted to the Partnership For Peace and the Combined Joint Task Forces and the new look of NATO to the East. He added the provisions, or the paragraphs, on Bosnia. But he delivered the entire statement with a good deal of power and force, and I think all of his NATO colleagues were struck by how much force he brought to his statement today. I think it was that that left the strong impression on the room.

With respect to Bosnia, it was a reaffirmation of the August 9th statement, but under circumstances where you could just feel the President's force behind it. I think it impressed those in the room. It was a serious statement by a serious Alliance. They're going to be discussing it further tonight, but I think that's the main significance, that the President made a special point of reaffirming the events of the decision taken on August 9th. And as you've no doubt seen from the transcript, he was very pointed in saying members of NATO should not endorse this declaration, should not approve the declaration unless they mean what it says; unless they intend to carry out the August 9th

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resolution. And the significance of the statement to that end was certainly not lost on the members of NATO.

Q And some didn't. And some didn't. So how forceful could he have been?

SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER: Well, I just have some question about your facts. The discussions are ongoing. They're going to be discussing it tonight. It was discussed around the room, but they all -- they've all unanimously endorsed the declaration which contains the paragraph that the President called attention to.

Let me clarify that. The President called attention to the sentences in the declaration that are a reaffirmation of the August 2nd and August 9th action of NATO. And he told the members of NATO they shouldn't reaffirm that unless they were serious. So the most I can say about the Bosnia situation tonight is it was a serious statement by a very serious Alliance.

Q Can you tell us about his conversation with President Mitterrand and whether they are now in agreement on Bosnia?

SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER: President Mitterrand made a statement before President Clinton made his statement. I was not in the bilateral between President Mitterrand and President Clinton today. I had something else that I needed to do at that moment, so I can't tell you the sense of that bilateral. But my understanding is that it's an ongoing discussion which will be continued tonight.

Secretary General Woerner very explicitly said he was reserving tonight for a discussion of key topics they didn't have time to get to today, particularly Russia and Bosnia.

Q Mr. Secretary, on the Ukraine agreement, what is the timetable for dismantling there? Is there a deadline, specific, precise deadline in that agreement? And secondly, what are the security guarantees? Do they go beyond what simply is implicit in the Nonproliferation Treaty?

SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER: With respect to the timing, I can't give you any more on that now. There may be something more by the time we get to Moscow, but I don't have anything more for that tonight.

And the security guarantees are fairly technical stuff, but they are those contained in the CSCE Charter, and they basically indicate that -- and also the Nonproliferation Treaty -- that nuclear states such as the United States and Russia will not use their nuclear arsenals against countries that give up their nuclear weapons.

Q Mr. Secretary, is the United States now a guarantor of the borders of Ukraine?

SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER: The security guarantees do relate to that subject and provide assurance in that connection.

Q Mr. Secretary, isn't this agreement meaningless without a time frame? It could take the Ukraine 10 years, 15 years, 40 years unless you tell us a set period of time about over which they --

SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER: I didn't say there as no time frame. I simply said that I was not able to give you anything on that tonight. And I might --

Q -- determines its strength, does it not? If it's a small period of time as compared to --

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SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER: I would agree with you the time frame is important, but that doesn't mean that I can give you the specifics on it tonight.

Q Mr. Secretary, can you be more specific about the assurances in connection with guaranteeing Ukraine's borders? You said that there were assurances in the language. Can you specify?

SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER: There will be a backgrounder after I finish here, and you get more detailed information on that subject at that time.

Q Mr. Secretary, do you have an understanding from President Kravchuk that he has assurances from his parliamentary leadership that he won't be overridden on this agreement?

SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER: No, we only have the assurances of the government of Ukraine at the present time. And it's an action that we're told can be taken by the executive branch of the Ukrainian government. As I say, I do not want to pose as an expert on Ukrainian government structure.

Q Mr. Secretary, at any point will the United States provide nuclear fuel for reactors in the Ukraine? And if so, would any of that -- could any of that be used at Chernobyl?

SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER: Well, the United States will not be providing them nuclear fuel. It will come from the work that's going to be done in Russia. With respect to Chernobyl, the United States is working with Ukraine to try to upgrade the quality of their nuclear reactors, to get rid of or improve the dangerous old reactors, let me just say, I hope it won't be used in such reactors, but that really depends upon our capacity to be effective with them in working with them to improve the effectiveness and quality of their reactors.

Q So there will be no interim supplies from the United States?

SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER: No, the United States' role in this -- and you'll hear more about this from some of the people that follow me -- the United States is basically providing facilitation in the form of financing.

Q On the Partnership For Peace, one more question. Since this agreement was signed today, have you been in touch personally with the leaders of any of the Visegrad republics, and what was their response, and are they all now on board on this?

SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER: Rita, I've had a busy day, and I haven't been in touch with anybody before coming over here. My present understanding is that Slovakia and Hungary are committed to joint the Partnership For Peace. And I believe there is a statement issued by Poland today along the same lines.

I've got confidence that by the time we leave Prague all the members of the Visegrad countries will have signed up. And I think a great many other countries will promptly sign up. But it will depend upon their own governmental processes. But the expressions of interest coming from Central and Eastern Europe, as well as the new independent states, indicate a very high degree of acceptance.

Thank you very much.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

7:47 P.M. (L)

January 9, 1994

Pool Report #4

Brussels -

Grand Place post-speech; Motorcade stop at Cafe & American Community Event

Enroute the hotel from the Grand Place, the president made an "unscheduled" stop at a small cafe on Rue Sablon. A full transcript of his remarks is being prepared by the White House, with comments on the possibility of going to Kiev and the muted reception to his speech tonight.

So while you wait for the substance, here is a heavy dose of color, starting with his emergence on Grand Place following the speech. Accompanied by the prime minister on his left, the president was greeted with a lively rendition of "Rhapsody in Blue," whose first burst both surprised and clearly pleased the First Visitor. As soon as he walked onto the fringe of the square and heard the music, he smiled broadly and, pausing briefly, reached out both his hands, lifting his arms toward the skies in apparent gratitude as if to say, all this is for me? One fashion note: despite the cold, he was without overcoat. The prime minister, displaying customary Belgian common sense, was more appropriately bundled up.

As soon as he hit the square, he veered to his right and took to the ropelines as if it were New Hampshire in a primary year. Carefully laid plans to have the prime minister point out the Star of Brussels imbedded in the pavement (from which, we are told, all distances in Brussels are measured) went out the window and the handshaking commenced. Little could be heard from the crowd beyond squeals of delight and applause, as the president was bathed in the light from multiple flashbulbs. This went on for about 20 minutes from one end of the ropeline to the other before the business of a planned interview with Ted Koppel intervened. The interview -- which your pool could not hear -- was brief. It was conducted near a lonely small Christmas tree at the edge of the square. Before leaving, Andy Friendly brought an elderly Clinton fan to the president. The woman Madeleine Helinck was clutching a copy of a European magazine (sorry, didn't get the name) with the president's face on the cover. Could not hear the conversation -- which we think was conducted in French on her side and Arkansan on his -- but she was thrilled.

The motorcade then left, but did not, as scheduled, return directly to the hotel. Apparently unable to tolerate being ahead of schedule -- believed to be a first in this administration -- the president stopped off for a cup of coffee and a little chat with some surprised Belgians previously minding their own business at a little cafe called "Au Vieux Saint Martin." Before entering the restaurant, the president was clearly pleased when he was greeted with adulation by Claire Mulasi, 29, a native of Zaire, who had run over to the restaurant from the square. "I love you," she shouted. He beamed and waved. Later, interviewed

by your crack poolers, she explained why she had waited in the square since 2 p.m. to catch a glimpse of the president and why she had pledged her love to him. "I adore him; I adore him. It's my life."

Dee Dee Myers suggested the restaurant had been picked after the president had told staff that he remembered the neighborhood fondly from an earlier trip, probably his first visit here as a student -- did Bob Dornan know about this in the campaign? -- and wanted to stop by to see real people. The outside of the restaurant had a green and white awning and a sign that said "Appartment a louer." Never has a single handbill been so successful in gaining worldwide media attention. Inside, there were ceiling fans awirling and Belgian hearts aflutter. Not to even mention the pommes frites sent ascattering by the media/security/staff horde that invaded the premises. Modern art was on the walls and distinctly traditional decorations were added for the holidays: Hanging from the ceiling was an army of little Santa Clauses, with one dangling directly above the president when he sat down at a front table for a small cup of decaf. (According to the menu, the cup cost 95 francs. According to Chad, the president pulled money from his pocket and offered to pay but was spurned.)

A woman sitting by the door, Benedict Dautricourt, professed both shock and pleasure at the visit, which she insisted was a complete surprise to all the diners. "I was just eating," she said. "And there he was, the president. I like his job. I like him." After stopping at what appeared to be all the tables, the president sat down for his coffee and a brief chat with two men and three women at a front table. The conversation expanded to include people at nearby tables and could not be heard except in snatches by your pool. One revealing vignette occurred when a woman asked him "What do you think about decaffeinated?" Lifting his cup jovially, he sipped, thought and responded, "Very nice." Then a man, in very broken English, told him: "I love your country. It's not because you're president. But I love your country. You don't know me." At that, the president stood up, said his goodbyes and made his way out to the sidewalk where his remarks to the pool were made.

One trip note: Dee Dee Myers said of the president's condition, "The president slept five and a half hours on the plane. He's tired, but he's cranking." (She later urged the pool to make sure everybody knows she said cranking, not some other word that may sound the same and end in y.)

Back at the hotel, he was greeted by about 300 at the American diplomatic community event here in the hotel. You heard his remarks and many of you, peering into forbidden pool territory from the windows outside the filing center, saw the event. What you may not have seen is the water cascading and then dripping off the lectern throughout the speech. Shortly after bounding on stage, our cranking -- and clearly not jet-lagged -- president

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The American community event ended on a musical note, though one far less stirring than the earlier Rhapsody in Blue. After the speech, the mayor of a nearby town which was the home of Adolphe Sax, gave the president a shiny "instrument of sax." For his part, the Arkansas hornblower took the instrument reverently and tried to read the inscription. He got as far as "Adolphe Sax, 1814-94, to Bill Clinton, President of the United States," before breaking off his reading to confess, "it says something else but my glasses are not here." Moments later, the president left the stage to widespread chants of "Play, play!" No such luck, just ten minutes of handshaking and a departure for the night.

(3)

George Condon, Copley News
Walter Shapiro, Esquire

Pool #8

The Sumo Pool Report -- a bonus
January 10, 1994

President Clinton apparently had sumo on his mind as he greeted various leaders before NATO's opening session. Clinton gave not one, but at least two allies a not-so-instant replay of his TV viewing habits last night. It turns out the prez knows a few factoids about the sport.

The pool TV tape was hard to hear, but some highlights as Clinton worked his way around the conference table:

Clinton told British PM John Major how he'd watched sumo wrestling last night on TV.

He told Major the average length of a sumo match is "like 7 seconds," but he had seen one that lasted a minute. "It is sort of an art," he said.

" . . . There is no one my size . . . can't do it unless you weigh about 280. They had a guy last night who weighed over 500 pounds. He was defeated. He was too slow."

The subject came up again when Clinton chatted with German Chancellor Helmut Kohl. "I was thinking of you last night Helmut because I watched the sumo wrestling on television."

With animated gestures, Clinton told him, "You and I are the biggest people here and we are still a whole 100 pounds too light. We are too small."

Other snippets of conversation: He admired the pipe sitting on the Italians' desk and said he used to smoke one until his allergies caused him to stop.

At the Icelandic desk he told how he used to always fly through Reykjavik as a student.

He thanked the Belgians "for last night" and they complimented him for knowing a good place to go (the cafe). He was asked by one if he'd had a real Belgian beer. Clinton said "no, but tonight." Last night he said he had had no sleep and was "afraid I'd fall over in public" and cause an incident. He joked that he'd go home and everyone would say "you embarrassed us in Brussels."

--Kathy Lewis

Dallas Morning News

Pool Report #10
January 10, 1994
Doorway at NATO

News: Clinton signing Partnership for Peace at NATO HQ. Audio feed to Briefing Room.

Clinton arrived at 3:11 p.m. and was asked as he entered the NATO Headquarters "What message are you sending to the Serbs?" He ignored the question. He was also asked "are you stopping in Kiev?" Without breaking stride, smiling as he walked, he said "good question." Two minutes later Warren Christopher arrived. Asked the same questions he strode through the lobby; Christopher did not answer. He waved. He did not smile, but his frown eased. He was fully awake.

Bob Rankin--Knight-Ridder
Stewart Powell--Hearst

January 10, 1994
Pool Report #7

Family Photo at NATO and Morning Jog

Things got off to a slow start at NATO. Although the POTUS was prompt, Mitterrand was late, as is his custom. His motorcade arrived at the front door just before 10 a.m. for an opening session scheduled to begin at 9:45.

Your pool was escorted into the large hallway just inside the main entrance for the leaders' photo. Most of the leaders came in as a group at 10:25 and positioned themselves according to pre-arranged order in two rows. All men except for the prime ministers of Turkey and Norway. President Clinton was on the front row between Sec. General Woerner and Prime Minister Major. Mitterrand was the straggler again, coming in last and solemnly taking his front row post on the other side of Woerner (being as Mitterrand is the senior leader at the summit).

Clinton was very animated, chatting with summit partners, with his back to Major until Andrea began asking about Bosnia. The POTUS then quipped: "Ask John (Major) a question, Andrea. He's lonesome."

Andrea complied: "Are you now going to agree to air strikes?" she asked. Clinton immediately tried to take back his suggestion. "No. Don't ask John a question," he said, laughing. Major didn't say anything audible to your pool. So Andrea tried the question on Woerner, who ignored it. The leaders filed out after about three minutes of posing.

Dee Dee said afterwards that there was nothing new to report on a possible trip to Kiev.

One other item: Outside the entrance, Woerner was asked questions and here is a transcript of what was audible:

Asked if NATO will reach an agreement on air strikes in Bosnia, Woerner said: "I think we will reach an agreement about possibly everything. It will be a successful summit." Asked if it will be a hard sell for the president, Woerner said: "I don't think (so?) He made a brilliant speech yesterday."

Earlier, the president took a pre-dawn jog. At about 6:30 he motorcaded a few minutes to the Bois de la Cambre park and ran twice around the lake. He was accompanied by a battalion of motor cycle cops and the usual complement of Secret Service joggers. He declined to answer questions, waving at the pool and saying only "Good morning" as he passed us by. (But it was lots of fun anyway.)

Julia Malone
Cox Newspapers

POOL REPORT #9

NATO Nabobs' Pix with Koning

January 10, 1993

After sitting for an incredibly long time on a crowded bus, in which we were bombarded by Euro-trash radio music and the smoke of cigarette-sucking colleagues of various former Imperial Powers, your pool was admitted to the front hall at the Laeken where we saw 17 white guys have their picture taken. Also in the shot were PM Ciller, who at Herr Kohl's urging abandoned her spot on the back row and moved up front, and PM Brundtland, who was on the second row and could barely be seen between Clinton and Kohl, who made no effort to relocate or get out of the way of his Norwegian colleague who was radiant in red.

The Leader of the Free World was to the immediate left of the King of the Belgians, who was in the center of the front row. Frankie was to Albert's right. (France, with it's divided government, claimed two spots. PM Balladur was way on the back row, to the far right.)

For summit devotees, Mitterrand looked virtually alive -- grayer than Tokyo but not as yellow as Venice and about as blue as Bonn, Washington and Martinique. He was, it goes without saying, late.

The leaders wandered into the front hall from a side chamber, chatting jovially as they located their pre-marked spots on the white marble floor and two steps. After several minutes of flashing strobes, the leaders passed into an adjoining chamber (it looked round and colonnaded) for lunch.

There was no audible sound, only amenable mutterings and meaningless gesticulations.

Cragg Hines
Houston Chronicle

Pool #6

Jan. 10, 1994

Clinton Arrival at NATO Headquarters and Photo Op of Meeting
With Secretary General Manfred Woerner, Opening Session

Secretary General Manfred Woerner was the early bird, arriving
around 7:30 a.m.

As the time approached for Clinton's arrival, Woerner took his
place in the entrance way -- only to discover the President was
still five minutes out. He asked the pool, "How is the mood?"
and noted that there were fewer of us than he'd expected.

It was still dark when the headlights to Clinton's motorcade
could be seen pulling into NATO. The President was about five or
six minutes late. He declined to answer the pool's questions
about whether there had been any progress on Ukraine.

Inside the President worked a ropeline, shaking hands with those
lining the hallway.

We entered Woerner's office from the wrong door (Clinton's back
was to us), so there was some confusion. But everyone in the
room was laughing and Clinton could be heard saying, "he hasn't
had any sleep." He then asked, "When did we finish our rally
last night?" Someone responded, "quite late." Woerner then
asked Clinton if he "went all around Brussels" and Clinton told
him no and described his evening agenda -- saying he'd invited
people who worked with NATO, the European Union, the embassy and
their children to the hotel.

When the pool started asking about Ukraine again, a NATO aide
interrupted, "This is a photo opportunity, please. This is a
photo opportunity." Clinton gave a thumbs up and quipped, "
Good for you. How would you like a job in the White House? Have
we got a seat on the plane for that man?"

Christopher was seated on the couch with the President.

German Chancellor Helmut Kohl was among the first to arrive for
the opening session in NATO's large two-story brown and cream
conference room. He promptly went over to shake hands with the
Turkish Prime Minister Tansa Ciller. British Prime Minister John
Major walked up and the threesome posed for photographers.

Clinton entered the room around 9:53 a.m. and slowly but surely
worked his way around the long oval shaped table -- greeting
aides as well as heads of government. Clinton and Major were all
smiles, joking about something.

Several German aides introduced themselves to Clinton. With a
hearty laugh, Kohl turned to Clinton and (according to a local
pooler with very good ears) said in English, "And I am the German
Chancellor."

French President Francois Mitterrand entered the room at 10:03
a.m. The leaders finally took their seats. Clinton put on his
glasses and with a smile and wave signaled it was time for the TV
camera and stills that had been sticking with him to leave.

The room is rather plain with the colorful flags of the NATO
nations (behind the head of the table) contrasting with the
room's neutral tones. FYI: Clinton wore a dark gray suit, white
shirt and olive green tie.

Woerner's remarks were piped into the filing center. The session
ended at 10:21 a.m. as the leaders headed out for the family
portrait.

I will try to get sound of Clinton's walk about from the TV pool.

Kathy Lewis
Dallas Morning News

POOL REPORT #5

**Briefing by U.S. Military Leaders at NATO
January 10, 1994**

Shortly before 9:00 am, we were ushered into Annex E at NATO Headquarters, where POTUS was being briefed by U.S. military commanders. POTUS was sitting at a rectangular table between Admiral Paul David Miller, Commander in Chief of the Atlantic Command, and General George Joulwan, Supreme Allied Commander, Europe. When we arrived, POTUS was being briefed Joulwan, who was pointing to a map and explaining the scope of his duties as Supreme Allied Commander.

The pool asked about Bosnia: "Mr. President, can you tell us why the United States is opposing air strikes in the former Yugoslavia now that the allies are formally requesting it?" Clinton responded: "That's not accurate. That is not accurate. We've had no conversations." Asked what is accurate, POTUS said, "this is not a press conference."

As White House press aides struggled to get us out of the room, POTUS remarked to Jeremy et al that the NATO press staff, which had escorted the previous pool to the meeting between POTUS and NATO Secretary General Woerner, was more iron-fisted than the White House staff. "You guys are not nearly as good as the guys in the last one," he joked.

Also in the room: a half-dozen U.S. military officials and Administration officials, including General Robert Oaks, Commander U.S. Air Force, Europe, Admiral Mike Boorda, Commander U.S. Naval Forces, Europe, General Maddox, Commander, U.S. Army, Europe, Anthony Lake, Leon Fuerth, Frank Wisner, Mack McLarty, NATO Ambassador Bob Hunter, NSC official Jenonne Walker, and Warren Christopher, who was awake.

Bob Cohn, Newsweek
Julia Malone, Cox

January 9, 1994

Pool Report #4

Brussels -

Grand Place post-speech; Motorcade stop at Cafe & American Community Event

Enroute the hotel from the Grand Place, the president made an "unscheduled" stop at a small cafe on Rue Sablon. A full transcript of his remarks is being prepared by the White House, with comments on the possibility of going to Kiev and the muted reception to his speech tonight.

So while you wait for the substance, here is a heavy dose of color, starting with his emergence on Grand Place following the speech. Accompanied by the prime minister on his left, the president was greeted with a lively rendition of "Rhapsody in Blue," whose first burst both surprised and clearly pleased the First Visitor. As soon as he walked onto the fringe of the square and heard the music, he smiled broadly and, pausing briefly, reached out both his hands, lifting his arms toward the skies in apparent gratitude as if to say, all this is for me? One fashion note: despite the cold, he was without overcoat. The prime minister, displaying customary Belgian common sense, was more appropriately bundled up.

As soon as he hit the square, he veered to his right and took to the ropelines as if it were New Hampshire in a primary year. Carefully laid plans to have the prime minister point out the Star of Brussels imbedded in the pavement (from which, we are told, all distances in Brussels are measured) went out the window and the handshaking commenced. Little could be heard from the crowd beyond squeals of delight and applause, as the president was bathed in the light from multiple flashbulbs. This went on for about 20 minutes from one end of the ropeline to the other before the business of a planned interview with Ted Koppel intervened. The interview -- which your pool could not hear -- was brief. It was conducted near a lonely small Christmas tree at the edge of the square. Before leaving, Andy Friendly brought an elderly Clinton fan to the president. The woman Madeleine Helinck was clutching a copy of a European magazine (sorry, didn't get the name) with the president's face on the cover. Could not hear the conversation -- which we think was conducted in French on her side and Arkansan on his -- but she was thrilled.

The motorcade then left, but did not, as scheduled, return directly to the hotel. Apparently unable to tolerate being ahead of schedule -- believed to be a first in this administration -- the president stopped off for a cup of coffee and a little chat with some surprised Belgians previously minding their own business at a little cafe called "Au Vieux Saint Martin." Before entering the restaurant, the president was clearly pleased when he was greeted with adulation by Claire Mulasi, 29, a native of Zaire, who had run over to the restaurant from the square. "I love you," she shouted. He beamed and waved. Later, interviewed

by your crack poolers, she explained why she had waited in the square since 2 p.m. to catch a glimpse of the president and why she had pledged her love to him. "I adore him; I adore him. It's my life."

Dee Dee Myers suggested the restaurant had been picked after the president had told staff that he remembered the neighborhood fondly from an earlier trip, probably his first visit here as a student -- did Bob Dornan know about this in the campaign? -- and wanted to stop by to see real people. The outside of the restaurant had a green and white awning and a sign that said "Appartement a louer." Never has a single handbill been so successful in gaining worldwide media attention. Inside, there were ceiling fans awirling and Belgian hearts aflutter. Not to even mention the pommes frites sent as scattering by the media/security/staff horde that invaded the premises. Modern art was on the walls and distinctly traditional decorations were added for the holidays: Hanging from the ceiling was an army of little Santa Clauses, with one dangling directly above the president when he sat down at a front table for a small cup of decaf. (According to the menu, the cup cost 95 francs. According to Chad, the president pulled money from his pocket and offered to pay but was spurned.)

A woman sitting by the door, Benedict Dautricourt, professed both shock and pleasure at the visit, which she insisted was a complete surprise to all the diners. "I was just eating," she said. "And there he was, the president. I like his job. I like him." After stopping at what appeared to be all the tables, the president sat down for his coffee and a brief chat with two men and three women at a front table. The conversation expanded to include people at nearby tables and could not be heard except in snatches by your pool. One revealing vignette occurred when a woman asked him "What do you think about decaffeinated?" Lifting his cup jovially, he sipped, thought and responded, "Very nice." Then a man, in very broken English, told him: "I love your country. It's not because you're president. But I love your country. You don't know me." At that, the president stood up, said his goodbyes and made his way out to the sidewalk where his remarks to the pool were made.

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(3)

George Condon, Copley News
Walter Shapiro, Esquire

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release:

January 10, 1994

LETTER BY THE PRESIDENT REGARDING MR. MORTON HALPERIN

The following is a letter by the President accepting Morton Halperin's request that Mr. Halperin's name not be resubmitted for the position of Assistant Secretary of Defense for Democracy and Peacekeeping. Also attached is a letter by Mr. Halperin.

30-30-30

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Brussels

January 10, 1994

Mr. Morton H. Halperin
2101 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

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,

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Bill Clinton" with a stylized flourish at the end.

Morton H. Halperin
2101 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

January 10, 1994

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

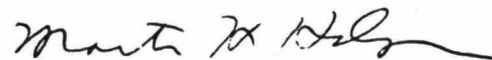
I write to respectfully request that you not resubmit my name in nomination for the position of Assistant Secretary of Defense for Democracy and Peacekeeping.

When my old friend Les Aspin told me that he wanted to recommend to you that I be nominated for an Assistant Secretary position in the Defense Department, I was pleased at the prospect of once again serving in the federal government. When you nominated me I was deeply honored.

At the same time, I believe that Cabinet officers should have the freedom to select their subordinates.

As I said at my confirmation hearing, I believe that there is no higher calling than to serve the nation, and I am at your disposal should you believe that I can be of assistance to you and your Administration.

Respectfully yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Morton H. Halperin", with a stylized flourish at the end.

Morton H. Halperin

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Brussels, Belgium)

BACKGROUND BRIEFING
BY
SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS

January 9, 1994

The Conrad Hotel
Brussels, Belgium

8:40 P.M. (L)

MR. GEARAN: The President arrived, having slept on Air Force One for five hours, to begin his day here. He arrived in Brussels, having spent time, as you know, in Arkansas, and has been then discussing with all of us informally the services that were held for his mother. Many of his friends from around the country, his college roommates, friends and colleagues from around the country came into Hot Springs for the services. And he greatly appreciates certainly the outpouring of sympathy that has been extended to him from across the country and, indeed, across the world.

His return here to Brussels -- as he mentioned, he was here initially as a Governor, and returned several times in the interim. In our stop before we arrived here, the impromptu stop -- he had been here in 1989 for the National Governors Association, leading a delegation of 10 governors -- had stayed in the area of the cafe that he went to and wanted to stop by for an impromptu cup of coffee.

Upon arrival, he met alone at Laeken Castle for nearly 30 minutes with King Albert II. According to Belgian protocol, all meetings with the King are held in strictest confidence and discussions are never divulged in public -- something we may want to continue when we return back to the States.

The bilateral meeting that he had was attended by Secretary Christopher; the Chief of Staff Mack McLarty; and Tony Lake, the National Security Advisor. They discussed the Partnership For Peace, the combined joint task force, the European economic integration in Zaire. The President and the Prime Minister then met separately for 15 minutes or so, although the topics they discussed were generally the same.

The President was able to rest for a couple of hours this afternoon before reviewing his speech that he reviewed with Tony Lake and others. And I think he would believe that after another good night's sleep this evening he is anxious to join the NATO meetings with our other 16 allies tomorrow.

We will now get right into both tomorrow and an overview of today's events with my colleague.

Q Is this on the record?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: No, this is, once again, your friendly Senior Administration Official.

Q Why?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Because that's the only name I know to answer to after all these months.

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If you -- maybe another -- Helen, for you another ground rule also, which is that if you agree with what I say and think it makes sense, that's what the President believes; and if you don't agree with what I say, it's sleep deficit and you can throw it away.

Let me say something first very -- I'll be very brief -- about the speech. It was laying out not only a preview of the NATO Summit, but the general theme for the trip as a whole. And that is a vision of a new security in Europe. This is a moment of extraordinary strategic challenge and opportunity. And as the President said, he believes we need to move towards a new security in Europe.

As he said, the old security was based on a defense of our bloc against their bloc. The new security seeks the military and economic and democratic integration of all Europe. And the speech laid out in those three areas practical ways to work towards that integration.

Let me pick up a bit of an argument I was having with a friend afterwards. It is much easier to achieve a consensus about the old security than it is about the new security. It's much easier to summon people to the ramparts against a clear central danger, as during the Cold War, than it is to lead them down the avenues of integration, as must be done in the post-Cold War era. But the President will try, and he has laid out a vision for doing so.

It's really wrong, also, it seems to me, to speak only of this as a time of opportunities, because if we fail to pursue that vision of integration, then we will face very real new dangers in Europe over the coming years. A Europe that is redivided and insecure, a Europe that has failed to seize the economic opportunities before it, and a Europe in which the democratic tide to the East has started to ebb rather than flow. So you will hear repeatedly the President call on the Europeans and on Americans and on our friends to the East to pursue this vision of integration.

As in the Partnership For Peace, we will be preparing for dangers while we try to seize opportunities. Or, to paraphrase the President, we must prepare for the worst to try to build for the best.

Let me say something very quickly about the schedule for tomorrow and the issues that will be discussed, and then my colleague will talk about the economic side and the prospects for economic growth and integration.

Tomorrow's events will begin with a meeting between the President and NATO Secretary General Woerner. He will then meet with our military commanders in Europe. And then the formal proceedings of the NATO summit will begin. There will be three working sessions at NATO headquarters Monday morning, Monday afternoon and again on Tuesday morning. And there will be two more informal discussions that will take place during lunch and again over dinner. And at the end of the summit on Tuesday morning, then the President will hold a press conference at NATO Headquarters.

During the course of the discussions -- and I've talked to many of you about the substance of this at length, and I won't repeat it here -- but the general issues that will be raised all as a part of trying to adapt NATO to the new strategic landscape in post-Cold War Europe will be, first of all, to launch the Partnership For Peace -- and we can talk about that a little bit more later if you wish -- secondly, to take steps within NATO to support the development of a European security and defense identity in a way that reaffirms NATO as the linchpin of current and future European security; third, through the creation of combined joint task forces to create more flexible military

MORE

- 3 -

structures for potential post-Cold War missions and to create, then finally, a new framework within NATO to help counter the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

My colleague is here -- and again, since you've heard me, many of you so often, on the Partnership now -- who could talk more about that as we get into your questions. But first, my colleague on economic opportunities before us.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Thank you. I think I'm older than you -- I get to be more senior than he does because I'm older. (Laughter.)

The President, of course --

Q Is this on background or on the record?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Oh, this is background. I think the same rules apply. It's just I was referring to my age. (Laughter.)

The President, on Tuesday, of course, meets with the leaders of the European Union. Much of that discussion -- certainly not all, but much of it will be on the economic issues we face, including trade. As you know, we worked together with the European Union to reach a market access agreement in Tokyo, and then, of course the successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round. But we had the implementation process coming, which is critical. It involves everything from market access in goods to market access in services.

Now I have an hour and a half on services. I know Bob Novak wanted me to do that tonight, and so I'm going to do that. You'll have to sit here and listen to every word I have to say about that. (Laughter.)

But that is part of the three -- the triad the President talked about tonight. It's political and it's military and it's economic. And they are mutually interdependent, and it's the way in which the President has talked about since his American University speech on February 26th of last year, how we're going to meet the third great challenge this century, which is in the post-Cold War world. It's not just economic or not just military or not just political, it's all three. And you heard that theme again tonight, which I think is not only visionary but also critically important.

It's not just the -- as my colleague said quite eloquently, not just the opportunities we have, it's all the responsibilities each of us have -- the United States taking the leadership, but also the European Community or Union, and the Japanese coming along with us to take their share of the responsibilities we meet this challenge of the post-Cold War world.

And so trade and economics obviously plays a vital part of this. The follow-up to the Uruguay Round is a critical part of that situation. And so his meetings on Tuesday with President Delors and others will help to push that forward.

Q How close is the U.S. to an agreement with Ukraine on the withdrawal of their nuclear weapons?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: We have made, over the recent weeks, a great deal of progress -- and, indeed, over the last few days. We are not quite there yet. This is a tremendously important issue for obvious reasons. And we want to be very careful that we do not allow ourselves to be driven by any artificial deadline into achieving less than the most complete and best agreement possible. And we will not do so.

MORE

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So as I said, I think we are almost there. There remains time to get it done, and we will have to see what happens.

Q And is it still a possibility it could be done to allow the initialing of some kind of agreement either in Moscow or in Kiev if the President stops --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: It's possible, but we will have to see how we go over the next day or so.

Q Are you waiting to hear back from them? Are you now in the position of waiting to hear back?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: It's, as you know, a three-way negotiation and messages are passing on all parts of the triangle.

Q Is a London report of a deal of we give \$12 billion and in return we get enriched uranium -- is that the way it's going?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Without my blackboard here, it's very hard to describe it, because there are -- when you look at the finances involved, there are different aspects to it -- some private money being paid for uranium; some government underwriting of the deal; some financial transactions between Russia and Ukraine. It's very complicated. And what I'd rather do is wait and see when and if we get a deal to talk you through it then.

Q How close is NATO to ordering air strikes in Bosnia?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: This is a very serious situation. The NATO warning against the strangulation of Sarajevo remains very real. We have been in touch with the Serbian government and other parties to encourage them to understand the seriousness of the situation. I don't anticipate that there would be any action within the next few days. But we have reminded the parties of the seriousness of the moment.

Q Is this a warning that you've given them in the past 24 hours?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: It's been an existing warning all along. And we are reminding them that that warning remains alive.

Q Has the U.S. made a judgment whether the Serbs have transgressed, have gone past the limits set forth by NATO in August? Has the U.S. come to a conclusion?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: If you look at the pattern of fighting around Sarajevo and of the artillery action against Sarajevo, it's tended to come in spikes -- increases and then diminishing again and then a lower period and then another spike. We have clearly, in the recent days, seen a number of those spikes. I would note that the situation there now is still not as grave as it was at the time of the warning. But we are watching to see if this is simply another spike or something worse.

Q Isn't that gamesmanship? I mean, how long does it go on? Every time you give a warning, they lower -- deescalate for a while.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Well, the other part of that is to proceed with efforts to encourage a settlement that can put an end to that pattern, and that the European Union is working on with our support. And I think you will see in the communique a strong, serious statement about Bosnia.

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Q With all due respect, why should they listen or respect any of these warnings? Why should a new warning from us or NATO have any relevance to the Serbian government, given the track record of the past few months?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Well, if you look at, again, as I just said, the pattern of behavior in the past, there has been a response when we have reminded them of the seriousness of the situation. I should also note that I believe, based on reports I just got, that the airfield in Sarajevo has now reopened.

Q As I understand it, as you well know, what happens is you issue a warning and then they stop and then the warning abates and they do it again. That's been going on, as your office has been telling us, for sometime. I understand that the French have specifically asked for air strikes, and that the Dutch Foreign Minister suggested air strikes, and that others in the Community -- in NATO -- have suggested air strikes and that the United States has been opposed. Is that true?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I'm not aware of a formal request by another government at the summit.

Q How about an informal one?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Informal also. I'm not aware of a request at the summit tomorrow to take such an action.

Q -- not have the summit and not in Brussels -- such requests were made?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Not that I'm aware of.

Q Under the U.N. agreement, could fuel rods supplied by the United States be used in Chernobyl? Under the Ukrainian -- any sort of Ukrainian deal?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Let me reserve that until we have any deal, if we do, to talk about.

Q Is this now a matter of President Kravchuk getting an agreement from his Parliament or parliamentary leaders -- is that all that's left that's left to do?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: No, I think this is issue among -- discussion among all three still. That would not be accurate.

Q When you say you expect no action over the next couple of days, does that mean you expect no decision by NATO on air strikes? Is that what you mean?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I don't want to rule out a decision, although I'm not aware of one that is about to be made because let's see what happens. A fair question.

Q Back to the Ukraine for just a moment. If you reach an agreement, does it have to go back to Parliament again? In other words, are you back in the same situation where you seem to have reached an agreement and Parliament can spike it again? What would an agreement need?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Again, let me save that for when and if we have an agreement. As you know, there are elections in late March, in fact, for a new Parliament in Ukraine. And we can talk about when it becomes, and if it becomes relevant.

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Okay? Good. Thanks very much.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

9:00 P.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary
(Brussels, Belgium)

For Immediate Release

January 9, 1994

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE TRAVEL POOL

Au Vieux Saint Martin Restaurant
Brussels, Belgium

Q Mr. President, how do you think your speech was received tonight?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, very well. I mean, you know, we consciously picked a very small room and the Europeans are normally much more polite when speeches are given like that. It was a serious speech. But a lot of the students came up to me afterwards and said that they were pleased to know that we were thinking about their future and that they found the ideas basically things they agreed with. I was very encouraged --

Q Mr. President, can you tell us about the Ukraine?

THE PRESIDENT: -- and then after I got out into the crowd in the Place there was much more sort of overt enthusiasm. And the Prime Minister and others were saying, you know, that's the way we are. We're restrained in speeches, but these people are glad to see you. Look at the Place.

Q What can you tell us about the Ukraine, Mr. President? Do you think they're -- are you close to an agreement or do you have an agreement? Can Kravchuk sell it? Might we go to Kiev?

THE PRESIDENT: All I can tell you tonight is that we worked very, very hard to bring, all -- the three of us together -- and we've made a terrific amount of progress. And at least when I left to go to the speech I was not in a position to make an announcement.

Q But you think it might be possible that this could happen and that Kravchuk could sell it?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I don't want to -- presumably, Mr. Kravchuk wouldn't agree to anything he didn't think he could sell. I think -- I feel -- I'm proud of the work that's been done and I appreciate very much the attitude that Kravchuk and Yeltsin have brought to this whole endeavor. But I don't think I can say any more tonight. I don't even want to --

Q Do you think Eastern European countries are going to be reassured by the Partnership For Peace?

THE PRESIDENT: I hope so.

Q -- giving Russia veto?

THE PRESIDENT: I think they need to know this is not a question of veto power. But keep in mind there are certain responsibilities inherent in being in NATO, first of all, that NATO allies all remind each other of all the time. And what I said tonight I want to reemphasize. What I want to do is to leave open the possibility of creating the best possible future for Europe, where they all have the chance to be democracies, they all have a chance to be market economies, they all have a

MORE

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chance to respect one another's securities and to support it, and to do it in a way that also permits us to do the best we can if the best future is not open to us.

That's what the Partnership For Peace does. It's not giving anybody a veto on future NATO membership.

Q But what do you say to people who say that NATO isn't relevant if it can't guarantee the peace, let's say, in Bosnia?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, that was never the purpose of NATO. The purpose of NATO was to guarantee the peace and security of the countries that were member nations. And when the United States asked NATO to approve some actions in and around Bosnia, it was the first time we'd ever done anything out of the area of the NATO members themselves.

So we're working on this. It's not been established yet that anyone is capable of solving a civil war in another country. That's not been established yet.

Q -- air strikes will be discussed tomorrow? Air strikes possible tomorrow?

THE PRESIDENT: Good night, everybody.

END

January 4, 1994

LUNCHEON WITH COLUMNISTS

DATE: January 5, 1994
LOCATION: Old Family Dining Room
TIME: 12:30-1:45p
FROM: Mark Gearan

I. PURPOSE

The purpose for this luncheon is to accomplish two goals: First, to layout the themes for your speech in Milwaukee-- a speech intended to kick-off your trip to Europe; Second, to discuss your themes and objectives for each individual stop in Europe and explain how they blend together.

Before the G-7 Summit, you sat down with a similar group of reporters in this same forum. Many

II. BACKGROUND

TO BE FORWARDED BY NSC

III. PARTICIPANTS

Jim Hoagland	Washington Post
Meg Greenfield	Washington Post/Newsweek
EJ Dionne	Washington Post
William Safire	New York Times
Abe Rosenthal	New York Times
Al Hunt	Wall Street Journal
Clarence Page	Chicago Tribune
Michael Elliot	Newsweek
Michael Kramer	Time
Jack Nelson	Los Angeles Times
Tom Oliphant	Boston Globe
Chris Mathews	San Francisco Examiner
Gerogie Ann Geyer	Universal Press Syndicate
Mary McGrory	Washington Post
Margaret Warner	PBS
Walter Mears	AP
Richard Cohen	Washington Post
Gloria Borger	US News and World Report

IV. PRESS PLAN

On the record.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 4, 1994

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines,

September 11, 2006

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

By AD3 NARA, Date 2/19/19
2017-0413-F

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE 

SUBJECT: Your Dinner with Outside Experts to Discuss
European Security, Tuesday, January 4, 1993,
7:30 pm.

We have invited eight of the country's leading experts on Europe and the former Soviet Union to attend tonight's dinner and help you prepare for your upcoming trip to Europe. The gathering provides an opportunity for you to discuss the momentous changes taking place in Europe, to refine the key objectives and themes of the trip and to deepen your understanding of the challenges and opportunities that you will confront during your first visit to Europe as President.

Guest List

The guests and their areas of expertise are as follows:

Michael Beschloss -- author and historian; specialist on Russia; co-authored (with Strobe Talbott) At the Highest Levels, an account of the end of the Cold War.

Stanley Fischer -- professor of economics at MIT; leading scholar on the Russian economy.

Robert Hormats -- international economist at Goldman Sachs; specialist in trade and U.S.-European commerce.

Charles Maier -- professor of history at Harvard; specializes in modern European history; has drawn lessons from the 1930s for today's effort to promote stability in Europe's east.

Michael Mandelbaum -- professor of political science at Johns Hopkins School of Advanced Study; specializes in U.S. foreign policy and Russia; focuses on security policy.

Condoleezza Rice -- provost of Stanford University; specialist in Russia and Central and Eastern Europe; focus on military affairs; served on the NSC staff during the Bush Administration.

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Declassify on: OADR

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

James Schlesinger -- Secretary of Defense and Director of Central Intelligence during the Ford Administration; Secretary of Energy during the Carter Administration; currently at the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

Steven Sestanovich -- based at the Center for Strategic and International Studies; leading scholar on Russia and the former Soviet Union.

Agenda and Format

We recommend that you begin the dinner with several minutes of welcoming remarks that serve to set the agenda and the format for the event. You should emphasize that you see this period as a defining moment in European history. You should lay out the strategic choices that hang in the balance: Russia's future and that of other NIS states, the integration of Central and East European democracies into the West, NATO's relevance to Europe's new security challenges, global denuclearization and U.S. relations with an evolving European Union. You should underscore the unifying theme of the trip -- the challenge of integrating Europe's east into the community of market democracies. Talking points are attached.

After framing the discussion, you could lay out the following format. You could begin by asking Mandelbaum, Sestanovich and Hormats to make brief (5-10 minute) presentations to start the discussion. Mandelbaum will focus on NATO and the task of integrating the new democracies into the West. Sestanovich will focus on Russia and developments in the NIS. Hormats will discuss trans-Atlantic trade and the challenge of integrating the new democracies into Western markets. You could then guide the general discussion among all the participants. The discussion should be divided into the following three sections to help provide focus: (1) overview of post-Cold War Europe; (2) integration of the new democracies; (3) Russia and the NIS. You could direct your questions to specific guests. Talking points and suggested respondents are attached.

Attachment

Tab A Talking Points

Tab A

TALKING POINTSIntroductory Remarks

- o I want to thank all of you for coming this evening. Some of you have braved a winter storm to attend. I am excited about my trip to Europe and am delighted that you have taken the time to share your thoughts with me.
- o I believe we are at a defining moment in European history. American leadership must play a major role in determining the strategic choices that hang in the balance: Russia's future and that of other NIS states, the integration of Central and East European democracies into the West, NATO's relevance to Europe's new security challenges, global denuclearization and U.S. relations with an evolving European Union.
- o The unifying theme of the trip is the challenge of integrating Europe's east into the community of market democracies. I want to reaffirm that the link between the U.S. and Western Europe remains at the core of global stability and welfare. But I also want to make clear that Americans and West Europeans must work together to capitalize on this historic opportunity to enlarge the community of market democracies.
- o I intend my trip to Europe to provide hope and confidence to those throughout the former communist bloc who are struggling to build democracy, markets and civil society. Equally important, I want to galvanize the Western community to action and ensure that we do not let this historic opportunity slip away.

Format

- o I would like to begin by asking Michael Mandelbaum, Steve Sestanovich [ses-TAN-o-vich] and Robert Hormats to make some brief introductory remarks. Michael will focus on NATO and the task of integrating the new democracies into the West. Steve will focus on Russia and developments in the NIS. Bob will discuss trans-Atlantic trade and the challenge of integrating the new democracies into Western markets.
- o I suggest that we then have a free-flowing conversation and focus our discussion on the following three areas: (1) overview of post-Cold War Europe; (2) integration of the new democracies; (3) Russia and the NIS.

Questions

I. Overview of post-Cold War Europe

- o An integrated, democratic Western Europe is a fundamental building block of our foreign policy in virtually every region of the world. Where is the process of integration in the European Union headed? Is there any chance that the process of integration will stall or be reversed? Without a Cold War threat, might Western Europe renationalize? What can the U.S. do to further European integration? (Maier, Hormats, Schlesinger)
- o The states of Europe's east -- and especially Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic -- have made tremendous strides along the path of reform. Is this process already irreversible in some areas? What are the key challenges that lie ahead in Central Europe, Russia, other regions of the NIS? As we look down the road, what are the key threats to democracy and stability? How can the U.S. best advance and consolidate democracy? (Rice, Beschloss, Fischer)
- o As I mentioned, I believe we are at a defining moment in Europe, comparable to 1815 (the end of the Napoleonic Wars), 1918 and 1945. We are building Europe anew. What historical lessons can we draw from these earlier periods about how to manage dramatic change in Europe? What do the 1930s tell us about how to prevent fledgling democracies from falling prey to economic turmoil and virulent nationalism. (Maier, Beschloss).

II. Integration of the new democracies

- o The key objective of the Partnership for Peace is to open NATO to Europe's east. The Partnership provides a way of drawing the new democracies into NATO without drawing new dividing lines in Europe that could threaten Russia and make all of Europe less secure. As you look down the road, what key challenges are likely to confront the Partnership? What strategic choices will NATO have to make in the near term? (Rice, Mandelbaum)
- o The dangers of virulent nationalism and ethnic hatred have already begun to fragment Europe's landscape. Building civil society is a process that takes generations. What more can we do today to promote ethnic tolerance and dampen aggressive strains of nationalism? Is there more the international institutions (IMF, World Bank, EBRD) should be doing to address social needs and help reduce radical nationalism? (Maier, Mandelbaum, Rice)
- o With completion of the Uruguay Round behind us, the U.S. and EU are formulating a new economic agenda to promote trade, create jobs, and stimulate global growth. What the new democracies most need is trade and investment. As we formulate this agenda, how can we best take advantage of this historic opportunity to integrate eastern economies into the West? (Hormats and Fischer)

- o In many respects, we are operating in the post-Cold War era with what are still Cold War institutions. Our initiatives for the NATO Summit will in large part adapt NATO to new realities in Europe. What other institutions need to be transformed or created? (Schlesinger and Hormats)

III. Russia and the NIS

- o While a welcome exercise in democracy, the recent elections in Russia are also cause for concern. The country now has a factionalized parliament and a constitution tilted toward a strong president. In what direction is Russia now headed? What more should we be doing to support democracy? (Sestanovich)
- o What lessons can we draw from recent events for U.S. and multilateral assistance programs and how best to help economic reform proceed? Do we need to focus more attention on social welfare? (Hormats and Fischer)
- o Russia's behavior beyond its borders is still a wildcard. How can we most effectively get leverage over Russian behavior in the "Near-Abroad"? (Rice and Mandelbaum)

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

January 6, 1994

REMARKS BY THE VICE PRESIDENT
IN FOREIGN POLICY SPEECH

Pabst Theater
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

11:51 A.M. CST

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen. Thank you so much for your welcome. And thank you, Secretary Aspin, Dr. Bowman.

Over the past 14 months, Wisconsin gave the Clinton administration three very fine presents. The first was voting for us in November of 1992. (Applause.) I'll never forget that rally in Madison, incidentally. The second and third were lending us Donna Shalala and Les Aspin. (Applause.) Les has made a lasting contribution to our nation's security not just as Secretary of Defense, but in serving this state in Congress for two decades -- where, as he mentioned, we became close, personal friends. And on this occasion, I want to ask all of you to join me in thanking Les Aspin for his tremendous public service. (Applause.)

I'm delighted to be here in Milwaukee with your congressional delegation and your other excellent public leaders. I want to acknowledge Governor Thompson. I want to especially acknowledge my warm and close friends and allies, working partners Senator Herb Kohl and Senator Russ Feingold. We've worked very hard together to help get this country on the right track again and create more jobs and bring interest rates down and get the economy moving. I want to acknowledge my friend, the dean of your House delegation, David Obey -- a long-time friend and partner. And also Tom Barrett, Peter Barca, Gerald Kleczka, Thomas Petri; and also the local and state officials, Mayor John Norquist and Attorney General James Doyle, Speaker Walter Kunicki and County Executive Thomas Ament, Sheriff Richard Artison and others.

As you know, and as has already been mentioned, the President had planned to be here today and was looking forward to it, but had to go early this morning to Arkansas instead because his mother, Virginia Kelley, passed away in the wee hours of the morning. The President, when we spoke this morning, asked me to express his deep regret at not being able to join you, and I'm sure that you join me this morning in expressing our deep condolences to the President and his family as they confront the sad loss.

The President came to this very theater 15 months ago during the campaign when he was a candidate and came at a critical moment. As I look at this beautiful hall and this wonderful audience, I can see why he was so eager to come back and see you again. And I know that he was especially eager to come here today and join in celebrating the victory of the 1994 Rose Bowl Champions, the University of Wisconsin Badgers. (Applause.) It was a wonderful game. And may I say that I watched it with my family, including my mother, who has been spending some time with us the last couple of weeks, who attended law school at the University of Wisconsin. (Applause.) So I claimed honorary Badgerhood on that occasion.

And, boy, if you could have seen Donna Shalala the next day -- (laughter) -- walking -- was she a sight? When the two of them walked into the Cabinet Room and Donna was talking about the football program and the game and everything, it was a great, great day.

MORE

SECRETARY ASPIN: -- taller than anybody in the room.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: She was taller than anybody in the room that day. (Applause.) That's a pretty good line, Les. (Laughter and applause.) It's true, too.

When the President was here 15 months ago, on that October day he spoke about America's need for a strong pro-democracy national security policy. In two days, President Clinton will leave for Europe for a series of meetings designed to advance that goal. He will go to Brussels to stress the importance of our economic and security ties with NATO and Europe. He will go to Prague and stress our strong commitment to the new democracies in Poland, Hungary, the Czech republic and Slovakia. He will visit Moscow and stress our support for Democratic reforms there and elsewhere. And he will visit Minsk in Belarus and stress the importance of the progress that state and others are making to dismantle nuclear weapons.

Before he left our shores to talk with foreign leaders, the President wanted to come and talk with you about why this trip is important to the American people. And the President has now asked me to share his views directly with you today because at this point in history, all of Europe stands at a turning point with deep implications for our own security and prosperity.

That's why the President and I and why the President has insisted that our administration focus so much on Europe, particularly Central and Eastern Europe and Russia. At the President's request, my first trip abroad as Vice President was to Poland. There are at least a couple of people here who traveled with me on that occasion. While there I had extensive meetings with President Walesa and shared prayer and communion with him at morning mass in his private chapel.

I just recently visited Hungary last month and met with the new leadership in Budapest. In addition, at the President's request, I enjoyed a lengthy one-on-one meeting during the same visit to Europe with President Kravchuk of Ukraine. And may I say that since taking office, the President and I have met with almost all of the leaders of virtually every Central and Eastern European nation and many of the leaders of the former Soviet republics as well because President Clinton feels so strongly about the importance of our nation's role in contributing to the positive change which is taking place and must continue to take place.

We live at a time of astounding changes. After a half-century of standing firm against Soviet aggression in the Cold War, suddenly the Cold War is over and the Soviet Union is gone. After decades of praying for reconciliation between black and white in South Africa and between Arab and Jew in the Middle East, suddenly we witness handshakes of hope that rivet the world. After decades of dreaming and working for the freedom of captive nations -- as I know many of you have with all your hearts -- suddenly those states are free, and new democracies have blossomed across Europe. And the President has told me that one of the things he is most looking forward to is meeting again with some of those democratic heroes, such as Vaclav Havel and Lech Walesa.

At the same time, some of the world's changes hold great danger for us, such as the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the degradation of the global environment. And we face the changes of a new global economy, changes that offer us many new opportunities but that also can be unsettling for our jobs and our communities. In the face of all these changes, some Americans would prefer that we stay out of the world's squabbles and focus only on our challenges here at home. Europe is facing even harder economic challenges: double-digit unemployment and very sluggish

growth. And many Europeans also might prefer not to get involved with problems beyond their borders. And the economic transformation facing Russia and the other former communist states are more daunting still.

So there is a great temptation in all our nations to focus only on our own problems. But my message today -- and the message of the President's trip -- is very simply this: In order to be strong at home, we must engage abroad as well. We must work with other nations to get the world's economy growing and open foreign markets if we want to sell more exports. We must engage with other nations to lock in the end of the Cold War, or else we would simply end up needing to spend more on defense and less on the domestic investments that we need. We tried running away from the world after World War I. What did it bring us? A depression and another horrible war. But when we helped shape world events after World War II, what did that bring us? Decades of security and prosperity. And that is what we must do again.

During the campaign, the President and I said our foreign policy would be based on economic renewal, strong defenses and the promotion of democracy overseas. In the past year we have made progress toward those goals. We began, of course, by putting our country's economic house back in order; because without a strong economy, we cannot compete and lead abroad. We passed an economic package to cut a half a trillion dollars from our deficits, while investing in education, technology and defense conversion. And, incidentally, if you can remember it, the projection for next year's deficit when we took office was \$300 billion. The projection now is way down to \$190 billion. The effort is already yielding dividends not just with a reduced deficit which is so important -- we're enjoying low inflation and historically low interest rates.

Consumer confidence is up. Housing starts are booming -- highest number last month in the entire history of the United States of America. And our nation has created more private sector jobs in the past 12 months than in the previous four years combined. And we still have a long way to go. We understand that. And to take one example, we still need to ensure health care for every American that can never be taken away. And we're going to do that, with your help. (Applause.) But we've made a good start. It's been a good first year.

Well, in any event, after putting our own economic house in order, we next took major steps to open up foreign markets to U.S. goods and services so we can boost exports and create more new jobs. We passed the North American Free Trade Agreement, which will lower tariffs on our exports and create over 200,000 new American jobs. We expanded our ties with the fast-growing economies of Asia. And just last month we reached an historic new agreement in the GATT world trade talks that will create another hundreds of thousands -- another set of hundreds of thousands of American jobs and also provide a boost to the entire world economy so that we can get it moving again.

With these steps and others we're putting the economic interests of the American people back at the heart of our foreign policy. We have restored America's leadership on the environment as well. And this past year we have worked to strengthen our nation's defenses.

Under Les Aspin's able leadership, we completed a sweeping review of our military to ensure that we have the forces we need to respond to the diverse threats of this new era. And when we were threatened abroad, such as when we learned of that Iraqi plot to try and assassinate former President Bush, President Clinton used those military forces to hit back hard, to send a clear, unmistakable message.

We also have worked to promote democratic movements around the world with significantly increased support for reformers in Russia, Ukraine, Armenia and the other new states of the former Soviet Union who seek to close the door to a communist past and usher in a democratic future. We lifted sanctions on South Africa as soon as there was an agreement to end apartheid and hold a nonracial election. (Applause.) And isn't that a sign of hope in our world? (Applause.)

And despite intense budget pressures, we substantially increased funding for programs to support grass roots, democratic organizing from Central America to Asia to Eastern Europe. The success of these new democracies, like the ones in Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia is important to our nation and our security. We must help them succeed. We didn't spend years supporting solidarity just to lose democracy in Poland. We didn't celebrate the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia just to see that birth of freedom die from neglect. We prevailed in the Cold War for their sake and ours. And now we must prevail for their sake and ours in building a broader democratic peace throughout Europe.

The steps we have taken this year make America stronger and safer. I want to take a moment to acknowledge in particular the service of all the men and women who wear our nation's uniform and protect us all over the world. As President Clinton has often said, America's Armed Forces are the best this world has ever known, and we are determined to make sure they remain just that. (Applause.) We're going to make certain they remain the best-trained, best-equipped, best-prepared fighting force on the face of this Earth.

Now, we have done much this past year to make America more secure. But nothing is more important to our security than our relations with Europe. With the Cold War over, some may think Europe doesn't matter as much to our nation as it used to. President Clinton says, they're wrong. The fact is, Europe remains our most valuable trading partner, and our military security remains as interwoven with that of Europe as ever in our history.

Twice in this century, we sent our sons and daughters to Europe to repel aggression and protect the survival of democracy. Two world wars left us with a lesson that is understood in every VFW and American Legion Hall in Wisconsin and across our nation. When Europe fights, we suffer. When Europe is safe and free, we thrive here in the United States.

Now, Europe is enjoying a rebirth of freedom. After a half century of captivity, we've seen the Baltic nations regain their rightful independence. We've seen great dissident heroes, such as Vaclav Havel and Lech Walesa help throw off communist rule and emerge as leaders of their people. We've seen Boris Yeltsin and other courageous democratic reformers in Russia hold elections and write a constitution in the face of fierce reactionary resistance.

This democratic renaissance is cause for hope. But, of course, there is also a dark cloud on Europe's horizon. It is the threat of fiery nationalism, ignited by old resentments, fueled by economic frustration, fanned by self-serving demagogues. We already see it burning across the former Yugoslavia. But it smolders in other states as well, particularly in Europe's East. If we do not begin building new forms of protection, these embers could flare and engulf Europe again, just as they have during this century's worst crises.

President Clinton's goal on this trip is to help build that protection. It cannot come from new walls topped with barbed wire. Rather, the protection new states of Europe need today is the kind all of us carry inside our souls -- the protection that keeps our darkest nature from spilling out into public life, the sense of

tolerance and the habits of the heart that are built up by the practices of free commerce, open democracy, robust civic life and respect for differences among individuals and nations.

To those who would ask where in the world such tolerance can be found, I would say come to Milwaukee. Just look at your city. Your roots trace back to Poland, Russia, Ukraine, the Baltics, to Germany, Italy and England, to Africa, Asia and Latin America. You may be Christian, Jewish or Muslim, and yet you are all one community. Why? Because you all share the American belief that there is strength in all our differences; that we can build a collective civic space large enough for all our separate identities, that we can be E Pluribus Unum, out of one many. We take that for granted here in our blessed United States of America. But that idea is not foreign to Europe. Those very ideas that Jefferson and Madison wrote into our Declaration of Independence and our Constitution were European imports, derived from Europe's great age of reason.

But throughout the former Soviet Union's bloc, those ideas were strangled by false ideologies and decades of dictatorship. Now, we have the opportunity to help our cherished values of freedom take root in places that were homelands to so many of us and our ancestors. We can help erase the false lines that divided Europe for too long and heal the scars those divisions left behind. Fostering the integration of Europe will not only express our highest ideals, it also will be the best investment we can make in our own security and prosperity.

President Clinton's first goal on this trip will be to reinvigorate NATO and help ensure that NATO is prepared to meet the challenges that I just described. NATO is the greatest military alliance in all human history. We couldn't have won the Cold War without it. But now, the Soviet Union it helped deter is gone. It is time for NATO to address Europe's new security challenges, such as consolidating democracy's gains among NATO's eastern neighbors and warding off ethnic conflict.

At the NATO summit in Brussels, the President will propose that NATO create a Partnership For Peace as a major step toward the new security Europe needs. The Partnership is a new way of drawing the former communist states into cooperation with the rest of Europe. It advances an evolutionary process of formal NATO enlargement, a step toward adding new members of NATO. (Applause.)

The Partnership For Peace invites Europe's new democracies to take part right away in military and political cooperation with NATO members as well as with each other. Those states that join the partnership can participate in military planning, exercises and operations. The partnership will help foster democratic practices that can prepare these states for full NATO membership. The new NATO must address the concerns of those nations that lie between Russia and Western Europe, for the security of these states affects the security of America. Let me say that again: The security of the states that lie between Western Europe and Russia affects the security of America. (Applause.) Especially after Russia's recent elections, those states are naturally concerned about whether they will again be rendered pieces of a buffer zone, prizes to be argued over by others.

The Partnership For Peace is designed to offer these states the confidence that they can integrate into the West rather than always fear what could happen to their East. The Partnership For Peace does not divide East and West in a way that could create a self-fulfilling prophecy of future confrontation. Instead, it tries to integrate a broader Europe. On an equal basis, it provides an open door for all the nations of Central and Eastern Europe as well as the nations emerging from the former Soviet Union, it invites all

of them to forge a new relationship with NATO based on a belief that freedom's boundaries now must recognize not just old history, but also new behavior.

The Partnership for Peace can build the habits of cooperation that have been the sinews behind NATO and NATO's formal security guarantees. We look forward to beginning such cooperation soon with Poland, the Czech Republic and other former communist states as we create the foundation for a new and broader Europe.

President Clinton's second goal will be to show our support for those people and leaders in former Communist states working to build democracy, and to lay the building blocks of a civil society: political parties, labor unions, business associations and a free press. In Prague, he will meet with leaders of the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia -- the Visegrad nations -- nations that are playing such leading roles in Europe's wave of reform. In Minsk, the President will voice our support for Chairman Shushkevich and other leaders of Belarus's democratic progress. And in Moscow, he will meet with President Boris Yeltsin and other Russian reformers who are steering their nation toward a democratic, market-based and peaceful future.

The strong support for reactionary candidates in the recent Russian elections gave all of us cause for concern. We would be foolish to ignore those results; and it is our duty to condemn the voices of racism and intolerant nationalism wherever such voices are heard. (Applause.) But make no mistake about it, there was another larger message of hope in those Russian elections. An election that looked doubtful only months before was held in a free and fair manner. And when they voted, the Russian people ratified a democratic constitution and elected Russia's first post-Soviet legislature.

All these can help Russia's reformers move ahead. We must not lose faith in the process of reform simply because it moves slowly or encounters setbacks. Changing an entire society is the work of generations. Along the way, the people of Russia and the other new states will doubtless make some bad choices, just as we often have done at times in our own history. Democracy, after all, doesn't turn us into angels, it simply gives us a way to learn collectively from our very human trials and errors. As long as these nations support freedom with protections for ethnic and religious minorities and political dissent, we have faith that reaction will give way to reform.

President Clinton's third goal will be to help reduce the dangers of weapons of mass destruction. (Applause.) When the Soviet Union dissolved, four states were left with its nuclear weapons -- Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus. One key to our security is making sure there is only one nuclear successor state to the Soviet Union. Under the leadership of President Nazarbayev, Kazakhstan has agreed to give up its nuclear weapons. I was pleased to be in Alma-Ata last month on the day his parliament ratified the decision.

We're working with Ukraine to secure a similar agreement. And one reason the President is going to Minsk is to congratulate the people of Belarus and the leaders of Belarus for ratifying the START Treaty and agreeing to live as a nonnuclear state. In addition, in Brussels, we expect NATO to adopt our proposal to address the threat posed by nuclear, biological and chemical weapons as well.

Now, the President's final goal is to support the dramatic progress toward market reforms throughout the former communist states and to work for a greater Europe that is more economically vibrant. Most of Europe, as we all know, is deep in

recession, and if those nations can start growing again we will benefit from more exports and more jobs here in our own nation. Equally important, we must help ensure that economic growth reaches all the way into the former communist states which are making the hard transition to market economies.

Some of the greatest heroes of that flight from communism are people whose names will we never know -- the farmer outside of Sofia working with new pride now that he once again owns the land of his grandfather; the entrepreneur in Riga running a new business out of his apartment; the factory worker in St. Petersburg trying to adapt to the new habits and uncertainties of capitalism.

Freedom's success will depend in large part on their labors. We need to do all that we can to ensure that their labors are rewarded. In Brussels, the President will urge Western Europe's leaders to join our nation in taking steps to make all of our markets more open to goods from Europe's new democracies. In Prague, Moscow and Minsk, he will work with the leaders of those new market democracies to ensure that our economic assistance and trade and investment efforts are well targeted to provide the greatest possible support as these nations make the very difficult transitions to market economies.

Today, the people of the former communist nations are performing human miracles on a daily basis. Without much at all in the way of resources or experience, they're turning economic ruin into working markets. They're replacing gray Orwellian life with the bright and diverse cultures their people once enjoyed. They're reviving the religious traditions that communism could not stamp out. And they're planting strong seedlings of democracy on terrain once laid bear by dictatorship and devastated by the wild fires of war.

The hard work of political and economic transformation belongs to the people of the region and they are making heroic progress, but the stakes for our own nation are enormous. And we must put our shoulder behind the cause of reform as well. It is in America's self-interest for those reforms to succeed and endure. If they do, we will all be more secure. We can prevent another all-engulfing European war. We can make further progress to dismantle the world's doomsday weapons. We can continue maintaining our security with far lower defense budgets. We can create new markets for our exports and new jobs for our people as these new economies begin to grow and thrive. That's why we must not sit on the sidelines. We must continue working to build a broader and freer Europe.

I think back to the Polish uprising of 1863, in which the motto of the Polish fighters was, "For your freedom and ours." (Applause.) They believed in their hearts that their own liberation would liberate others since they were fighting for a broader principle of liberty. Today, the fight for freedom in Europe continues with new hope and high stakes.

The President, as he leaves for these countries, and all of us who have worked with him, know that the struggle to erase communism's scars and ensure democracy's success is not their struggle alone. It must also be our struggle. It is the fight of a lifetime -- our lifetimes. It is the story of a century -- our century. President Clinton and I are committed to make it the work of our nation.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

12:27 P.M. CST

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Brussels, Belgium)

For Immediate Release

January 9, 1994

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
UPON DEPARTURE FROM HOTEL DE VILLE

Grand Place
Brussels, Belgium

6:47 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: 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 partnership between Europe and the United States, and I hope all of you will support that.

Happy new year, and thank you very much.

(Applause.)

END

6:48 P.M. (L)

(CORRECTED COPY: Prime Minister's name)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Brussels, Belgium)

For Immediate Release

January 9, 1994

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN PHOTO OPPORTUNITY WITH
JEAN-LUC DEHAENE, PRIME MINISTER OF THE BELGIANS

Conrad Hotel
Brussels, Belgium

1:55 P.M. (L)

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 in the -- of six 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.

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

THE PRESIDENT: No, I'm glad to be -- 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.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

1:56 P.M. (L)

January 9, 1994

Pool Report #3

Brussels - Motorcade from Hotel de Ville and speech

POTUS traveled to Hotel de Ville largely without benefit of press coverage as the motorcade was split and press pool bus failed to regain sight of sight of the presidential party despite a careening race through confused traffic, clipping barricades.

In the Gothic room of the 15th century Hotel de Ville:

Dark oak paneling. Renaissance-scene tapestries, and 275 well-groomed and polite young members of the Successor Generation -- some of whom just found out last night that they were selected for this audience. At least a quarter of them were students at the College of Europe, according to one such student.

From where this pooler sat (at the edge of the audience about two-thirds back) the audience seemed attentive. But there was no spontaneous applause or really any display of reaction at all. Prompt and sturdy applause at the end but definitely no standing or ovations.

Leo Parpala, a College of Europe student from Stockholm, had this favorable response: "I was very impressed with the way he held the speech together for 35 minutes" without seeming to read much of it.

A student from Spain, David Giles, had the shrugging response that he heard pretty much what he had expected from press reports.

POTUS shook hands around the front rows and disappeared until he emerged from the front gates of the Hotel de Ville as Gershwin's Rhapsody in Blue suddenly came over the loudspeakers in the square.

Marshall Ingwersen
Christian Science Monitor

Jan. 9, 1994
Pool report #2 *Brussels*
Laeken Palace

At Laeken Palace, King Albert was at the door to greet President Clinton at the stroke of one p.m. local time. They posed for a handshake in an entry hall.

Your pool had been sternly warned against questions, but a vigorous wave from the back of the crowd from your pooler was returned with a wave by President Clinton who then seemed to explain our presence to the King.

No news offered up by Gergen, Gearan, or Myers waiting outside by the motorcade.

-Ann Compton
ABC News

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Brussels, Belgium)

For Immediate Release

January 9, 1994

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO STAFF AND FAMILIES OF THE U.S. EMBASSY TO BELGIUM,
THE U.S. MISSION TO NATO, AND
THE U.S. MISSION TO THE EUROPEAN UNION

The Conrad Hotel
Brussels, Belgium

8:03 P.M. (L)

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 everyday 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 words 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 two 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

MORE

- 2 -

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. (Applause.)

MAYOR DEMARET: 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 and applause.)

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 DEMARET: "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.

END

8:07 P.M. (L)

Jan. 9, 1993

pool report -- Air Force One

Flight from Andrews AFB to Brussels

Pool Report #1 Brussels

President Clinton arrived by helicopter at Andrews tarmac 11:20 p.m. -- nearly one hour behind original schedule. Your pool watched him land from under the wing -- close enough to see him, but not to question him.

Although the wind-chill factor was sub-zero, Clinton wore no hat or gloves, was dressed in jeans and a brown, leather jacket. He walked quickly to Air Force One. That was the last your pool saw of him. Wheels up at 11:30 p.m.

No one from the president's party spoke to the pool until we arrived on the tarmac in Brussels. There, Dee Dee Myers said that Clinton spoke with National Security Adviser Anthony Lake and Chief of Staff Mack McLarty about the trip. He also walked around the plane a bit, talking to the staff about his day, Myers said.

"Obviously, yesterday was an emotional day for him, but I think he felt very gratified for all the friends who responded and turned out," Myers said.

Clinton gave an interview to Ted Koppel, who rode up front and was not seen by pool. Myers said Clinton went to sleep about 12:30 a.m. and slept for about five-and-a-half hours.

The flight took 6 hours and 53 minutes.

pool reporters;

Mary Curtius, Boston Globe

Susan Garland, Business Week

^2

1/9/94

Pool No. 1A

Brussels - Arrival and Bilateral

POTUS arrived about 12:30, came down AF1 stairway alone. Greeted by Prime Minister Jean-Luc Dehaene, Foreign Minister Willy Claes, US Amb to Belgium Alan Blinken, US Amb to NATO Robert Hunter, US Amb to EU Stuart Eisenstat, others including SecState Christopher. No remarks.

Motorcade uneventful.

Arrived Conrad Hotel for bilateral with Prime Minister. Also present: Christopher, and Claes.

Asked if Bosnia should be at top of agenda, President replied, "We'll discuss that and a number of other issues." He praised Belgium's role in GATT talks.

Asked whether its difficult to undertake this diplomatic trip so shortly after his mother's funeral, Clinton said "Im glad to be here." He commented briefly on the funeral.

"I'm doing what I should be doing," he said of his trip here.

The rest of the afternoon is to be private/speech prep time.

Logistics note for evening event at Grand Place: WH Press will be in large cordoned off area near Christmas Tree. Other part of the square will be open to locals. Clinton is to come out of Hotel de Ville, go to riser for brief remarks, and then is expected to work the rope line.

Atlas, Chicago Tribune

Sat. Jan 8th, 1994

Pool Report from Mrs. Kelley's funeral.

The president didn't speak at his mothers funeral. The funeral was held at Hot Springs conventions auditorium. The octangular shaped room with a 3000 seat capacity was not filled by the crowd. However, at least 2500-2700 people were in the multi-cultured audience that included people informally dressed in blue jeans, cowboy boots and heavy coats. To the well connected and suit and tie clad Governors and entertainers, including Barbara Streisand, The Governor Jones (Kentucky), Bill Miller (Nevada), and former Senator George Sinner.

Although it was a large convention floor, the scent of flowers could reach to the back of the room where the pooler was stationed. Only one print pool was allowed in although the audience included several local and washington media who came in with the public. The music was provided by soloist Malvie Lee Giles. Janice Sjostarnd and the Grand Ave. Methodist Church Chancel Choir. The funeral program included a quotation from the wall in Mrs. Kelley's home, "Lord, help me to remember that nothing is going to happen to me today that you and I can't handle." The sermon by Rev, John P. Miles lightened the somber mood with which the funeral began as he described Mrs. Kelley as, "An American Original. She was unique," he said. He even mentioned how she talked with a self deprecating humor about herself. "You know, there's no telling what I could accomplish in this life if I had been born with eyebrows," he said quoting Mrs. Kelley. He described her as a "celebration on the way to heaven." And said she was ferociously protective of her family. "If you wanted to see how fierce then mess with one of her kids." He said that Mrs. Kelley was the matriarch of a unique family" that was blended together with strength." He said she faced one tragedy after another but said the harder life put her down the higher she rose.

He stressed Mrs. Kelley was something of a Bon Bivant who loved playing cards and watching the horses. "Virginia Kelley had a very private spiritual life. She went to church and to the horse track there after. Virginia Kelley was not without flaws. If you ever crossed those she loved you found out how imperfect she was."

After the funeral service, the casket, a simple cherrywood model with brass handles was wheeled out of the auditorium and placed in hearse. The Clinton's family followed the casket out and watched while it was loaded. The family stood in the vestibule of the auditorium shaking hands with many of those who attended the funeral. The pooler was not allowed to watch as the receiving was greeted.

Ron Taylor--Washington Post

Pool Report #2, Saturday, January 8, 1994

Nearly a one mile motorcade left Hot Springs right on time and covered the 90 mile trip to Hope in just under 1 hour and 25 minutes. The motorcade and funeral procession included the many politicians and personalities from the church service. The group included Barbra Steisand and Harry Thomason.

Senator David Pryor told reporters that the President's Republican opponents showed bad taste in continuing to hammer Mr. Clinton about allegations of wrongdoing.

In Hope, the roadway was lined with local residents many of whom held signs expressing sympathy.

Your pool was kept well away from the Rose Hill Cemetary where Mrs. Kelley was buried in a family plot. The cemetary also happens to be where the President's biological father, William Bythe, is buried. The President was not seen visiting his father's grave.

After the burial, Mr. Clinton shook hands at the gravesite and then was taken to a reception at the Western Sizzler Restaurant on the outskirts of Hope. He remained at the reception only a few minutes before going to Hope Airfield, where he, along with his family and stepfather, boarded Airforce 1 for the quick trip to Hot Springs where he dropped off Mr. Kelley.

After shaking a few hands in Hot Springs, he reboarded for the trip back to Washington, landing at Andrews and then proceeded back to the White House by Marine 1 at 7:15pm.

Ron Taylor -- Washington Times

REVISED PRESS SCHEDULE

**Trip of the President
to
Brussels, Belgium**

Sunday, 9 January 1994

**Working document for news planning
Not for release or distribution**

PICK UP YOUR NATO CREDENTIALS: Come to the Press Office in the Foyer of the Ballroom. You **MUST** get these credentials. Anytime after 8 AM Sunday.

Note on this revision: This is a new schedule for Sunday afternoon in Brussels. The schedule after 5:30 pm is the same as originally released. The speech still starts at 6 PM.

ALL POOLS WILL FORM: In the Filing Center, in the far left front corner of the room.

For press at Hilton: Special 24-hr "Info" desk: HILTON ROOM 1518 This room is designed to make sure that you can always reach somebody especially in off hours. This is **NOT** a "spokes person" operation or press office; it is more an information broker (help you find people, help you with general Brussels info, too).

IMPORTANT PHONE NUMBERS:

To get local dial tone in Belgium, dial "0" -- not "9".
HILTON HOTEL: Press hotel: 504-1111

CONRAD HOTEL: POTUS: 542-4242

**Please use this number only when absolutely necessary reach the White House Press Office, dial local Brussels number:
with discretion! 534-3289**

Sunday, January 9, 1994

Note on switching out Air Force One Pool - Pool #1: will be done on the tarmac during the welcome. Send the replacements with Pool #2 to the airport. Pool #1 switches out and becomes Pool #3 and picks up the motorcade.

Tentative Press Schedule: Updated 01-08-94 11PM
Not for release - for planning only Page 2

Meeting the King: The President will now see the King at Laeken Palace as the President pays a courtesy call. WHITE HOUSE POOL #4 will pre-position at Laeken Palacem leaving Conrad approx 10 AM. Pool #4 is for inside Laeken only, photo session only, and then disbands back to Conrad. The motorcade pool can NOT do events at Laeken Palace.

The President's bilateral with Prime Minister Dehaene: After the President's meeting with King Albert II, the President goes to the Conrad Hotel where he will meet with with the Belgian Prime Minister. Motorcade Pool #3 will handle photo session. The President is then in private time until he departs, as originally scheduled, for the Hotel de Ville at 5:30 PM.

4:20 AM AIR FORCE ONE DEPARTS Andrews Air Force Base
10:20 PM EST-Saturday enroute Zaventem Airport, Brussels.

Pool #1 - Air Force One Pool accompanies

10:15 am Following pools all report to Conrad Hotel Filing Center:

POOL #2 - Airport: Pre-positions at main riser at Zaventem Airport

Note: There are a few positions open in this pool #2. If interested please come to press office by 10 AM.

Pool #3 - Airport: Waits at main riser to switch out with Pool #1

Pool #4 - CASTLE: Pre-positions at Laeken Castle for photo of the President and King Albert II

**10:30 am Pool #2 & Pool #3 depart for the airport,
Pool #4 departs for Laeken Castle.**

Note: Security will be strict at all Belgian sites. Pools cannot be late arriving anywhere. Pools will form and move on time from the Conrad. No waiting for stragglers.

**11:00 am Pools #2 and #3 arrive Zaventem Airport
Pool #4 arrives Laeken Palace, to pre-position.**

Tentative Press Schedule: Updated 01-08-94 11PM
Not for release - for planning only Page 3

Airport arrival scenario: The President will be greeted by Belgian and U.S. officials on a receiving line at planeside. Honor guard, no anthems, no remarks, straight into the car.

11:55 am AIR FORCE ONE arrives Zaventem Airport, Brussels, Belgium

Pool #1 and Pool #2
ONLY AF-1 Pool at steps
All others at head-on flatbeds

Among those greeting the President will be:
Prime Minister Jean-Luc Dehaene.
Foreign Minister Willy Claes
U.S. Ambassador to Belgium Alan Blinken
U.S. Ambassador to NATO Robert Hunter
U.S. Ambassador to EU Stuart Eisenstat

12:00 pm POOL SWITCH: Pool #1 (AF One Pool) disbands and Pool #3 (motorcade).

NOTE: Pool #1 off Air Force One will be escorted to same press area where Pool #2 is working off the flat bed and members of new Pool #3 are hanging around. - switch NOW.

Note to motorcade pools: For all motorcades in Belgium, all pool members ride in one mini-bus type vehicle which allegedly has two doors and plenty of space.

12:10 pm THE PRESIDENT boards motorcade and departs Zaventem Airport enroute Laeken Palace, Brussels.

Pool #3 accompanies in motorcade

12:25 pm Pool #2 & Pool #1 members left over at airport board press bus and depart enroute Conrad Hotel.

12:25 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Laeken Palace.

Closed Press

Tentative Press Schedule: Updated 01-08-94 11PM
Not for release - for planning only Page 4

Note: The motorcade SPLITS on arrival at Laeken Palace. Pool #3's vehicles will be stoppped at the gate and not enter the Laeken grounds. That's why Pool #4 os inside.

12:30 pm THE PRESIDENT meets with His Highness Albert II, King of the Belgians, Laeken Palace.

Pool #4 photo session

Note: There is natural DAYLIGHT in this room. It is NOT artificially lit. Please remember that not only are no remarks planned, they are actively discouraged. It is an offense to the King and to Belgians to speak in the presence of the King.

12:45 pm MEETING CONCLUDES. THE PRESIDENT boards motorcade and departs Laeken Palace enroute Conrad Hotel.

Pool #3 accompanies in motorcade

1:00 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Conrad Hotel and proceeds inside to private time.

1:00 pm Pool #3 (from motorcade) is escorted to pre-position for photo session with Prime Minister Dehaehne.

1:00 pm Pool #1 & Pool #2 leftovers from airport arrive at Conrad Hotel and press filing center.

1:00 pm POOL #4 (at Laeken) boards press bus and returns to Conrad Hotel.

1:30 pm POOL #4 arrives from Laeken at Conrad and disbands.

Press Note on private time: The Filing Center is in the President's hotel, at the Conrad. WH Travel Pool #5 will be on protective standby at the Conrad, though this time of the President is expected to be entirely private.

1pm -2 pm IMPORTANT: Pool #6 "Grand Place credentials" pick-up, from White House Press Office in Foyer of Conrad Hotel Ballroom.

Press Note: Please check back of schedule for membership of the HUGE pool #6 and the motorcade Pool #7.

Tentative Press Schedule: Updated 01-08-94 11PM**Not for release - for planning only Page 5**

1:30 pm THE PRESIDENT MEETS with the Prime Minister of the Belgians, Jean-Luc Klaes. Conrad Hotel, Room TBA, Brussels.

Photo session for Pool #3

1:45 pm Pool #3 now goes on protective standby at the Conrad Hotel. Stay in Filing Center and lobby area unless other arrangements are made explicitly with your pool sherpa.

2:00 pm First press buses depart the Conrad Hotel enroute the Grand Place and Hotel de Ville, Brussels.

Press Note: Press buses will shuttle between Conrad Hotel and Grand Place every 15 minutes throughout Sunday afternoon and evening. To get BACK from Grand Place: Buses will be where you got off. After 8 PM, WH Press buses will run from that same spot once an hour, last bus to press hotels at 11 PM.

Press Notes on Grand Place: Press areas are available in Grand Place for set-up at this time. Grand Place notes:

- (1) You can see and hear President's Hotel De Ville speech on TVs while you are in this outdoor area;
- (2) White House Press Advance can escort you to Hotel De Ville to get to a couple of WH press phones as you need them..
- (3) All restaurants and shops at edges of the open air Grand Place will be open all afternoon and evening. They surround the press area and are within the secured area.

PRESS NOTES ON SPEECH: Coverage notes and facilities:

Speech site is small and coverage is pool.

Inside: WH POOL #5 (from motorcade pool) plus US & Euro TV pools cover inside the room.

Adjacent press viewing room: for non-pool press inside Hotel de Ville with TVs, mults and and a few phones.

Outside on "Grand Place": is large Press area for big White House POOL #6 with mults and TVs to see/hear speech..

Back at Conrad Filing Center: Speech in mults, on PA and visible on TVs.

Tentative Press Schedule: Updated 01-08-94 11PM**Not for release - for planning only Page 6****In the Gothic room:****Motorcade pool #5 Correspondents:** seated in audience**Pool's Stills:** Arrangements made to get film out as needed during the speech. However, the room is too quiet and too intimate to allow movement and switching out of people. Press Advance will offer assistance.**TV:** US TV Pool cams plus Euro-TV pool**Radio:** Mult in room (and in viewing room, and outside).

- 4:00 pm** Pool #3 disbands, Pool #5 gathers, Press Filing Center, Conrad and goes on protective status.
- 5:30 pm** **THE PRESIDENT** boards motorcade and departs Conrad Hotel en route Hotel de Ville at Grand Place, Brussels
WH Travel Pool #5 accompanies in motorcade
- 5:35 pm** **THE PRESIDENT** arrives interior courtyard of Hotel de Ville at Grand Place and proceeds to private time inside Hotel de Ville.
WH Travel pool #5 is escorted to pre-position inside Gothic Room
- Press Facilities at speech:**
Pool #5 reporters will be in room.
Stills can ship film out of room with staff.
TV pre-positioned at head-on & cut.
mults inside room.
"Viewing" room with phones and workspace and TV with speech on it also available to pool inside
- 6:00 pm** **THE PRESIDENT ARRIVES** the Gothic Room, Hotel De Ville, Brussels, to address multi-national audience of future leaders of Europe.
— Welcoming remarks by Prime Minister Jean-Luc Dehaene (in English).
— Remarks by the President
- WH Pool #5 coverage in room**
- 7:00 pm** **ADDRESS CONCLUDES. THE PRESIDENT** proceeds to private time, inside Hotel de Ville.
- 7:00 pm** WH Pool #5 switches out, becomes WH Pool #7.

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Note: Pooler XX for Pool #7: Please be at Grand Place main press riser by 6:15 pm and identify yourself to press advance.

7:05 pm WH Pool #7 quickly pre-positions in Grand Place for President's departure from Hotel de Ville and for informal remarks.

COVERAGE NOTES FOR OUTSIDE, IN GRAND PLACE:

(New information): Number of WH Pools on Grand Place REDUCED since first schedule. Only pools at Grand Place will be Huge Pool #6 in press area and ONE WH Motorcade Pool, now Pool #7. Motorcade Pool #7 and Pool #6 can see entire proceeding from their risers.

7:15 pm THE PRESIDENT departs Hotel de Ville enroute Grand Place.

The President will be accompanied by Prime Minister Dehaene.

White House Travel Pool #7 pre-positioned in Grand Place for entrance to Grance Place;

Walk is Visible from Big Press Area where Pool #6 is.

Facilities in Grand Place: Large camera platform for Huge Pool #6 which can see President's route. For remarks, this same platform is 60' distance. MULTS at main WH platform and at Pool #7 position. Audio on PA of Press Filing Center.

7:40 pm (Time approximate) THE PRESIDENT delivers informal remarks outside Hotel de Ville.

**Open Coverage by Huge Pool #6
and by WH Motorcade Pool #7.**

8:10 pm THE PRESIDENT boards motorcade and departs the Grand Place enroute the Conrad Hotel, Brussels.

WH Travel Pool #7 accompanies

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8:25 pm **THE PRESIDENT** arrives the Conrad Hotel atrium for greeting of staff and families of the U.S. Embassy to Belgium, the U.S. Mission to NATO and the U.S. Mission to the European Union.

Introduction of the President by Secretary Christopher.
Remarks by the President

WH Travel Pool #7 coverage**Press facilities for remarks:**

- * Pool #7 will be on riser with mult on atrium floor.
- * Remarks will be on the mults and PA of the White House Press Filing Center.
- * Atrium is visible to non-pool press: The hallway outside the Filing Center overlooks the site.

9:00 pm **Greeting concludes. THE PRESIDENT** remains overnight at the Conrad Hotel, Brussels.

Note: The WH Travel Pool #7 will remain on protective status at the Conrad Hotel until it receives a goodnight.

Note: WH Travel Pool #8 for MONDAY MORNING remains overnight in the Conrad Sunday night with the President's party. Please see pool list at back of schedule for members of Travel Pool #8.

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POOL #1 - AIR FORCE ONE POOL

Saturday, January 8, Andrews AFB to Brussels

Pool does: AF One from Andrews to Brussels;

Airport arrival (a) underwing and (b) at two tarmac positions.

Breaks up: switches out at airport at approx 12:30 PM

MEMBERS:

Wire Corr: AP, Reuter, UPI

Wire Photo: AP, Reuter, AFP, UPI

Mag Corr Pool: Business Week

Mag Photo: USNWR

TV Corr/Crew: CBS News

Radio Pool: NPR

Print Pool: Boston Globe

POOL #2 Day/City Sunday, Brussels

Pool does: Covers Zaventem Airport arrival from riser

Pool forms: 10:15 am - Conrad Filing Center

Pool breaks up: 1:15 pm - when bus returns from airport

Wire Corr: AP, Reuter, UPI

Wire Photo: AP, Reuter, AFP, UPI

Mag Corr Pool: Business Week

Mag Photo: USNWR, Time, Newsweek

TV Corr/Crew: PER POOL

Print Pool: NO PRINT REPORTER NEEDED

**Positions available for this pool. Contact press office
Sunday morning.**

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POOL #3 - Day City Sunday, Brussels

Pool does: M'cade from Airport to Castle, m'cade from Castle to Conrad.
Stakeout at hotel.

Pool forms: 10:15 AM at Conrad Filing Center

Pool breaks up: 4:00 pm with Switch out at Conrad.

Members of Pool #3:

Wire Corr: AP, Reuter, UPI

Wire Photo: AP, Reuter, AFP, UPI

Mag Corr Pool: Business Week

Mag Photo: USNWR, Time, Newsweek

TV Corr/Crew: PER POOL

Radio Pool: NPR

Print Pool: Chicago Tribune

POOL #4 - Day/City: Sunday, Brussels

Pool does: Photo session of the President and King Albert II
Foyer of Laeken Palace

Pool forms: 10:15 AM, Conrad Filing Center

Pool breaks up: 1:30 PM when it returns to Conrad

AP Photo

Reuters Photo

AFP Photo

UPI Photo

TIME Photo

Newsweek Photo

USN&WR Photo

AP Corr

Reuter Corr

AFP Corr

UPI Corr

TV Crew #1 - POOL (3 people)

Print Corr: COPLEY

Radio Corr: ABC RADIO

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WH POOL #5 -

Day/City: Sunday-Brussels

Pool does: Afternoon stakeout at Conrad; m'cade from Conrad to Hotel de Ville; ONLY POOL INSIDE Hotel de Ville for the speech.

Pool forms at (time): 2:30 pm at Conrad Hotel XX

Pool breaks up at: 7 PM - switches out to become Pool #7 after speech at Hotel de Ville (abandoned pool members will have press buses to get back to Conrad).

MEMBERS:

Wire Corr: AP, Reuter, UPI, AFP

Wire Photo: AP, Reuter, AFP, UPI

Mag Corr Pool: Esquire

Mag Photo: Newsweek, Time, USNWR

TV Corr/Crew #1: Per TV Pool assignment

TV Prod/Crew #2: Per TV pool assignment

Radio Pool: AP Radio

Print Pool: Christian Science Monitor

WH POOL #6 - BIG Pool for outdoor press area at Grand Place

Size: Approx 100 (This pool does NOT include journalists represented in the travel pool - Pool #7).

Special note: If you are not in this pool, please note that there is public space at Grand Place that you can access.

POOL #6 CREDENTIAL PICK-UP: Between 1 & 2 PM at Press Office in Conrad Ballroom Foyer.

Day/City: Monday/Brussels

Pool does: Grand Place outdoor press area during President's exit from Hotel de Ville; informal remarks in Grand Place.

Pool forms at (place): Take buses from Conrad (see schedule)

Pool forms at (time): After 2 PM (See schedule notes)

Pool breaks up at (time): 7:30 PM, approx at Grand Place.

Getting home to press hotels: Press buses will pick you up where they dropped you off. After 8 PM, bus is hourly until last bus departs Grand Place at 11 PM.

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Pool #6 Members (One correspondent per):

ABC Radio
ABC News (4)
AP Radio
ARD German TV (2)
ARD German TV (2)
Asahi Shimbun
Baltimore Sun
BBC (2)
Beverly Hills Courier
Boston Globe
Business Week Corr
CBS News (4)
CBS Radio
Chicago Tribune
Christian Science Monitor
CNN (4)
Copley News
Cox Newspapers
Dallas Morning News
DPA
EFE
El Pais
Esquire
Financial Times
France 2 TV
Fuji TV
Hearst Newspapers
Hokkaido Shimbun
Houston Chronicle
Il Sole
Jiji Press
Knight-Ridder News
Kyodo News Service
Le Figaro
Le Monde
Liberation
London Times
Los Angeles Times
Media General News

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Mutual NBC Radio
NBC News (4)
New York Times
New York Post
New York Daily News
Newsday
Newsweek Corr.
NPR
SAT 1 German TV
Scripps Howard
St. Petersburg Times
St. Louis Post Dispatch
Standard News
TF-1
Time Corr.
USA Today
USIA
USNWR
VOA
Wall Street Journal
Washington Post
Washington Times
ZDF German TV

WH POOL #7 - Day/City: Sunday - Brussels

Pool does: Walk through Grand Place. m'cade back to Conrad Hotel; US Embassy event; standby at Conrad until goodnight.

Pool forms at 7 PM: (This was Pool #5) after Hotel de Ville speech. Pool reporter for switch must be at Grand Place press area by 6:30PM.

Pool breaks up at (time): 9:00 pm or goodnight at Conrad

MEMBERS:

Wire Corr: AP, Reuter, UPI, AFP

Wire Photo: AP, Reuter, AFP, UPI

Mag Corr Pool: Esquire

Mag Photo: Newsweek

TV Corr/Crew #1: Per TV Pool assignment

TV Prod/Crew #2: Per TV pool assignment

Radio Pool: CBS

Print Pool: Copley

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MONDAY -

WH POOL #8 -

Day/City: Monday - Brussels

Pool does: OVERNIGHTS IN CONRAD HOTEL ON SUNDAY;

morning protective at hotel; motorcade to NATO; Photo session at US Mission/US

Military command briefing; "Class photo" at 10 AM in NATO hallway.

Pool forms at (place): 6:30 AM at Conrad

Pool switches out at: 10:30A at NATO

MEMBERS:

Wire Corr: AP, Reuter, UPI

Wire Photo: AP, Reuter, AFP, UPI

Mag Corr Pool: Newsweek

Mag Photo: TIME

TV Corr/Crew #1: NBC News in hotel

TV Prod/Crew #2: Per pool assignment

(not at Class Photo, not in Conrad Sunday night)

Radio Pool: Mutual/NBC Radio

Print Pool: COX

January 11, 1994

Pool Report #13

Brussels - American Chamber of Commerce

There was no jog this morning. Instead the President made his first appearance at the American Chamber of Commerce breakfast, where, if you were not watching from the balcony he spoke to about 400 American business men and a few, very few, business women. Your pool was ushered as the President began speaking-- but his words were transcribed.

Before the President arrived, Mickey Kantor spoke briefly, praising the Administration for "making trade one of the most important policy challenges." The Administration, he said, has gone from "containment to engagement and from mutual assured destruction to mutual assured prosperity."

He was followed by Warren Christopher who spoke briefly and pledging as he has before that the State Department, "has turned over a new leaf and showing "friendly to business." He offered to take questions, but someone signaled to him to cut it off as the President arrived.

The motorcade to NATO was uneventful and the President was ushered inside before your pool saw him.

Saul Friedman-Newsday

NOTE: The scheduled TIME magazine pooler did not participate.

January 10, 1994
Pool Report #12
Brussels - Grand Place Walk

The President went on an unscheduled 45 minute walk through the old city of Brussels, the Ilot Sacre, at the end of the NATO working dinner Monday night. It was a wild and slippery affair.

He left the dinner at 10:42 p.m. and your pool was told enroute home that he was about to make an unscheduled stop.

The POTUS left his car at 11 p.m. and walked through the slippery, cobblestone streets, trailed by passersby and the pool. At one point the crowd reached about 50 and by the end of the walk, when Clinton climbed back into his limousine at 11:45 p.m., there were about 300. They cheered him.

The streets were wet and there was a chaotic shoving match at times between the pool reporters, the Secret Service and the crowd. It was very slippery and hard to walk through the narrow cobblestone streets, which were not very well lit.

At the end of the walk, at 11:35 p.m. The president stopped at a toy and novelty shop, La Trotinettes. It was closed but he woke up the owners, who lived upstairs. They appeared pleased to see him. Your pool was kept outside but through the window we could see Clinton trying on a hat and looking at some of the wooden toys. We were moved back forcefully away from the window before we could find out if he bought anything.

A transcript of the president's remarks is being made.

John Hall
Media General News Service

January 11, 1994
Pool Report #14
Brussels - NATO leaders arrival

Nato leaders' arrival this morning for the 9:00am meeting was uneventful. Clinton arrived about 9:05am and sat in the car for the moment and finished a cup of coffee. He breezed past reporters' questions, smiling and waving. Tony Lake and David Gergen were with him; Sec. Warren Christopher had hustled in a couple of minutes before.

None of the NATO leaders bit on questions about Bosnia. Here's the only comment at all. Sec. Woerner, when asked if Bosnia would be part of NATO communique he said "I think so, yes." and then asked if it would be the same language as August. He said "read the communique."

Ball - Daily News

January 11, 1994

Pool Report #15

NATO to EU

Motorcade routine scramble in EU lobby for photo op with Andreas Papandreou, now President of office of European Council and Jacques Delors, the European Commission President. Clinton asked Delors "How are you-OK? How is your back? " Delors indicated he was fine. POTUS also chatted with Papandreou, but we couldn't hear.

During photo op for POTUS meeting with EU commissioners, he was asked: "Did you say anything important?" No answer "Did you make any news?" Clinton: "That's a different question"--but again no answer.

"Where are the women?" --this because the room full of about 20 people included just 1 woman. POTUS gestured toward the woman, who was Jennone Walker of the NSC. (David Gergen, also seated at the table, said afterwards that it should be noted that the woman was an American.)

Asked if he thinks he can sell the Partnership for Peace, POTUS replied: "Yes." He was asked if the interest goes beyond the 3 or 4 countries that have indicated that they want to sign on. He said "We've had some interest from other countries."

He was then asked if the former Yugoslavia can join the Partnership for Peace. At this point Gergen gave two loud coughs which some poolers thought was a warning. POTUS then replied: "It doesn't exist anymore. There are a lot of different..." -- and here his voice trailed off.

Deborah Orin
NY Post

January 11, 1994

POOL REPORT #15 A

Prague - Abroad Air Force One from Brussels to Prague

During the rather brief flight from Brussels to Prague, Tony Lake and David Gergen came back to talk to the pool.

There was a lot of background stuff from Lake, and a bit from Gergen, which I will outline in a minute. More interestingly, halfway through the talk, Lake broke off and returned to the front of the plane at Andrew Friendly's urgent summons.

He was up there for maybe five minutes, after which he came to tell us that the President had called Leonid Kravchuk, the Ukrainian president, from the plane. The conversation was brief and the connection poor, the pool was told. According to Lake, speaking (of course) as a senior Administration official, Clinton congratulated Kravchuk and thanked him for his leadership on the nuclear non-proliferation issue. Gergen, quoting Clinton directly: "I want to thank you for the courage you have shown." Gergen also said the President said he wanted to talk tomorrow about "a number of issues" in connection with the agreement --- another suggestion that important details remain to be worked out.

Now back to Lake, speaking on background:

Lake sought to leave the impression that France and the United States had more or less simultaneously decided that Bosnia should be dealt with in a major way in Brussels. The conflicting approaches, he said, were reconciled late last week; "it is simply not true that we were pushed by the French into addressing this issue."

Yesterday morning, as you know, the President emphasized Sarajevo, and the need to be ready to back up words with actions. Last night at dinner, Lake said, the French and British pushed for action at Srebrenica and Tuzla. The President said yes, but only if the Sarajevo reiteration remained.

Asked what dynamic was at work here, Lake said that any use of air power at Srebrenica or Tuzla would be close air support of NATO troops operating under the UNPOFOR banner. The French and British thought that wise. They were less enthusiastic about the use of air strikes at Sarajevo, he said, fearing that they might constitute a major escalation because they would represent a commitment to the Muslim defenders of the city.

Lake said that if NATO action at Srebrenica and Tuzla was eventually approved, we might supply technical assistance (such as electronic equipment for the airport at Tuzla), in addition to air power, but he absolutely ruled out the use of American ground troops.

What has changed since August? "We are into the winter, and the situation in Sarajevo is worse."

On Ukraine, Clinton is convinced that this agreement will hold where others did not because 1) "it contains many more elements deeply in Ukraine's interest" (mainly financial ones) and 2) the United States has evidence that the dismantling of SS-24's has already begun.

Then there was a lot of what might churlishly be described as mega-spin from Mr. Gergen, also clad in the raiment of senior Administration official.

Much of it was anodyne, but he quoted Clinton as saying to members of the staff in a discussion of the results of the Brussels meetings: ``I believe Europe knows now that the United States does intend to stay engaged and is leading.'' How would he sell Partnership for Peace in Prague? Lake jumped back in to say that he would tell the eastern Europeans that ``it is now a question not of whether but when and how'' NATO will be expanded.

Finally, Gergen offered the view that Woerner and Clinton had bonded with particular vigor at Brussels.

R. W. Apple Jr., The New York Times

January 11, 1994

Pool Report #16

Prague - Airport Arrival Prague/Castle Welcome

Havel was waiting nervously for Clinton, standing in the cold, without gloves rubbing his hands and checking to make sure his tie was straight. Clinton came down the steps to greet him and was met by a Czech military unit with silver bayonets pointed upward.

The impossibly long motorcade to town was lined by many Czech citizens who had been waiting up to an hour. They cheered and waved as the limo passed by. A few human rights and Green Peace demonstrators were outside the airport, but they were few in number.

At Prague Castle, Clinton and Havel shook hands with people outside the gate. Clinton also shook hands with Senator Dennis DeConcini, who had been in Brussels and flew here as Chairman of the Treasury subcommittee, seeing how the Secret Service spends its' money. DeConcini said he was just here for the night and going back in the morning.

In the courtyard of the Castle, Havel and Clinton stood at attention for the playing of both countries' National Anthems. The scene was resplendent with the Castle in the background, but there were no American flags. Clinton, a full head taller than Havel, seemed to be in awe of his surroundings.

Inside the Castle at the first meeting in the Hapsburg Room, Clinton held his arms wide open and said, "You'll notice President Havel's modest little surrounding." Havel was asked about his feelings on the Partnership for Peace Plan. He answered in Czech and his translators said, "Our attitude to the plan is very favorable."

Havel was then asked if he wants more in exchange for agreeing to the plan. Havel said "That depends on future developments".

As the pool left the room, which is filled with portraits and gilt, Clinton said of Havel "He's better than I am," meaning his answers are shorter.

The next meeting was in a room that looked like an elaborate wedding cake with white and gilt decorations. Havel and Clinton were at a long table with their aides facing each other and again shook hands for the cameras. Carafes of a juice that appeared to be apricot were on the table. At the table were Warren Christopher, Tony Lake, Jenonne Walker, Madeleine Albright, Dave Gergen. Gergen was rubbing his eyes and seemed exhausted, but Warren Christopher was wide awake.

Then Clinton told Havel with another expansive gesture, "When I was here as a student no one invited me here."

Ann McFeatters
Scripps Howard

Jay Carney
Time