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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Vice President

For Immediate Release January 30, 1995

VICE PRESIDENT GORE MEETS WITH
BOSNIAN PRIME MINISTER HARIS SILAJDZIC

Vice President Al Gore met with Haris Silajdzic, Prime Minister of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, to discuss the situation in Bosnia and share views on the prospects for peace. Vice President Gore reiterated the Clinton Administration's support for Bosnia's territorial integrity and adherence to the Contact Group plan. The Vice President and Prime Minister deplored the Bosnian Serbs' intransigence with regard to recent initiatives by the Contact Group. Vice President Gore assured the Prime Minister that the United States continues to support efforts to obtain a negotiated settlement of the conflict in Bosnia on the basis of the Contact Group plan.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release March 16, 1995

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

President Clinton today met with President of Croatia Franjo Tudjman, President of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina Kresimir Zubak, Federation Vice President Ejup Ganic and Member of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina Tatjana Ljubic-Mijatovic. The President dropped by a meeting that the visiting leaders were having with National Security Adviser Anthony Lake, United States Representative to the United Nations Madeleine Albright, Deputy National Security Adviser Samuel Berger and Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs Richard Holbrooke, to mark the first anniversary of the signing of the Washington Accords that established the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The President also met privately with President Tudjman in the Oval Office.

Recalling that one year ago he had hosted the ceremony in Washington where the first steps were taken to restore hope and peace to Bosnia-Herzegovina, the President noted that the Washington Accords had ended the bitter fighting between Bosnia's Muslims and Croats. The establishment of the Federation demonstrated that a multi-ethnic, multi-religious democracy was still possible in that war-ravaged country.

The President also extended his personal appreciation and admiration to President Tudjman for his recent agreement to work on a mandate for a new UN force that will help avoid the renewal of war in Croatia and a widened conflict in the region.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release June 2, 1995

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE POOL

The Rose Garden

2:20 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Good afternoon. I am very concerned about the loss of our F-16 over Bosnia and the fate of the American pilot. We are following that situation closely.

I have spoken today with President Chirac about the situation in Bosnia and about the meetings that Secretary Perry and General Shalikashvili will be attending. I've spoken with Secretary Perry and will meet with him and General Shali later today. We've also been in touch with the NATO commanders and with other governments.

I want to reiterate and make absolutely clear that our policy on Bosnia remains firm. For reasons that I think are obvious, I will have no further comments on this situation today.

Thank you very much.

END2:21 P.M. EDT

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release June 3, 1995

RADIO ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT TO THE NATION

The Oval Office

10:06 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Good morning. I want to talk with you today about the conflict in Bosnia and the United States policy with regard to it for the last two and half years since I've been President.

Let me begin by saying that I know all Americans join with me in sending their prayers to the family and loved ones of an American pilot who was shot down yesterday while doing his duty flying over Bosnia.

When I became President, we found a war going on in Bosnia that was fueled by ancient, bloody divisions between Bosnian Serbs, Muslims and Croats. The United Nations had a mission there whose purpose was not to fight the war, but to help prevent the slaughter of civilians, to deliver humanitarian assistance and to try to limit that conflict as much as possible while the peace process moved forward to end the conflict diplomatically and to preserve the Bosnian state.

I determined that the role of the United States should be to vigorously support the diplomatic search for peace, and that our vital interests were clear in limiting the spread of the conflict. Furthermore, our interests were in doing what we could, short of putting in ground forces, to help prevent the multi-ethnic Bosnian state from being destroyed, and to minimize the loss of life and the ethnic cleansing.

I determined that we certainly should not have ground forces there; not as a part of the military conflict, nor as a part of the United Nations peacekeeping mission, but that instead, we should do everything we could to limit the conflict to its present parameters and to support our other objectives.

In our efforts to limit the conflict, we have stationed some troops in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, to make sure that we don't have a Balkan-wide conflict. We must remember that the Balkans are a troubling area, and that it was trouble in the Balkans that sparked World War I.

Secondly, we have used our air power in three ways in Bosnia. First, we have conducted the longest-lasting humanitarian airlift in all history, and we've saved a lot of lives doing it. Second, we have enforced the no-fly zone in order to stop the bombing campaign and at least take the war out of the air. That has saved a lot of lives, too; and that is what our brave young pilot was doing yesterday when his plane was shot down.

And thirdly, with our NATO allies, we have made our air power available to maintain a fire-free zone around Sarajevo and other populated areas, and to support the collection of heavy artillery. This, too, has largely been a successful effort, which has minimized the fighting and the killing and the dying.

This policy has not only worked to minimize the loss of life, but also to maximize the chances for peace in a very troubling area. I know it's frustrating to everyone, as it is to me, that we can't completely solve all the world's problems, and that more progress toward peace hasn't been made in Bosnia. Sometimes, we have to do what is appropriate to minimize disasters that we confront, while we work over the long run on resolving them through diplomacy.

But let's look at what has been done. In 1992, the year before I became President, some 130,000 people were killed in the Bosnian conflict. In 1994, because of the policies that our allies and the United States have pursued together, including the presence of the United Nations troops in Bosnia, the casualties have dropped from 130,000 in 1992, to about 2,500 in 1994 -- still tragic, but dramatically reduced. And all of this has been accomplished without any involvement of American ground forces in combat or peacekeeping missions. The British, the French, the Dutch, the Canadians and others have carried that burden.

This has not been a perfect peace. Recently, after the peace in Sarajevo broke down and 1,000 or more shells were dropped on the city, the United Nations asked for air support, as they have in the past, with success. We gave it, and, unfortunately, the Serbs captured U.N. personnel. I have made it very clear to the American people all along that actions like this could occur because of the vulnerability of the U.N. peacekeepers who are spread out in small numbers all across the country. Now we are doing everything we can to secure the release of the U.N. personnel.

But let's not forget this policy has saved a lot of lives. And in the end, the conflict will only be resolved by diplomacy. Now, the United Nations faces a choice: It can either get out, or it can strengthen its force in order to fully support the mission.

If our allies decide to stay, we want to support them, but within the very careful limits I have outlined. I want to make it clear again what I have said about the use of our ground forces. We will use them only if, first, if there is a genuine peace with no shooting and no fighting, and the United States is part of policing that peace. That's exactly what we've been doing in the Middle East since the late 1970s without incident. It's worked so well that I imagine most Americans don't even recall that we still have forces there.

Second, if our allies decide they can no longer continue the U.N. mission and decide to withdraw, but they cannot withdraw in safety, we should help them to get out with our unique capacities. They have borne the risk for the world community of working for peace and minimizing the loss of life. And I think that's an appropriate thing for us to do.

The third issue is the remote, indeed highly unlikely event that Britain, France and other countries, with their considerable military strength and expertise, become stranded and could not get out of a particular place in Bosnia.

The question has been raised about whether we would help them to withdraw as a last resort. I have decided that if a U.N. unit needs an emergency extraction, we would assist, after consulting with Congress. This would be a limited, temporary operation, and we have not been asked to do this. I think it is highly unlikely that we would be asked to do it.

But I do believe that these people who have put themselves at risk are entitled to know that the U.S. will stand with them if they need help to move to safety.

Now, as this conflict continues and as the diplomatic efforts go on, we must remember that our policy in Bosnia has reduced the level of violence, has reduced the loss of life. In the last several days, our allies, in the face of their hostages being taken, have said that they expect those people to be released, but that they do not want to give up their efforts to bring peace to Bosnia. They do not want us, they do not expect us to put American ground troops into Bosnia. But we do have an interest in doing what we can short of that to contain the conflict and minimize and eventually end the human suffering. I believe this is the appropriate, acceptable, proper policy for the United States. Thanks for listening.

END10:11 A.M. EDT

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release June 9, 1995

STATEMENT BY THE COMMUNICATIONS DIRECTOR

The Vice President met this morning with Prime Minister of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Haris Silajdzic. The Vice President reaffirmed the U.S. commitment to a political settlement that preserves Bosnia as a state within its internationally recognized borders, as set forth in the Contact Group plan.

He and the Prime Minister discussed ways to create the conditions necessary for an equitable negotiated settlement between the parties, and to end the violence and suffering of all the peoples of the Former Yugoslavia.

The Vice President noted that the renewed commitment of the international community to strengthen UNPROFOR is a positive step towards these goals. The Vice President warned that the recent efforts in Congress to lift the arms embargo unilaterally, if successful, would force the immediate withdrawal of UNPROFOR and lead to a humanitarian crisis of grave proportions.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release July 3, 1995

TEXT OF LETTER FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON TO DOLE, GINGRICH ON
BOSNIA RAPID REACTION FORCE

July 1, 1995

Dear Mr. Leader: (Dear Mr. Speaker)

I have received your letter of June 29 regarding my decision to provide funding and support for the U.N.'s Rapid Reaction Force (RRF) in Bosnia.

The decision to provide support and funding to the RRF, under existing Presidential authority, was made with both the views of Congress, as expressed in your letter of June 15, and those of our Allies clearly in mind. I believe my decision is in the national interest and I will stand by it.

Your letter raises three important questions: First, whether paying for any of the RRF with U.N. assessments violates your insistence that no new assessments be used to fund it. Second, whether the failure of the U.N. to permit NATO bombing in the Banja Luka area after Captain O'Grady's rescue and after the release of the UNPROFOR personnel puts our pilots in Operation Deny Flight more at risk. And third, whether the United States should, as you recommend, oppose the RRF because its mission is not as clear and robust as it should be and because Bosnia would be better off if the U.N. mission collapsed, which I understand is your position. Let me begin with the last question first.

Having reviewed the alternatives and their likely consequences, I believe that we must support our Allies and UNPROFOR's continued presence. Were UNPROFOR to withdraw, there would be no substitute for its critical role in allowing the parties to diminish the wide-scale conflict that existed prior to its deployment (thus reducing civilian casualties from over 130,000 in 1992 to under 3,000 last year), assisting UNHCR in providing aid to over 2.8 million Bosnians, and maintaining peaceful relations among the Federation partners in most of central Bosnia. If we force the UN to withdraw and there is a dramatic increase in the loss of life and human suffering, what will our responsibility then be? If the United States, in effect, drives the French, British and other UNPROFOR contributors out of Bosnia, what is our responsibility for the consequences?

I agree that more is needed, as do our Allies: that is why they have called for creation of the RRF. Support for the RRF is essential to the strengthening of UNPROFOR. Failures to provide that support would result in a split in the NATO Alliance, a heightened risk that the conflict would spread to neighboring regions, greater suffering by the Bosnian people, and an increased danger that we would need to insert a large number of U.S. forces as part of a potentially dangerous NATO withdrawal operation. The RRF would make it less likely that UNPROFOR would have to withdraw, while at the same time increasing the capacity for a safe UNPROFOR withdrawal should that nevertheless become necessary.

As to the level and nature of U.S. support for the RRF, it is our NATO Allies who will deploy the forces, bear most of the burden, and take most of the risks. They deserve our support, both politically and materially. At the same time, given the already considerable U.S. contributions to operations in the former Yugoslavia, we have gained Allied agreement that financing the RRF should not be done on a business-as-usual basis. Accordingly, I have insisted that the bulk of the funding be provided through voluntary contributions. I agreed to the partial U.S. funding using UN assessments of \$35 million -- less than 8 percent of total estimated RRF costs -- because that is limited to meeting our obligations under UNPROFOR force ceilings that were agreed to long before you and I had our conversation about not funding the RRF with new assessments. I believe this is consistent with the concerns expressed in your letter of June 15.

Because of the importance that our Allies attach to the RRF as a means of strengthening UNPROFOR, I strongly believe it is in the U.S. interest to make a voluntary contribution as well. Our Allies need U.S. assistance in transporting their forces to the theater of operations as well as equipment to make the RRF more effective in dealing with provocations. As we have explained in our Congressional consultations in recent days, this is precisely the kind of assistance that existing drawdown authorities were designed to facilitate.

Finally, I assure you that my Administration would never acquiesce in any decision that would subject American military personnel to unnecessary danger. As you are aware, suppression of enemy air defense (SEAD) packages are now an integral part of every Deny Flight mission. NATO planes are authorized to respond -- without UN approval -- if surface-to-air missile sites display hostile intent.

At the same time, we cannot expect NATO or UNPROFOR commanders to acquiesce in decisions that subject their personnel on the ground to unnecessary danger. Once the RRF is deployed, the ground commanders will have the military means to better protect their forces from retaliation and hostage-taking after NATO air attacks. Only under these circumstances could you expect the prospects for a more robust NATO air policy to be enhanced.

Our Allies are continuing to refine the rules of engagement and the appropriate role and mandate of the RRF. I will continue to support a robust RRF mission statement and insist on strong measures to ensure the protection of U.S. forces participating in Deny Flight and other air operations.

As always, I remain ready to discuss this with you further.

Sincerely,
William J. Clinton

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release July 13, 1995

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

President Clinton has had several conversations today related to Bosnia. He reviewed the situation in Bosnia following recent events in and around Srebrenica with members of his senior military command during this morning's annual CINCs briefing.

Tonight, the President has had conversations with French President Jacques Chirac and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and he plans a conversation with British Prime Minister John Major tomorrow.

In these discussions and in a series of follow-up conversations between our governments, the United States and our allies reaffirmed the importance of the North Atlantic Alliance and the importance of a continued UN presence in Bosnia and a common position toward the situation in the enclaves and Bosnia generally.

There will be follow-up conversations at various levels as the United States government works to minimize the humanitarian suffering in Bosnia, and to strengthen the UN mission in Bosnia (UNPROFOR).

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release July 14, 1995

PRESS BRIEFING
BY MIKE MCCURRY

The Briefing Room

6:15 P.M. EDT

MR. MCCURRY: For two and a half hours, the principals met for over two and a half hours this afternoon to discuss the situation in Bosnia, including the fall of Srebrenica; the options regarding preserving the integrity of the enclaves in eastern Bosnia; the humanitarian situation in Bosnia; upcoming meetings of the North Atlantic Council; the proposal of British Prime Minister Major, who President Clinton talked to this afternoon; for meetings of military chiefs of staff; and efforts in Congress to lift the arms embargo unilaterally. It was a broad-ranging discussion, overall review of U.S. policy as it relates to Bosnia.

The principals recommended to the President that U.S. policy remain to support and urge the continued presence of UNPROFOR in Bosnia to alleviate the humanitarian situation there. The principals also recommended that we continue to investigate ways to support lift and equipment to the rapid reaction force, and that we urge the Congress to support the administration's decision to do so.

The President got a briefing on the recommendations of the principals a short while ago from the National Security Advisor and from Chief of Staff. And based on that recommendation, the President has made the following decisions:

He will send General Shalikashvili to the ministers' --it's actually called Chiefs of Defense, the CHODs, who will meet in London on Sunday. The President has instructed General Shalikashvili to have a very serious discussion of the feasibility of proposals that are now on the table related to both the eastern enclaves and to Sarajevo. And the General will most likely report back to the President, to the principals, prior to an anticipated meeting of the Ministers of Defense and ministers -- well, a proposed meeting of Ministers of Defense and Foreign Ministers that would occur sometime perhaps later next week.

That also has been suggested by the Prime Minister and the Prime Minister has said that publicly.

Q In London?

MR. MCCURRY: Yes, in London.

Q Where is the meeting of the Chief of Staff on Sunday?

MR. MCCURRY: The meeting will be Sunday in London.

Q And you said the Chiefs of Staff of all --

MR. MCCURRY: The Chiefs of Staff of the military, the so-called CHODs. They are basically the military Chiefs of Staff.

Q They're not the Defense Ministers.

Q Can I ask you --

Q Anything else?

Q The five countries --

MR. MCCURRY: Yes, there was -- in summarizing, I would say that there -- you all have been asking me today about a truncated version of a proposal that you're hearing about publicly from the French, and there was no specific decision about that request from the French, but an agreement that that ought to be explored more carefully and that certain important questions related to such a military mission ought to be asked by the General and discussed with his counterparts from NATO.

Q Isn't time running out?

MR. MCCURRY: Well, it is -- the situation is certainly urgent and dire in Zepa. And the reports -- we're getting very conflicting reports there of what the situation on the ground is. We're monitoring very carefully the situation in the other eastern enclaves, in Tuzla and Gorazda.

Q Mike, just very quickly on the recommendations from the principals group -- the last one, on lift and equipment, could you read that one again?

MR. MCCURRY: I just said that they are -- we have said in the past and said all along that we are in a position -- that we would be willing to support the RRF by providing lift and equipment, and we would also urge Congress to support the administration's effort to do so. That's not implying a specific decision related to any of the proposals that will be under review.

Q I understand that. Did the principals recommend that U.S. forces take part in airlifts of men and equipment in Bosnia?

MR. MCCURRY: They did not. They reviewed that question, but they made very clear there are a series of very important questions that General Shalikashvili must review and they need to resolve those questions. And they, it would be important to say, reaffirmed our commitment to keep U.S. ground troops out of the conflict.

Q The President did not attend the principals meeting, is that correct?

MR. MCCURRY: He did not. He had a briefing on the results from the National Security Advisor and from the Chief of Staff.

Q And the humanitarian aspect of this, can we expect other decisions forthcoming very soon on that, given the situation?

MR. MCCURRY: Yes. There have been, in fact, some that have been announced earlier today, as you know. The State Department announced earlier today that we're providing \$5 million in humanitarian assistance to deal with the refugee outflow from Srebrenica. I believe Nick covered that in his briefing over there.

Q Who does that go to?

MR. MCCURRY: I think principally NGOs have briefed on that at State.

Q The President made one decision, Mike? To send Shali --

MR. MCCURRY: Well, that --

Q Is that what it boils down to -- one decision?

MR. MCCURRY: He's made one essential decision that we're talking about here now, and that's to send Shalikashvili. There were a series of other things that were discussed and that were agreed --

Q Are these CHODs a NATO group?

MR. MCCURRY: Yes.

Q Based on what you said, Mike, when can we expect a reply to the French proposal? You said that Shali has to go and to come back, so how many days will it take to get --

MR. MCCURRY: Well, that will depend on the nature of the conversations Sunday.

Q Can you give us an estimate?

MR. MCCURRY: And it depends on how quickly -- if there is an agreement on certain issues that are raised and discussed by the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs on Sunday.

Q So we wouldn't expect any kind of other UNPROFOR decisions before the Shali meeting regarding the future of UNPROFOR or a response to Chirac or anything like that? That's the next step.

MR. MCCURRY: That's correct -- the next step in this process will be to review these issues by General Shalikashvili and his counterparts on Sunday. And we wouldn't -- there wouldn't be any steps taken in the future of UNPROFOR between now and then.

Q Given the urgency, though, is it possible --

MR. MCCURRY: With the exception, perhaps, given the urgency of some kind of humanitarian relief and issues of that nature.

Q Have the French moved back their 48-hour deadline?

Q Yes -- what about the 48 hours?

Q The 48 hours, we're not going to make that, are we?

MR. MCCURRY: Well, I don't -- 48 hours I think was just a shorthand reference of a need for quick decision-making. I haven't heard the French suggest that this is an unacceptable plan.

Q What if Zepa and Gorazda have fallen before Monday? I mean, it's a matter of days for Zepa and maybe for Gorazda. So what -- all this is going to be a bit pointless in the end.

MR. MCCURRY: Well, the situation in Zepa, as I said, is very dire, has been very dire for the past 24 hours. And the reports from the there make it unclear whether it is in the same status as Srebrenica.

Q -- that there won't be a decision about Zepa before Monday at the soonest?

MR. MCCURRY: I think I've answered that by telling you what the timetable is for the meetings.

Q -- Major phone call that you -- it was a half-hour at length?

MR. MCCURRY: I didn't get the duration of the call. They had a very good review of the issues. The President appreciated very much and continued to review with the Prime Minister these details. The Prime Minister briefed the President on his intent to call for these public meetings, and there was some discussion about how they could --

Q What other countries are at this Sunday meeting? Is it the Contact Group countries, or NATO members?

MR. MCCURRY: It's the NATO CHODs.

Q What about the dire humanitarian situation, with all these Muslims --

MR. MCCURRY: Could you hold on just one second. Could you go check, I need to check whether it is that 16 or whether it is the Contact Group -- I mean UNPROFOR people participants.

Q Is there any discussion of some sort of allied help for all of these people who have been rounded up and put in these camps with no food, water?

MR. MCCURRY: There has been discussion of that issue within our government about how to deal with the humanitarian situation and how to get additional foodstuffs and supplies to the organizations that may or may not have some success in distributing them. So it's a very dire situation; we're looking at how best to alleviate that human suffering.

Q Has it gone beyond the discussions, though? I mean, are there any concrete plans, or is that going to have to wait for all these meetings?

MR. MCCURRY: No, no, no. The work that can be done on the humanitarian issue, working with the existing humanitarian lifelines in Bosnia will proceed. This is unrelated to the military discussions that would be underway by General Shalikashvili.

Q Did Major give a go-ahead on all this in the sense that he was supposed to be clearing with Major or nothing would have been done? That was the word we were -- that unless Great Britain went along with the President's ideas -- these aren't ideas yet even, are they?

MR. MCCURRY: Yes -- I would suggest that we're at a stage of which through we can share thinking on various proposals by having this review by the senior military commanders.

Q Can you elaborate a little bit on the hard questions that you indicated that General Shalikashvili -- particularly the question of American helicopters flying over Serb-held territory?

MR. MCCURRY: I really am not going to elaborate on the questions other than to say that they would obviously relate to the nature of the mission, the arrangements for command and control, the likelihood for success, duration of the proposed mission, and the types of questions related to those general subjects that you would imagine we'd want to have answered. But I decline to go beyond that.

Q Did the United States take the position that this should not be a U.N. command and control situation with the dual key and all the rest of it?

MR. MCCURRY: I would imagine that would be a general subject of discussion on Sunday.

Q Will the French be at this meeting Sunday? And have they okayed these meetings?

MR. MCCURRY: I am announcing that the President has approved General Shalikashvili's participation. I think I have to leave it up to other governments to describe their participation and the level of their participation.

Q Mike, you said that the principals discussed efforts by some in Congress to lift the arms embargo. Is Shali going to be dealing with that issue at all on Sunday? Has the President directed him to explore that issue a little bit more with his counterparts?

MR. MCCURRY: Well, there will be -- there is intense interest in that issue in Europe. I would suspect that subject will come up as a point of information. There are clearly others in our government who have been in contact with our allies to apprise them of the status of decision-making in our legislative branch of government. But the status of that measure itself is very unclear as various members of the Senate seek to work with Senator Dole to modify the language.

Q Was there anything to come out of the meeting today that indicated that the administration was changing its position at all on that issue about the arms embargo, such as possibly making a push with the allies to have a multilateral --

MR. MCCURRY: No. We have described our very strong reasoning to be adamantly opposed to unilateral lift of the arms embargo. We've also described the conditions in which lifting the arms embargo in our view would become necessary as a last resort and could be unavoidable. Our views did not change on that as a result of this meeting. But this meeting did involve a fair amount of time in discussion about the Dole amendment and what the emerging language of the Dole amendment might be.

Q Is the President not going to Camp David now because of this issue? You told us this morning he was going.

MR. MCCURRY: That's unclear, and I should have asked the President just now; I didn't. I didn't remember to do that.

Q As a practical matter, since this meeting won't occur until Sunday and any actual decision on military action couldn't take place until after that, have you made a decision in principle to allow Zepa to fall?

MR. MCCURRY: By no means. And the existing UNPROFOR and NATO authorities and decisions that are in place remain in place.

Q Just to clarify, what is it that's on the table in London when General Shali gets there? Is he taking with him --

MR. MCCURRY: Well, there are proposals -- you asked me a great deal earlier today about one that emanates from the French, but there are additional proposals as well, and there is collective thinking going into the question of UNPROFOR's future in Bosnia and ways to make that more effective, and to strengthen the U.N. presence in UNPROFOR. So I think there are a variety of ideas that are now being discussed between the capitals, and they will all be discussed accordingly.

Q Wouldn't it change the role of UNPROFOR really, to make it into a fighting group? Make it into a much more militarily active --

MR. MCCURRY: Well, they've talked about ways in which UNPROFOR could be strengthened, but it doesn't change the essential feature of UNPROFOR as it now exists. It is not currently a participant in -- it's not a combatant on behalf of one side or another.

Q Well, would it be in the future? I mean, if it tries to prevent an army from going into a town --

MR. MCCURRY: That might, in fact, be the type of issue that might be raised on Sunday. So I'll have to defer on that.

Q Well, you don't believe that the U.N. -- the 1004, I believe it is, the one that was just passed -- does that change their status at all by giving them all necessary to --

MR. MCCURRY: There's nothing about Op Plan 4104 that's inconsistent with --

Q Not 4104, I'm talking about the most recent U.N. resolution on -- demanding that the Serbs give back Srebrenica and authorizing the Secretary General --

MR. MCCURRY: Nothing that I'm aware of.

Q Is anything being done to strengthen the UNPROFOR forces in Gorazda before Sunday?

MR. MCCURRY: There's nothing -- no decisions taken at this meeting that would relate to that. But that would be a question that would be an ongoing issue before UNPROFOR and one that I think you should direct to UNPROFOR.

Q Will the Russians be at the Sunday meeting?

MR. MCCURRY: I don't know. I'm checking right now. I just want to make absolutely sure I didn't make a misjudgment. It shouldn't have taken that long to get that.

Q What are the prospects that Sunday's meeting will produce a united course of action from the UNPROFOR allies?

MR. MCCURRY: Well, the most likely is the hope that that would emerge with just that; that it would be recommendations -- clearly, these will be senior military commanders, so they would report back to capitals, most likely. But our hope is that that would continue -- it would be a meeting that would contribute to the effort to maintain the alliance, the solidarity of the alliance, and the ability to address the conflict in Bosnia in concert with our allies.

Q What's the President doing on this? Is he making phone calls?

MR. MCCURRY: I said he talked to Prime Minister Major today and he's been very closely monitoring the developments.

Q But he did not attend any of the meetings?

MR. MCCURRY: Well, the meetings were designed to prepare recommendations for him. So, as you would expect, the principals needed to discuss among themselves their recommendations to the President.

Q And then Lake presented them to the President ?

MR. MCCURRY: As is usually the case, yes.

Q Was Major the only leader overseas that he did speak with today?

MR. MCCURRY: Yes.

Q Mike, do you know what day the foreign ministers will meet next week?

MR. MCCURRY: No, and that will -- that's a proposal from the British, and then that will be reviewed, no doubt, at the meeting on Sunday.

Q Mike, I apologize if I missed this -- where is the President going to be this weekend?

MR. MCCURRY: I forgot to ask. I didn't have an answer. I'm not sure whether he'll stay here or whether he will go to Camp David.

Q Is there any dealing with the Serbs in terms of the humanitarian -- of letting people in and --

MR. MCCURRY: My understanding is there have been discussions between UNACR and the Serbs. The U.N. would be in a better position to brief on that.

Yes -- at the very least, the meeting of Chiefs of Defense will include the U.S., the British and the French. That is still being set up, and I am told the structure of the meeting itself has not yet been determined. That will happen over the next several hours. I think various capitals are now doing exactly as we've just done -- a review, a proposal for the meeting, the structure, the discussion of determining whether or not they will participate and at what level.

Okay. Thank you, everyone.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END 6:30 P.M. EDT

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release July 21, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT TO THE GIRLS NATION

The East Room

2:21 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. Well, good afternoon. I'm delighted to see you all. I'm sorry we're beginning a little late, but I think all of you know that we have been working very hard for the last few days on the crisis in Bosnia. So I'd like to say a few words about that, and then make the remarks that I wanted to make to the delegates to Girls Nation.

As you know, there are meetings now going on in London in which the United States is working with our allies to reach a common position which would permit the United Nations mission to continue, but would empower the international community to stand up against the outrages that have occurred in the last few days.

We're all concerned about those events and we welcome the statement by Foreign Secretary Rifkind that an attack by the Bosnian Serbs on the United Nations safe area of Gorazde will be met by a substantial and decisive response. For the United States, the most important word is "decisive."

The conference has also agreed that the U.N. mission should be strengthened, and that access to the city of Sarajevo should be ensured by the rapid reaction force that the British and French and others are attempting to establish and that we have strongly supported.

There is more work to be done, and the United States is determined to do everything that we can not only to deal with the problems of Gorazde and Sarajevo, but also to find a peaceful end to this war.

The meetings so far, from my point of view, are proceeding well. There seems to be a real sense of resolve to come together in common purpose, and I am encouraged. We will have more reports later.

Now, let me welcome all of you here. As all you know, I hope -- or some of you doubtless know, I was here as a delegate to Boys Nation on this month 32 years ago. This is a very different time, but a very challenging time for our country. And I'd like to make, if I might, just a few observations about the world that will be your future.

At the end of the Cold War and the dawn of the next century, our country is in so many ways better positioned for the future than any other country in the world. And I believe the chances are very strong that the young people of America will have, by far, the most exciting lives, the most full of possibility, and the most free of the fear of war and destruction of any generation of Americans ever.

But this is a difficult time as well. And let me just sort of put out the two sides of the coin. If you look at it, the positive side is our economy is strong. We have seen seven million new jobs in the last two and a half years, very low inflation, low unemployment. The stock market's at an all-time high. Business profits are high. The last two years in America, in each year we have had the largest number of new businesses formed of any year in our history and a record number of Americans becoming millionaires through their own efforts -- through their own efforts -- succeeding in our system. In almost every major area of our country where the crime rate has been high, there has been a substantial drop in the crime rate. That is the good news.

On the other hand, it is also true that in spite of all this economic good news, more than half the American people are working harder today for the same or lower incomes they were making two and a half years ago, so that this opportunity is only coming to part of our people. It is also true that even though the crime rate is down overall in the United States and in many of our major cities, young people are still subject to extraordinary rates of violence and crime, that drug usage is still way too high, and that an increasingly high percentage of our children are born into poverty in a welfare culture.

So the question for you is: How are we going to solve the problems and keep the opportunities? What kind of country do you want to live in? If you look beyond our borders, it's the same thing. The United States now is living in a world where we and the Russians are dismantling our nuclear weapons, where -- you know, when I was your age we were still worrying about whether we had nuclear fallout shelters in case there was a bomb dropped. We don't have to worry about that now.

We're seeing peace progress being made everyplace from South Africa to Northern Ireland to the Middle East; democracy restored in Haiti -- a lot of good things going on. But what you see in Bosnia and what you see in Rwanda and Burundi is an example of the continuing power of division -- division -- by race, by religion, by ethnic group to tear people apart and destroy lives.

What you saw in Oklahoma City, what we see when a bus of children or innocent tourists is blown up in the Middle East, what you saw in the subway in Japan where sarin gas was released and killed people is the new threat to our security from terrorism. And the freer and the more open the world gets, the more vulnerable free people everywhere will be to the organized forces of destruction.

So the question is how to reap the benefits of freedom and the end of the Cold War and openness, and still fight the organized forces of destruction.

My vision for this country is that in the 21st century, in your great lifetimes, we will be a high-opportunity society; a high-growth, high-wage, smart-work society, making real progress on our social problems; that people will be empowered to make the most of their own lives and the most of their God-given abilities; and communities and families will have the ability to solve their own problems. That is the kind of America that I want to see, in a world where peace and freedom and progress are always moving in the right direction.

There will never be an end to problems as long as we're on this Earth, but we need to be going in the right direction and taking advantage of these opportunities. And I am convinced that in our country at this time, when we're changing so much, there is sort of a common sense consensus about what we ought to do that has been damaged by excessive partisanship and excessive reliance on harsh rhetoric and extreme positions to divide the American people for the political advantage of those who seek to reap it.

And in a time like this of really profound change, we all have to try to imagine the future we want and then ask how are we going to get there and what do we have to do to pull together to get there. That's essentially what we're trying to do here.

So that, for example, I find myself -- I agree with the Republican majority in Congress that we ought to balance the budget. We can't afford to have a permanent deficit. But I disagree that we ought to do it in ways that will imperil the Medicare system, undermine our ability to guarantee every young people -- all the young people in this country the right to go to college and get the education that they need or undermine our ability to protect our environment and our natural heritage and our future. So we have to get through those disagreements.

The main thing I want you to know is that this is an exciting time; on balance, it's a good time. I believe that your adult years will be lived out in America's best period in history if, but only if, we find a way to live together and work together and bridge our divisions and focus on the challenges before us.

And that really will be the great issue of your time. We're going to change regardless. The question is, what kind of change will it be. And are we going to see a country like ours, which is so diverse -- well over 150 different racial and ethnic and religious groups in the United States -- are we going to see that country come together and take advantage of that, or are we going to suffer from some of the same problems we've seen paralyzing the rest of the world and leading to the deaths of innocent people?

On balance, I am quite optimistic. But this is a very serious time for the United States and a very important time for you to be here. So I hope you will keep that in the back of your mind as you spend all this time here and then when you go back home next year.

Welcome and God bless you all. Thank you. (Applause.)

END 2:28 P.M. EDT

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release July 23, 1995

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY ON BOSNIA

Following the outcome of the London conference and the subsequent NATO meeting, the British, French and American governments have delivered a message to the Bosnian Serb leadership to ensure they are fully aware of the consequences of their present behavior. This message was delivered today by three senior military officials of the three governments. It includes the following elements:

- The aim remains to promote a negotiated political settlement, taking into account the rights and interests of all the Bosnian parties. There is no military solution to this conflict.
- The attacks against the safe areas cannot be tolerated. There must be no doubt that any steps which may become necessary in order to reinforce or resupply UNPROFOR contingents, in particular those in Gorazde and other safe areas, will be taken, including by means of the **RRF**.
- A warning that if military action is undertaken against Gorazde, substantial air action will be mounted. If necessary, these actions will be at unprecedented levels.
- NATO and UNPROFOR are taking the necessary steps to that end.

The Bosnian Serbs were told that the deaths of two further French soldiers underlined the seriousness of this warning. They must realize that necessary action will be taken in response to attacks elsewhere, including in other safe areas.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release August 9, 1995

Statement By The Press Secretary
on Bosnia and the Former Yugoslavia

During his mission to Central and Northeastern Bosnia last week, Assistant Secretary John Shattuck was presented with evidence of egregious human rights violations committed by Bosnian-Serb forces in the aftermath of their attack on Srebrenica and Zepa. The assistant secretary heard eyewitness accounts of mass executions, beatings, rape and other flagrant violations of human rights and international humanitarian law. To date, thousands of civilians from Srebrenica and Zepa are missing and unaccounted for.

The United States calls on the Bosnian Serbs to provide international humanitarian organizations access to all persons still being detained. Bosnian-Serb forces also must provide a full accounting of people from the two areas whose fate remains unknown and not harm those who have survived the Bosnian Serb onslaught. The United States will continue its efforts to collect information on what is happening on the ground. All information will be turned over to the International Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia and serve to prosecute those culpable of war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide. Such criminal actions must not and will not remain unpunished.

Since Assistant Secretary Shattuck's return, events in the former Yugoslavia have provided additional cause for concern. Tens of thousands of persons have been forced to flee their homes as the lines of confrontation have shifted, most recently in the Krajina region of Croatia. This has led to a refugee crisis of massive proportions. It is imperative that all parties respect the rights of these refugees and displaced persons and, in particular, that access to this population be granted to international humanitarian organizations.

The United States has urged and will continue to urge all parties in the former Yugoslavia to show restraint and, most importantly, to respect human rights and international humanitarian law. The United States is making these concerns known to all relevant parties. At U.S. urging, the United Nations Security Council is expected to adopt resolutions condemning crimes on all sides, highlighting Bosnian Serb atrocities against refugees from Srebrenica and Zepa. The council also is expected to call upon the parties to comply with their obligations toward civilian populations.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release August 11, 1995

STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT CLINTON ON VETO OF LIFTING OF BOSNIA
ARMS EMBARGO

I am announcing today my decision to veto legislation that would unilaterally lift the arms embargo against Bosnia and Herzegovina.

I know that members of Congress share my goals of reducing the violence in Bosnia and working to end the war. But their vote to unilaterally lift the arms embargo is the wrong step at the wrong time. The American people should understand the consequences of such action for our nation and for the people of Bosnia.

- First, our allies have made clear that they will withdraw their troops from Bosnia if the United States unilaterally lifts the arms embargo. The United States, as the leader of the NATO Alliance, would be obliged to send thousands of American ground troops to assist in that difficult operation.
- Second, lifting the embargo now could cause the fighting in Bosnia to escalate. The Serbs will not delay their assaults while the Bosnian government receives new arms and training. Getting humanitarian aid to civilians will only get harder.
- Third, unilaterally lifting the embargo will lead to unilateral American responsibility. If the Bosnian government suffered reverses on the battlefield, we -- and not the Europeans -- would be expected to fill the void with military and humanitarian aid.
- Fourth, intensified fighting in Bosnia would risk provoking a wider war in the heart of Europe.
- Fifth, for this bill to become law now would undercut the new diplomatic effort we are currently engaged in, and withdrawal of the United Nations mission would virtually eliminate chances for a peaceful, negotiated settlement in the foreseeable future.
- Finally, unilateral lift would create serious divisions between the United States and its key allies, with potential long-lasting damage to the NATO alliance.

This is an important moment in Bosnia. Events in the past few weeks have opened new possibilities for negotiations. We will test these new realities and we are now engaged with our allies and others in using these opportunities to settle this terrible war by agreement. This is not the time for the United States to pull the plug on the U.N. mission.

There is no question that we must take strong action in Bosnia. In recent weeks the war has intensified. The Serbs have brutally assaulted three of the United Nations safe areas. Witnesses report widespread atrocities -- summary executions, systematic rape and renewed ethnic cleansing in Bosnia. Tens of thousands of innocent women and children have fled their homes. And now the Croatian Army offensive has created new dangers and dramatically increased the need for humanitarian aid to deal with displaced citizens in the region. But these events also create opportunities.

Along with our allies we have taken a series of strong steps to strengthen the United Nations mission to prevent further attacks on safe areas and to protect innocent civilians:

- NATO has decided it will counter an assault on the remaining safe areas with sustained and decisive use of air power. Our response will be broad, swift and severe, going far beyond the narrow attacks of the past.
- For the first time, military commanders on the ground in Bosnia have been given operational control over such actions, paving the way for fast and effective NATO response.
- And well-armed British and French troops are working to ensure access to Sarajevo for convoys carrying food, medicine and other vital supplies.

Despite these actions many in Congress are ready to close the books on the U.N. mission. But I am not -- not as long as that mission is willing and able to be a force for peace once again.

I recognize that there is no risk-free way ahead in Bosnia. But unilaterally lifting the arms embargo will have the opposite effects of what its supporters intend. It would intensify the fighting, jeopardize diplomacy and make the outcome of the war in Bosnia a American responsibility.

Instead, we must work with our allies to protect innocent civilians, to strengthen the United Nations mission, to bring NATO's military power to bear if our warnings are defied and to aggressively pursue the only path that will end the conflict -- one that leads to a negotiated peace.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Teton Village, Wyoming)

For Immediate Release

August 19, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE POOL

Jackson Hole, Wyoming

10:10 A.M. MDT

THE PRESIDENT: Good morning. As all of you know by now, we lost some fine Americans in Bosnia in a terrible accident a few hours ago, working for the cause of peace there. I have spoken with Dick Holbrooke and with General Clark in Sarajevo, and of course, with Secretary of State Christopher and Deputy Secretary Talbott. I have received a full account of what occurred. I am convinced that it was a tragic accident.

I am very grateful for the service that these fine men have rendered to their country and to the world. And I am encouraged by the determination of their colleagues to continue on. Within a matter of moments from now, Secretary Holbrooke and General Clark will continue with a scheduled meeting with President Izetbegovic to press for the cause of peace. I expect them then to come home with their comrades, and after a few days, to return to press the peace mission again vigorously.

This is a sad and tragic day for the families of the men who were killed, and Hillary and I and I'm sure all Americans send our prayers and our thoughts to them, and our profound gratitude for their service. I think the American people would have been very proud of the response of their colleagues today in the wake of this incident. And I am very grateful for the continued determination of Secretary Holbrooke and General Clark to continue on the peace mission.

Q Mr. President, as far as you're concerned, there's no need to stop the U.S. efforts to seek a diplomatic solution; this won't in any way affect that?

THE PRESIDENT: No, I hope it will intensify it. The men who gave their lives -- these were immensely talented, patriotic Americans who were profoundly concerned with what the war in Bosnia has done to the people there and what it means for the values of decency and freedom and peace. And I would think that the thing that they would want us most to press ahead, and that is what we intend to do.

Q You're convinced there was no foul play involved?

THE PRESIDENT: Based on everything we know from the -- I have now -- I have talked to Secretary Holbrooke and General Clark who were virtual eye witnesses, and they say there's no evidence of that.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END 10:13 A.M. MDT

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release August 23, 1995

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

Holbrooke Team's Return to Former Yugoslavia with New Members

The President has instructed Ambassador Holbrooke to return to the former Yugoslavia this Sunday, Aug. 27 to continue the search for peace. In doing so, we honor the memory of Robert Frasure, Joseph Kruzel and Nelson Drew who gave their lives in pursuit of this important cause that has already taken so many innocent lives.

Following today's memorial service for the three men, the President met with his foreign policy team and the new members of the Holbrooke team. They include:

- Roberts Owen currently is the Bosnia Federation arbitrator. He will become the senior advisor to the Secretary of State on the former Yugoslavia. Owen was formerly the legal advisor to the Department of State from 1979-1981.
- Brigadier General Donald Kerrick currently is the director of the National Military Intelligence Center at the Department of Defense and formerly a member of the National Security Council staff. He is on temporary detail to the NSC.
- James Pardew currently is the Director of the Balkan Task Force in the Office of the Secretary of Defense.
- Christopher Hill currently is the Office Director for the South-Central European Affairs Section of the State Department and was formerly our Charge in Albania.

The group will continue the diplomatic effort begun two weeks ago to seize the opportunity for a negotiated settlement in the Balkans. There can be no more fitting tribute to our colleagues than to persist with new vigor the efforts for which they gave their lives.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release September 15, 1995

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

The Briefing Room

10:04 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: I welcome the agreement by the Bosnian Serbs to comply with a condition set by NATO for -- and the United Nations -- for ending the NATO air strikes.

American pilots and crews and their NATO colleagues have been carrying out those strikes to prevent further slaughter of innocent civilians in the Sarajevo area and in the other safe areas of Bosnia. Now, the Bosnian Serbs have stated that they will end all offensive operations within the Sarajevo exclusion zone, withdraw their heavy weapons from the zone within six days and allow road and air access to Sarajevo within 24 hours. NATO and the U.N., therefore, have suspended air operations temporarily, and will carefully monitor the Serb compliance with these commitments.

That suspension is appropriate. But let me emphasize, if the Bosnian Serbs do not comply with their commitments the air strikes will resume.

Today's development are a direct result of NATO's steadfastness in protecting the safe areas, and the close cooperation between the U.N. and NATO. They also reflect the intense diplomatic efforts by Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke and the U.S. negotiating team, as well as those of our European and Russian partners.

Now the Bosnian Serbs must carry out their commitments and then turn their energies toward a political settlement that will end this terrible conflict for good. They should have no doubt that NATO will resume the air strikes if they fail to keep their commitments, if they strike again at Sarajevo or the other safe areas.

Today's actions, however, following last week's successful meeting in Geneva of the Foreign Ministers of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia, are important steps along the path to peace in Bosnia. A lot of work remains to be done, but we are absolutely determined to press forward to reach a settlement to this conflict -- not on the battlefield, but at the negotiating table. We can and we must end Bosnia's long nightmare.

Q Mr. President, what do you think is the possibility of transforming this into a permanent peace in Bosnia?

THE PRESIDENT: I think there's a good possibility if the parties themselves wish to do it. And Ambassador Holbrooke and his team are working hard. We're getting good support from Europe and from Russia. I think we have a chance.

Q Since you last spoke in so formal a setting, even so formal a setting as this, a lot has happened, including the biggest military operation in NATO's history -- something that you certainly urged -- intense activity by your diplomats. And you have seemed almost shy about coming out and talking about it. Is that just an abundance of caution, or why is that, sir? (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: Not an abundance of caution, but what I have wanted to do, first of all, is let our actions speak for themselves. I thought it was important to have our actions speak for themselves.

I also think it is important that even though the United States has provided a great deal of the energy and leadership in this effort, in this, the first difficult security crisis in Europe after the Cold War, I think it is important that the NATO forces and the United Nations be seen to be united and working together, and we are. And so that explains how we have tried to handle this publicly.

Q In talking with Mr. Mladic and Mr. Karadzic and in really getting them to sign an agreement, is there a contradiction because they are convicted war criminals or accused war criminals --

THE PRESIDENT: Accused.

Q -- accused war criminals? And do you think they can now enter sort of the world of nations just like any other leader?

THE PRESIDENT: First of all, those decisions will all have to be made down the line by the community of nations. The most important thing is that the work continue now to make a comprehensive peace.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END 10:08 A.M. EDT

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release September 23, 1995

RADIO ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT CLINTON
TO THE NATION

Good morning. I want to talk to you today about the prospects for peace in Bosnia. Over the past weeks, American leadership and the determination demonstrated by NATO and the United Nations has helped to bring Bosnia closer to peace than at any time since the war began there four years ago.

Let me be clear. There are many tough obstacles still to overcome, but we are determined to press forward for a lasting peaceful settlement.

At the end of the Cold War, Serbian nationalism forced the breakup of Yugoslavia. And ugly and dangerous war broke out in the heart of Europe, risking an even wider conflict in the Balkans which could have drawn the United States and many other countries in. Bosnia, a land in which Muslims, Serbs and Croats had lived together peacefully for centuries, was literally torn apart.

As President, I have worked to do everything in our power to support the search for peace in Bosnia, to stop the conflict from spreading beyond its borders and to ease the terrible suffering of the Bosnian people. We can't force peace on the parties; only they, themselves, can make it. That's why I have refused to let American ground troops become combatants in Bosnia. But we can press the parties to resolve their differences at the bargaining table and not on the battlefield.

We will spare no effort to find a peaceful solution, and we will work through NATO to implement a settlement once the parties reach it.

Working closely with our partners from Europe and Russia, last year we proposed a peace plan that would preserve Bosnia as a state with Bosnia's Muslims and Croats holding 51 percent of the land and 49 percent going to the Bosnian Serbs. The Muslims and the Croats accepted our plan. But the Bosnian Serbs did not. Instead, they laid siege to Sarajevo and the other U.N. declared safe areas, denying food, denying medicine, denying supplies to innocent civilians. They continued to make war. They refused to make peace.

This July, as the Serbs continue their assaults against the safe areas, America pressed NATO and the U.N. to take a tougher stand, and our allies agreed. When a Bosnia Serb shell slaughtered 38 people in Sarajevo just three weeks ago, we insisted that NATO and the U.N. make good on their commitment to protect Sarajevo and the other safe areas from further attacks. We demanded that the Serbs stop offensive actions against the safe areas, withdraw their heavy weapons from around Sarajevo, and allow road and air access to the city. When they refused, NATO began heavy and continuous air strikes against Bosnian Serb military targets.

These NATO air strikes -- many, many of them flown by courageous American pilots and crews -- convinced the Bosnian Serbs to comply with our demands. They stopped shelling Sarajevo. They moved their heavy weapons away from Sarajevo. They opened the roads and the airports to convoys carrying food and medicine and other supplies.

I salute our pilots and crews and their NATO colleagues. Because they did their job so well, today the people of Sarajevo can walk the streets of their city more free from fear than at any time in many months. And I want to make absolutely clear that if the Bosnian Serbs strike again in Sarajevo or the other safe areas, NATO's air strikes will resume.

Over the past weeks I also ordered our negotiators to step up their efforts to get the parties back to the peace negotiating table, and to respond to shifting military circumstances in Bosnia where Croatian and Bosnian government forces can make significant gains. The negotiators shuttled throughout the region and they brought forth the foreign ministers of Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia together in Geneva. Their hard work got the Serbs to agree to the principles of our peace plan. Thanks to the combination of military muscle and diplomatic determination, there is now a real chance for peace in Bosnia. We must seize it.

I have instructed our negotiating team to go to New York on Tuesday to meet with the foreign ministers of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia, and our allies, to push the peace process forward. Then I've asked them to return to the region to continue their intensive shuttle diplomacy and to keep the parties focused on an overall settlement.

As I've said, there's no guarantee that we can reach a settlement. There are still deep, deep divisions among the parties. But there has been genuine progress.

What's happening today in Bosnia demonstrates once again the importance of American leadership around the world at the end of the Cold War. Just think of the extraordinary achievements of the past year -- democracy restored to Haiti; greater peace in the Middle East and in Northern Ireland; Russian nuclear weapons no longer aimed at our people; the indefinite extension of a nuclear non-proliferation treaty; North Korea's agreement to end its nuclear weapons program. Each one of these is a product of American leadership. In the new and changing world we live in, America is the one country that can nearly always make a difference.

But, if we want to continue to make a difference, if we want to continue to lead, we must have the resources that leadership requires. I intend to do everything in my power to make sure our military remains the best fighting force in the world and that our diplomats have the tools they need to help those who are taking risks for peace. We must not let our foreign policy and America's place in the world fall victim to partisan politics or petty fights. Every American -- Democrats, Republicans, independents -- all of us -- should agree on the need for America to keep leading around the world.

That is the lesson from the progress we're seeking in Bosnia. That's the lesson of the foreign policy actions we've taken over the last year -- actions that have made the world a safer place, and every American more secure.

Thanks for listening.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release September 26, 1995

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

The Briefing Room

3:50 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Good afternoon. I have just spoken with Secretary Christopher and the rest of our negotiating team in New York, and I am pleased to announce another positive step on the path to peace in Bosnia. The Foreign Ministers of Bosnia, Serbia, and Croatia have endorsed a set of further agreed basic principles for an overall settlement to the war, building on the agreement they reached in Geneva on September 8th.

These principles spell out in greater detail the constitutional structures of the state of Bosnia, including the establishment of a national presidency, a parliament, and a constitutional court. They commit the parties to hold free and democratic elections under international supervision. And they further provide that a central government will be responsible for conducting Bosnia's foreign policy, as well as other key functions that are still being discussed.

The American people must realize that there are many difficult obstacles still to overcome along the path to peace. There is no guarantee of success. But today's step -- today's agreement -- moves us closer to the ultimate goal of a genuine peace and it makes clear that Bosnia will remain a single internationally recognized state. America will strongly oppose the partition of Bosnia, and America will continue working for peace.

We hope the progress we are making finally reflects the will of the parties to end this terrible war. We know it's a result of the international community's resolve, and a determined diplomacy on the part of our negotiating team and our European and Russian partners.

I have instructed our team to return to the Balkans on Thursday to press forward in the search for peace. If and when the parties reach a settlement, America should help to secure it. The path to a lasting peace in Bosnia remains long and difficult, but we are making progress, and we are determined to succeed.

As you know now, our team in New York will have a press conference and they will be able to answer your more detailed questions about the specifics of the agreement. Thank you.

Q What about your response to Senator Dole, Mr. President?

Q What else has to be decided?

Q What about that letter that Senator Dole sent you yesterday?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I intend to write him a response and to make it available. But remember, I have said since February of 1993 -- since February of 1993 -- constantly, for more than two and a half years now, that the United States should participate in implementing a peace agreement. We should not have ground troops on the ground, under the present U.N. mandate. We should not have ground troops on the ground in combat.

But the United States is the leader of NATO. No peace agreement could be fairly implemented without the involvement of NATO, and we cannot walk away from our responsibility to try to end this terrible conflict, not only for the people of Bosnia, but for what it means for ultimate peace throughout the Balkans, and the ultimate security of the United States and the ultimate avoiding of war and involvement by the United States. And that has been my position for two and a half years.

We have had several congressional consultations about it and, of course, as developments proceed here, if there is a peace and we have a good implementation agreement that I believe the United States should be a part of, I will, of course, extensively further consult with Congress.

But this has been my public position, well-known, and members of the press corps have asked me about it now for more than two and a half years. And it will continue to be my position, and I will continue to consult with Congress. Thank you.

END 3:54 P.M. EDT

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release October 5, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT

REGARDING BOSNIAN CEASE-FIRE

The Briefing Room

11:00 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Good morning. Today we take another solid step on the hard but hopeful road to peace in Bosnia. I'm pleased to announce that the parties in Bosnia have agreed to a cease-fire to terminate all hostile military activities throughout the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina to become effective on October the 10th, if certain conditions are met.

At the same time, the governments of Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia have agreed to proximity peace talks in the United States, beginning about October the 25th, aimed at bringing them closer to a peace agreement. Those negotiations will take place with the assistance of our able negotiating team, led by Assistant Secretary Holbrooke, together with our Contact Group partners.

The talks will continue, then, at an international peace conference in Paris that can help to achieve an enduring end to the struggle. This is an important moment in the painful history in Bosnia, for today the parties have agreed to put down their arms and roll up their sleeves and work for peace.

We need to be clear-eyed about this. What matters is what the parties do, not simply what they say. There remain deep divisions to overcome. We are now on the right road, but we have by no means reached our destination, which is a serious and lasting peace in Bosnia. This cease-fire, however, greatly increases our chances to end the war and to achieve a peace. The United States, together with our European and our Russian partners, intends to use all of our influence and every ounce of our energy to seize this historic opportunity to peace.

Q Do you think -- this statement, and do you wish you had done it sooner? If you had moved more aggressively --

THE PRESIDENT: All I know is, we're on the verge of a cease-fire. We're going to do our best to get the cease-fire. We have five days of hard work to do on that.

Q Will NATO police this cease-fire? How will this be enforced?

THE PRESIDENT: We're going to brief you on all the details of the cease-fire. We intend to go forward with the cease-fire, then go forward with the talks here in Washington. We hope we can start the talks in Washington by October the 25th, and we feel very strongly that that will increase the chances of peace.

END 11:02 A.M. EDT

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release October 5, 1995

PRESS BRIEFING BY
SENIOR DIRECTOR FOR EUROPEAN AFFAIRS FOR NSC SANDY VERSHBOW,

The Briefing Room

11:02 A.M. EDT

MR. VERSHBOW: I'm Sandy Vershbow, Senior Director for European Affairs for the NSC. I'm ready to take your questions.

Q What about NATO -- what role, if any, NATO had --

Q -- U.S. troops, NATO enforcement?

MR. VERSHBOW: No, this is not the stage at which NATO'S implementation force would be introduced. The parties themselves agree that they will cooperate with cease-fire monitoring activities by UNPROFOR and report any violations to UNPROFOR authorities. But NATO will go in when there's an actual peace settlement and not until then.

Q There have been other cease-fires. What makes this one any different? And what is the increased likelihood that this one will hold?

MR. VERSHBOW: Well, as the President said, we have to see what the parties do and not just what they say. And, indeed, many cease-fires have come and gone -- some quickly; some have lasted for many months. This one is supposed to last for 60 days or until there is a peace settlement. And our view is that the parties have reached the point where they see a negotiated solution in sight and they are now prepared to stop fighting for the result and try to get it at the bargaining table.

Q Will there be any practical effect in reporting violations of the cease-fire to UNPROFOR? What are they going to do?

MR. VERSHBOW: Well, UNPROFOR continues to patrol various areas of Bosnia, but, ultimately, it's up to the parties to comply with this commitment, or not. We hope they will. This agreement was signed on the Serb side by Karadzic, Krajjanik and Mladic and witnessed by Milosevic; and on the Bosnian side, President Izetbegovic signed both for the Republic of Bosnia and for the Federation. So we hope that these high-level signatures will mean something.

Q When and where was it signed?

MR. VERSHBOW: Okay, well, as you know, Holbrooke and his team have been shuttling around the -- based on positive result of the meeting yesterday in Sarajevo with President Izetbegovic and the Bosnian government, he went to Belgrade and into the middle of the night hammered out this text. Milosevic obtained the signatures I just mentioned, although Holbrooke did not meet directly with the Bosnian Serbs. Then he came back to Sarajevo this morning, mid-day Sarajevo time, to ensure that the Bosnian government was on board with every last letter in the agreement. And with that, we make this announcement.

Q The Bosnians haven't signed yet? Oh, they have.

MR. VERSHBOW: No, President Izetbegovic signed it a few hours ago.

Q What about Tudjman and Croatia?

MR. VERSHBOW: The agreement is among the Bosnian parties. Izetbegovic signed both for the Republic of Bosnia and for the Federation, which encompasses the Bosnian Croats. So this is not something that the government of Croatia is a direct party to.

Q What are the conditions to be met?

Q Are you worried about that?

Q What are the conditions to be met before a cease-fire?

MR. VERSHBOW: The conditions? The conditions are that -- the cease-fire will become effective at 0001 hours on October 10th, provided that at that time full gas and electrical utility service shall have been restored in the city of Sarajevo. Otherwise, the cease-fire will become effective at 0001 hours on the day following such restoration. This was an important issue for the Bosnian government, that continuing problems facing the civilian population of Sarajevo be solved, particularly the provision of utility service.

I should add that another aspect of this agreement which is very important is that there's a commitment to provide free passage and unimpeded road access from Sarajevo to Gorazde, which will hopefully end the humanitarian cut-off of that safe area.

Q How about military action by NATO until October 10th?

MR. VERSHBOW: Well, NATO's continuing role in the air will be maintained. We hope that if the cease-fire is complied with, there won't be any need for close air support to UNPROFOR or for air strikes in response to artillery or other attacks.

Q I take it that's local time, is that local time -- all these times, or is this GMT, or what?

MR. VERSHBOW: My understanding is that it's local time.

Q What happens at the end of 60 days if there's not a peace treaty? Sixty days seems like an awful tight time frame for these sides to reach peace --

MR. VERSHBOW: First of all, given the progress that we have made so far, in a rather short period of time, we remain hopeful that we can wrap up a peace agreement well within that time. If it were to go beyond, I think the Bosnian government has made clear many times when cease-fires have been negotiated that they will reserve the right to return to the military option.

Q Sandy, where will the proximity talks take place and when do the proximity talks lead to the peace conference in Paris?

MR. VERSHBOW: First of all, let me do that rare thing which is to correct something the President said. It is not agreed that they will be in Washington. In fact, our concept is that they will be at some secluded location outside of Washington. But the exact venue --

Q In the U.S.?

MR. VERSHBOW: In the U.S. -- but the exact venue has not been decided. The idea is to get the parties together at one locale out of the public eye where our team can then shuttle between the delegations in a more efficient fashion than they have been able to do by having to fly.

Q They won't be in same room?

Q That's what proximity talks means?

MR. VERSHBOW: Yes, proximity talks, that's the buzzword for this notion of shuttling but within one site.

Let me finish the answer on Paris -- on the rest of the process. We see this phase of proximity talks evolving towards a multilateral face-to-face negotiation among the parties. And that would be the next stage which would take place in Paris. And that's what we call an international peace conference. That's not necessarily the final stage; there may need to be a series of meetings before we have a full, comprehensive peace agreement for signature at a summit level meeting.

Q So there's no timetable that gets you to Paris?

MR. VERSHBOW: No, no timetable.

Q Are you still promoting the formula 51-49?

MR. VERSHBOW: Yes. The parties themselves signed on to that principle in Geneva on September 8th and it was reaffirmed when they added additional agreed basic principles in New York. And that remains the basis for negotiation on the map.

Q On the location of the troops -- the U.N. says Croat soldiers have gone back into Bosnia. Is that a problem and are there restrictions on the placement of any of the troops prior to the talks, the proximity talks -- or the cease-fire?

MR. VERSHBOW: Well, let me read you from the text: The parties commit to ensure that all the military commanders will issue and compel compliance with clear orders that preclude all offensive operations, patrol and reconnaissance activities that are forward of friendly positions, all offensive weapons firings including sniper fire, the laying of additional mines and the creation of additional barriers or obstacles.

This does not, therefore, require them to withdraw from existing positions, but it is meant to end all offensive action and lead to a stabilized situation on the ground.

Q The Croatian Army's movement into Bosnia today does not cause a problem?

MR. VERSHBOW: Not if they also cease operations. As I said earlier, President Tudjman and the Croatian government are not directly party to this. We don't believe there's any problem with their support of this cease-fire. And indeed, Holbrooke has met with Tudjman in recent days, and is meeting with him right now. And I think that is not an issue.

Q Can you please finish on the conditions? You listed two, sir. Are there others?

MR. VERSHBOW: No, those are the two conditions spelled out in the agreement.

Q Can you explain the gas and electric cut-off? Does that mean if the gas and electricity is cut off again, that's a violation of the cease-fire? Since the Serbs control that, does that mean it has to stay off?

MR. VERSHBOW: Well, the agreement does not spell out what happens if they comply with those conditions and then they cease to comply. I mean, it's understood that this is meant to be an enduring agreement. And I think, obviously, any breakdown on one side would jeopardize the cease-fire.

Q Including gas and electric -- that's just like sniper fire.

MR. VERSHBOW: That's very important to the Bosnian government and to us in terms of restoring decent conditions to the people of Sarajevo.

Q Is Holbrooke trying to get him to sign on to this; is that why he's meeting with him?

MR. VERSHBOW: No, this agreement does not require the formal signing by the Croatians. It's an agreement among the parties to the conflict inside Bosnia.

Q Whether it's requires or not, would you like him to sign it?

MR. VERSHBOW: No, I don't think we feel it is necessary. We understand we have his support for this.

Q Sandy, will the proximity talks be in the Washington, D.C. area, at a place like Camp David?

MR. VERSHBOW: It may or may not be in the Washington, D.C., area. It could be further removed from Washington, in order to keep one step ahead of the distinguished press corps.

Q Is Camp David an option that you're considering?

MR. VERSHBOW: Camp David is probably not high on the list of options. But that kind of environment in which we can get the parties in a quiet, secluded setting, and bear down on achieving the additional compromises needed is what we have in mind.

Q What do you think was the key factor in bringing this about? Was it the final -- the bombing by NATO?

MR. VERSHBOW: Well, I think a combination of factors. First of all, the progress that we have made on a negotiated solution, I think, has begun to convince the parties that they can get a fair result at the bargaining table and there's no point in spilling more blood. At the same time, the fact that the battle lines in Western Bosnia where the Bosnian and Croats made considerable advances in recent weeks have stabilized and the Serbs have regrouped and have even been pushing back on a few fronts. I think that meant we had the moment at which the Bosnians recognized that this was a good time to lock in the situation and focus on the negotiations.

Q Did Milosevic get anything out of this in terms of the United States, in terms of sweeteners, easing the embargo, meetings, anything of that nature?

MR. VERSHBOW: No. He simply helped bring about the Bosnian Serb acceptance of this, and thereby brought a peace settlement closer. We hope and, at that point, when there is a settlement, then the issue of suspension of additional sanctions will come into play, but not sooner.

Q What is the status of prisoners?

MR. VERSHBOW: Under the agreement -- this text will eventually be released; I do not have a clean copy yet, but it says that, "Upon the effective date of the cease-fire, all parties will immediately ensure that all civilians and prisoners will be treated humanely and that all prisoners of war will be exchanged under UNPROFOR's supervision."

Q On the day of the cease-fire or on the day of the final --

MR. VERSHBOW: No. The effective date of the cease-fire, October 10.

Q What does this agreement do as far as accelerating, if it does at all, the U.S. prospects of deploying troops to help implement a peace agreement?

MR. VERSHBOW: Well, to the extent that we are now one important step closer to a peace settlement it brings closer the day that implementation will need to begin. But as the President said, there's a lot of deep divisions still to be overcome, many hard issues yet to be resolved in the negotiations. So we're not making any predictions as to the timing of signature of settlement. It is not in the bag yet.

Q There are five days left until the agreement, October 10. Do you expect heavy military action by any other parties trying to gain some territory?

MR. VERSHBOW: Well, we would hope there will be a winding down of the military operations even before the effective date of the cease-fire. We have been urging restraint on all sides in recent days. Particularly now that a cease-fire has been agreed with an effective date, we would certainly see no real point in continued offensive action. But I can't say that it will stop until the actual date arrives and the cease-fire goes into effect.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END 11:30 A.M. EDT

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release October 11, 1995

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

The President welcomes the agreement reached today by the Bosnian parties to implement last week's agreement on a country-wide cease-fire, beginning at one minute past midnight Thursday morning Bosnian time. We appreciate the efforts of Russia and Hungary to resolve the problems that delayed the resumption of natural gas deliveries to Sarajevo, and the work of the UN in restoring electricity to the city.

The fulfillment of the conditions for the cease-fire is an important additional step toward ending the hardships that the people of Sarajevo have had to endure throughout this tragic conflict. The implementation of the cease-fire should give further impetus to the diplomatic efforts of U.S. negotiators, together with their Contact Group partners, to complete a political settlement.

The President calls on all the parties to abide by the terms of the cease-fire and to seize the opportunity to work out their differences at the bargaining table.

U.S. negotiators will be returning to the Balkans next week, following a Contact Group meeting in Moscow on October 17, to lay the groundwork for the proximity peace talks that will convene in the United States on October 31.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release October 31, 1995

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

The Roosevelt Room

11:35 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Good morning. I have just met with Secretary Christopher and our Bosnia negotiating team, led by Ambassador Holbrooke. As you know, they are preparing to leave for Dayton, Ohio, in just a few moments. There, the Presidents of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia will start direct negotiations which we hope will lead to a peaceful, lasting settlement in Bosnia.

I want to repeat today what I told President Tudjman and President Izetbegovic when we met in New York last week. We have come to a defining moment in Bosnia. This is the best chance we've had for peace since the war began. It may be the last chance we have for a very long time. Only the parties to this terrible conflict can end it. The world now looks to them to turn the horror of war to the promise of peace.

The United States and our partners -- Russia, Germany, France and the United Kingdom -- must do everything in our power to support them. That is what I have just instructed Secretary Christopher and our team to do in the days ahead in Dayton. We will succeed only if America continues to lead.

Already our military strength through NATO and our diplomatic determination have advanced the possibility of peace in Bosnia. We can't stop now. The responsibilities of leadership are real, but the benefits are greater. We see them all around the world -- a reduced nuclear threat, democracy in Haiti, peace breaking out in the Middle East and in Northern Ireland. In Bosnia, as elsewhere, when the United States leads we can make progress. And if we don't, progress will be much more problematic.

Making peace in Bosnia is important to America. Making peace will end the terrible toll of this war -- the innocent lives lost, the futures destroyed. For four years the people of Bosnia have suffered the worst atrocities in Europe since World War II -- mass executions, ethnic cleansing, concentration camps, rape and terror, starvation and disease. We continue to learn more and more even in the present days about the slaughters in Srebrenica.

The best way -- the only way -- to stop these horrors is to make peace. Making peace will prevent the war from spreading. So far, we have been able to contain this conflict to the former Yugoslavia. But the Balkans lie at the heart of Europe, next door to several of our key NATO allies and to some of the new, fragile European democracies. If the war there reignites, it could spread and spark a much larger conflict, the kind of conflict that has drawn Americans into two European wars in this century. We have to end the war in Bosnia and do it now.

Making peace will advance our goal of a peaceful, democratic and undivided Europe, a Europe at peace with extraordinary benefits to our long-term security and prosperity, a Europe at peace with partners to meet the challenges of the new century -- challenges that affect us here at home like terrorism and drug trafficking, organized crime and the spread of weapons of mass destruction. A peaceful, democratic, undivided Europe will be that kind of partner.

In Dayton, our diplomats face a tremendous challenge. There is no guarantee they will succeed. America can help the parties negotiate a settlement, but we cannot impose a peace. In recent weeks, thanks to our mediation efforts, the parties to the war have made real progress. The parties have put into effect a Bosnia-wide cease-fire. They have agreed to the basic principles of a settlement. Bosnia will remain a single state comprised of two entities -- but, I repeat, a single state. There must be free elections and democratic institutions of government at the national and regional levels.

Now, beyond this, many difficult issues remain to be resolved. These include the internal boundary between the Bosnia-Croat Federation and the Serb Republic, the status of Sarajevo, the practical steps that need to be taken to separate hostile forces, and the procedures for free elections. That's just a few of the difficult issues this team will have to confront beginning today.

I urge the parties to negotiate seriously for the good of their own people. So much is riding on the success in Dayton, and the whole world is watching. If the parties do reach a settlement, NATO must help to secure it; and the United States, as NATO's leader, must participate in such an effort.

Again I say, there is no substitute for American leadership. After so many years of violence and bloodshed, a credible international military presence in Bosnia is needed to give the parties confidence to live up to their own agreements and to give them time to begin the long, hard work of rebuilding and living together again. NATO is the one organization with the track record and the strength to implement a settlement.

And as I've said many times, the United States, the source of NATO's military strength, must participate. If we don't participate in the implementation force our NATO partners, understandably, would reconsider their own commitments. We would undermine American leadership of the Alliance. We would weaken the Alliance itself. And the hard-won peace in Bosnia could be lost.

American troops would not be deployed -- I say this again -- would not be deployed unless and until the parties reach a peace agreement. We must first have a peace agreement. And that is what I would urge the American people and the members of Congress to focus on over the next few days. They would, if going into Bosnia, operate under NATO command, with clear rules of engagement and a clearly defined mission. They would not be asked to keep a peace that cannot be kept. But they would make sure we do our part in helping peace to hold.

As the peace process moves forward I will continue to consult closely with the Congress. If a peace agreement is reached I will request an expression of support in Congress for committing United States troops to a NATO implementation force. Our foreign policy works best when we work together. I want the widest possible support for peace.

But now it would be premature to request an expression of support because we can't decide many of the details of implementation until an agreement is clearly shaped and defined. Let me stress again, we aren't there yet; there are still difficult obstacles ahead. The focus on Dayton must be on securing the peace. Without peace there will be nothing for us to secure.

Earlier this month in New Jersey, I had the privilege of spending time with His Holiness Pope Paul -- Pope John Paul II. At the end of our meeting, the Pope said something to me I would like to repeat. He said, you know, I am not a young man. I have lived through most of this century. This century began with a war in Sarajevo. Mr. President, you must not let it end with a war in Sarajevo.

All of us must do our part to hear the Pope's plea. Our conscience as a nation devoted to freedom and tolerance demands it. Our conscience as a nation that wants to end this mindless slaughter demands it. Our enduring interest in the security and stability of Europe demand it. This is our challenge. And I'm determined to do everything I can to see that America meets that challenge.

Thank you.

Q Mr. President, what is the effect of the House resolution on these talks? And do you feel hemmed in by them?

THE PRESIDENT: No. No, I wouldn't expect it to have any effect on the talks. I think we have to get the peace agreement first. I expect to consult intensively with the leaders of Congress, beginning -- I believe tomorrow the congressional leadership is coming in and I expect to talk to them about Bosnia in detail, and then to keep working with the congressional leadership and with members of Congress who are interested in this right along, all the way through the process. And I expect them to say that they want to ask questions and to have them answered before they would agree to the policy that I will embark on.

Q Mr. President, looking back at the advice that General Colin Powell gave you on Bosnia when he was Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, was that bad advice, his reluctance to use air power to force the parties into negotiations?

THE PRESIDENT: Let me tell you, today we're starting a peace process. And we have done things that have brought us to this point. I believe we have done the right things. But I think the American people should be focused on peace and on the process and the work before us.

Q Mr. President, are you going to make peace with the Republicans tomorrow and strike some sort of debt extension agreement?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I look forward to having the opportunity to discuss that with them. I know Senator Dole and Leon Panetta have had a brief conversation about it. I know that a lot of others are contacting the Congress about it. So we'll have a chance to talk about that tomorrow as well.

Q Are you willing to accept a short-term, through November 29th, as has been suggested, extension?

THE PRESIDENT: I think any responsible extension is a move forward. I think the main thing is we want to send a message to the world and to our own financial markets and to our own people that America honors its commitments; that we are not going to see the first example in the history of the republic where we don't pay our bills.

Thank you very much.

Q Mr. President, have you been briefed on the Aldrich Ames damage assessment?

Q Are you happy about Canada?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

END 11:45 A.M. EST

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release November 21, 1995

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

The Rose Garden

11:40 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Good morning. About an hour ago I spoke with Secretary Christopher in Dayton, Ohio. He informed me that the Presidents of Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia have reached a peace agreement to end the war in Bosnia. To end the worst conflict in Europe since World War II.

After nearly four years of 250,000 people killed, two million refugees, atrocities that have appalled people all over the world, the people of Bosnia finally have a chance to turn from the horror of war to the promise of peace.

The Presidents of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia have made an historic and heroic choice. They have heeded the will of their people. Whatever their ethnic group, the overwhelming majority of Bosnia citizens and the citizens of Croatia and Serbia want the same thing. They want to stop the slaughter; they want to put an end to the violence and war; they want to give their children and their grandchildren a chance to lead a normal life. Today, thank God, the voices of those people have been heard.

I want to congratulate America's negotiating team, led by Secretary Christopher and Ambassador Holbrooke, for their extraordinary service. Their determination, along with that of our European and Russian partners, along with NATO's resolve, brought the parties to the negotiating table. Then their single-minded pursuit of peace in Dayton made today's agreement a possibility, and eventually, a reality.

The people of Bosnia, the American people, indeed people throughout the world, should be very thankful for this event today. The peace plan agreed to would preserve Bosnia as a single state, within its present borders and with international recognition. The state will be made up of two parts, the Bosnian Croat Federation and the Bosnian Serb Republic, with a fair distribution of land between the two. The capital city of Sarajevo will remain united.

There will be an effective central government, including a national parliament, a presidency and a constitutional court, with responsibility for foreign policy, foreign trade, monetary policy, citizenship, immigration and other important functions.

The presidency and the parliament will be chosen through free democratic elections, held under international supervision. Refugees will be allowed to return to their homes. People will be able to move freely throughout Bosnia. And the human rights of every Bosnian citizen will be monitored by an independent commission and an internationally-trained civilian police. Those individuals charged with war crimes will be excluded from political life.

Now that the parties to the war have made a serious commitment to peace, we must help them to make it work. All the parties have asked for a strong international force to supervise the separation of forces and to give them confidence that each side will live up to their agreements. Only NATO can do that job. And the United States as NATO's leader must play an essential role in this mission. Without us, the hard-won peace would be lost, the war would resume, the slaughter of innocents would begin again. And the conflict that already has claimed so many people could spread like poison throughout the entire region.

We are at a decisive moment. The parties have chosen peace. America must choose peace as well. Now that a detailed settlement has been reached, NATO will rapidly complete its planning for the implementation force known as IFOR. The plan soon will be submitted to me for review and for approval. As of now, we expect that about one-third of IFOR's force will be American. The rest will come from our NATO partners and from other nations throughout the world.

At the same time, once the agreement is signed the international community will initiate a parallel program to provide humanitarian relief, to begin the job of rebuilding, to help the thousands of refugees return to their homes, to monitor free elections. In short, to help the Bosnian people create the conditions of lasting peace.

The NATO military mission will be clear and limited. Our troops will take their orders only from the American general who commands NATO. They will have authority to meet any threat to their safety or any violation of the peace agreement with immediate and decisive force. And there will be a reasonable timetable for their withdrawal.

I am satisfied that the NATO implementation plan is clear, limited, and achievable; and that the risks to our troops are minimized. I will promptly consult with Congress when I receive this plan, and if I am fully satisfied with it when I see it in its final form. I will ask Congress to support American participation.

The central fact for us as Americans is this: Our leadership made this peace agreement possible, and helped to bring an end to the senseless slaughter of so many innocent people that our fellow citizens had to watch night after night after night for four long years on their television screens. Now American leadership, together with our allies, is needed to make this peace real and enduring. Our values, our interests and our leadership all over the world are at stake.

I ask all Americans in this Thanksgiving week to take some time to say a simple prayer of thanksgiving that this peace has been reached, that our nation was able to play an important role in stopping the suffering and the slaughter. May God bless the peace and the United States.

Q Mr. President, Congress seems deeply skeptical of sending American troops to Bosnia right now. How are you going to turn that around, and how soon would American forces have to go into Bosnia?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, first of all, I believe it's important for the Congress to have a chance to review this peace agreement and to receive the assurances from the leaders of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia that they intend to do everything in their power to make sure the agreement is implemented in good faith and with peaceful intent and absolutely minimal violence. I think that will be an imperative part of this endeavor.

I will work with the leaders of Congress to establish a schedule for implementing that. I have placed calls to the Speaker, the Majority Leader of the Senate, and the Minority Leaders of the Senate and the House shortly before I came out here. I was only able to reach the Speaker. The others were in transit, but I will speak to them all today. And I will work with them to establish a schedule for consultation with Congress that will begin as soon as I approve the final NATO plan.

I have had extensive briefings on this plan. And as I said, I am satisfied that based on what we knew at the time I was briefed, we had a clear, limited achievable mission that minimized the risks to not only the uniformed forces of the United States, but others who would participate as well. When I see the final plan, if I remain of that opinion, I will immediately consult with Congress and we will have an agreed-upon schedule for consultations, which I think will begin immediately in terms of the detail of the peace agreement itself. And that is the responsibility that I have to bear, and I intend to assume it.

Now, we have assured Congress that there will be no complete deployment until they have a chance to be heard on this issue. The only things that will be done in the preliminary period, assuming that things go forward as we anticipate today and you hear what I think you will hear shortly from the three Presidents, is that there will be some preliminary planning done in the Bosnia area, which is absolutely essential and which we have already fully disclosed to the Congress.

But beyond that, the Congress will have a period of weeks before the final formal signing ceremony, which would trigger the involvement of NATO's forces. So that's what I expect will happen.

Let me say that I know you will have other questions about the details of this peace agreement, how it was reached, the number of 11th hours that came and passed -- and even last night at midnight, when I had my last conversation with Secretary Christopher, we were not sure whether there would be peace this morning. When I got up and we began to work on this we were not sure there would be peace. As often happens in a process like this, as I think I happened in the Middle East, something stirred among the leaders themselves and they decided that they should not let this moment pass for the benefit of their people.

So I believe we'll be able to answer all the other questions in the days ahead and the people in Dayton will be able to answer more of your questions when they have their press conference. The main thing is I ask all Americans to remember what we have seen and heard and read about for the last four years. And remember what the implications were not only for our consciences, but for the prospect that that conflict had spread.

The fact that these leaders have voted to bring an end to this and to give the people of Bosnia a peaceful Christmas and a peaceful future is something for which we should be very, very thankful.

Thank you very much.

END 11:51 A.M. EST

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release November 25, 1995

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE NATION

Camp David

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

May God bless the United States on this Thanksgiving weekend.

END

[View Header](#)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release November 27, 1995

STATEMENTS BY THE PRESIDENT

The Oval Office

8:00 P.M. EST

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

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

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

From our birth, America has always been more than just a place. America has embodied an idea that has become the ideal for billions of people throughout the world. Our founders said it best: America is about life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

In this century especially, America has done more than simply stand for these ideals. We have acted on them and sacrificed for them. Our people fought two world wars so that freedom could triumph over tyranny. After World War I, we pulled back from the world, leaving a vacuum that was filled by the forces of hatred. After World War II, we continued to lead the world. We made the commitments that kept the peace, that helped to spread democracy, that created unparalleled prosperity, and that brought victory in the Cold War.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Civilian agencies from around the world will begin a separate program of humanitarian relief and reconstruction, principally paid for by our European allies and other interested countries. This effort is also absolutely essential to making the peace endure.

It will bring the people of Bosnia the food, shelter, clothing and medicine so many have been denied for so long. It will help them to rebuild -- to rebuild their roads and schools, their power plants and hospitals, their factories and shops. It will reunite children with their parents and families with their homes. It will allow the Bosnians freely to choose their own leaders. It will give all the people of Bosnia a much greater stake in peace than war, so that peace takes on a life and a logic of its own.

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

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

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

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

My fellow Americans, I ask you to think just for a moment about this century that is drawing to close and the new one that will soon begin. Because previous generations of Americans stood up for freedom and because we continue to do so, the American people are more secure and more prosperous. And all around the world, more people than ever before live in freedom. More people than ever before are treated with dignity. More people than ever before can hope to build a better life. That is what America's leadership is all about.

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

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

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

Goodnight and God bless America.

END 8:22 P.M. EST

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release November 27, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT THE BOSNIA INOCULATION EVENT

Roosevelt Room

1:44 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Ladies and gentlemen, I am honored to be here today, especially with Congressman Tony Hall, a longstanding champion of children in our own country and throughout the world, and the leading fighter in the Congress, and perhaps, in the entire United States in combatting hunger. After visiting Bosnia this fall, Representative Hall worked with UNICEF to design the important Child Survival Initiative that we announce today.

I thank UNICEF Director, Carol Bellamy, not only for her work at UNICEF but for her previous service in our administration as the Director of the Peace Corps; and the USAID Administrator, Brian Atwood, who has been a tireless advocate of America's role in promoting sustainable development, in providing developmental assistance, and protecting the welfare of children throughout the world.

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

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

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

Immunization rates have declined dramatically, putting tens of thousands of children at risk of potentially deadly whooping cough, measles and diphtheria. The situation has been aggravated by the onset of harsh winters and overcrowded living conditions. Half of Bosnia's pre-war population was driven from their homes during the conflict, and even today, more than 1 million of them remain homeless.

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

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

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

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

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

This Thanksgiving our nation helped to give the people of Bosnia a blessing as well -- the first real hope of peace in nearly four years. I want to say a special thanks again to the citizens of Dayton, Ohio, who welcomed the Balkan leaders to Dayton and who demonstrated on our behalf our vast and diverse nation all committed to living together in peace.

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

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

Thank you all, and thank you, Congressman. (Applause.)

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

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

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

Thank you.

END 1:51 P.M. EST

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release November 28, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT CONGRESSIONAL MEETING

The State Dining Room

4:03 P.M. EST

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

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

Thank you.

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

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

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

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

Thank you.

END 4:06 P.M. EST

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Baumholder, Germany)

For Immediate Release

December 2, 1995

RADIO ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE NATION

Rheinlander Club Rose Room
Rheinlander Building
U.S. Army Base/Smith Barracks

Baumholder, Germany

4:06 P.M. (L)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The mission is clear and so are the stakes -- for the Bosnian people, for the security of Europe, and for America's leadership around the world.

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

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

Thanks for listening.

END 4:11 P.M. (L)

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release December 5, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT BRIEFING ON BOSNIA PEACE ACCORD

The Old Executive Office Building

11:42 A.M. EST

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The climate of security NATO creates in Bosnia will allow a separate, broad international release effort for relief and reconstruction to begin. That's where many of you come in. I cannot overstate the importance of that effort. For peace to endure, the people of Bosnia must receive the tangible benefits of peace. They must have the food, the medicine, the shelter, the clothing so many have been denied for so long. Roads must be repaired, the schools and hospitals rebuilt, the factories and shops refurbished and reopened. Families must be reunited and refugees returned home. Elections must be held so that those devoted to reconciliation can lead their people to a future together. And those guilty of war crimes must be punished, because no peace will long endure without justice.

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

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

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

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

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

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

(The proclamation is signed.)

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

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much.

END 11:52 A.M. EST

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release December 6, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO COMMITTEE FOR AMERICAN LEADERSHIP IN BOSNIA

Cabinet Room

10:00 P.M. EST

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

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

Many of you have been working for peace in Bosnia since that terrible war began. Now that the Balkan leaders have made a commitment to peace, you know that we must help that peace take hold. You understand the importance of our action and the costs of our failure to act -- something, I might add, that has been under-discussed in the public arena in the last few weeks. Our conscience demands that we seize this chance to end the suffering, but our national security interests are deeply engaged as well.

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

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

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

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

I have to tell you that I knew how the European leaders felt, and I thought I knew how the people in the street felt. But the personal expression of support for America's willingness to help broker this peace agreement in Dayton, and then to help participate in the peace mission in Bosnia was more intense, more persistent and more urgent than I had imagined -- from the Prime Minister of Great Britain to the Prime Minister of Germany, to the Prime Minister of Spain, to the Prime Minister of Ireland. Everyone else I talked to -- this is a very, very, very important thing in terms of our relationships with Europe and what we expect in terms of a partnership with Europe in the years ahead.

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

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

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

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

America is seen by all of them as an honest broker and a fair player. Each of you has played a role in creating that image; and I want to thank you for that as much as anything else. The thing that has constantly impressed me as I have dealt with people all around the world is that people believe we are a nation with no bad motives for them or their future.

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

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

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

Thank you.

END 10:08 A.M. EST

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release December 7, 1995

TEXT OF A LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT
TO THE SPEAKER OF THE
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND THE
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE OF THE SENATE

December 6, 1995

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Mr. President:)

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

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

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

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

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

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

I authorized these deployments in conjunction with our NATO allies following NAC decisions to permit implementation of the peace agreement following its formal signing. I have directed the participation of U.S. forces in these operations pursuant to my constitutional authority to conduct the foreign relations of the United States and as Commander in Chief and Chief Executive. I am providing this report as part of my efforts to keep the Congress fully informed about developments in the former Yugoslavia, consistent with the War Powers Resolution.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release December 8, 1995

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

On May 30, 1992, in Executive Order No. 12808, the President declared a national emergency to deal with the threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States arising from actions and policies of the Governments of Serbia and Montenegro, acting under the name of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in their involvement in and support for groups attempting to seize territory in Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina by force and violence utilizing, in part, the forces of the so-called Yugoslav National Army (57 FR 23299, June 2, 1992). I expanded the national emergency in Executive Order No. 12934 of October 25, 1994, to address the actions and policies of the Bosnian Serb forces and the authorities in the territory of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina that they control.

The present report is submitted pursuant to 50 U.S.C. 1641(c) and 1703(c) and covers the period from May 30, 1995, to November 29, 1995. It discusses Administration actions and expenses directly related to the exercise of powers and authorities conferred by the declaration of a national emergency in Executive Order No. 12808 and Executive Order No. 12934 and to expanded sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) (the "FRY (S&M)") and the Bosnian Serbs contained in Executive Order No. 12810 of June 5, 1992 (57 FR 24347, June 9, 1992), Executive Order No. 12831 of January 15, 1993 (58 FR 5253, January 21, 1993), Executive Order No. 12846 of April 25, 1993 (58 FR 25771, April 27, 1993), and Executive Order No. 12934 of October 25, 1994 (59 FR 54117, October 27, 1994).

1. Executive Order No. 12808 blocked all property and interests in property of the Governments of Serbia and Montenegro, or held in the name of the former Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, then or thereafter located in the United States or within the possession or control of United States persons, including their overseas branches.

Subsequently, Executive Order No. 12810 expanded U.S. actions to implement in the United States the United Nations sanctions against the FRY (S&M) adopted in United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Resolution 757 of May 30, 1992. In addition to reaffirming the blocking of FRY (S&M) Government property, this order prohibited transactions with respect to the FRY (S&M) involving imports, exports, dealing in FRY (S&M)-origin property, air and sea transportation, contract performance, funds transfers, activity promoting importation or exportation or dealings in property, and official sports, scientific, technical, or other cultural representation of, or sponsorship by, the FRY (S&M) in the United States.

Executive Order No. 12810 exempted from trade restrictions (1) transshipments through the FRY (S&M), and (2) activities related to the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), the Conference on Yugoslavia, or the European Community Monitor Mission.

On January 15, 1993, President Bush issued Executive Order No. 12831 to implement new sanctions contained in UNSC Resolution 787 of November 16, 1992. The order revoked the exemption for transshipments through the FRY (S&M) contained in Executive Order No. 12810, prohibited transactions within the United States or by a United States person relating to FRY (S&M) vessels and vessels in which a majority or controlling interest is held by a person or entity in, or operating from, the FRY (S&M), and stated that all such vessels shall be considered as vessels of the FRY (S&M), regardless of the flag under which they sail.

On April 25, 1993, I issued Executive Order No. 12846 to implement in the United States the sanctions adopted in UNSC Resolution 820 of April 17, 1993. That resolution called on the Bosnian Serbs to accept the Vance-Owen peace plan for the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and, if they failed to do so by April 26, 1993, called on member states to take additional measures to tighten the embargo against the FRY (S&M) and Serbian-controlled areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the United Nations Protected Areas in Croatia. Effective April 26, 1993, the order blocked all property and interests in property of commercial, industrial, or public utility undertakings or entities organized or located in the FRY (S&M), including property and interests in property of entities (wherever organized or located) owned or controlled by such undertakings or entities, that are or thereafter come within the possession or control of United States persons.

On October 25, 1994, in view of UNSC Resolution 942 of September 23, 1994, I issued Executive Order No. 12934 in order to take additional steps with respect to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia (59 FR 54117, October 27, 1994). Executive Order No. 12934 expands the scope of the national emergency declared in Executive Order No. 12808 to address the unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States posed by the actions and policies of the Bosnian Serb forces and the authorities in the territory in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina that they control, including their refusal to accept the proposed territorial settlement of the conflict in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Executive order blocks all property and interests in property that are in the United States, that hereafter come within the United States, or that are or hereafter come within the possession or control of United States persons (including their overseas branches) of: (1) the Bosnian Serb military and paramilitary forces and the authorities in areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the control of those forces; (2) any entity, including any commercial, industrial, or public utility undertaking, organized or located in those areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the control of Bosnian Serb forces; (3) any entity, wherever organized or located, which is owned or controlled directly or indirectly by any person in, or resident in, those areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the control of Bosnian Serb forces; and (4) any person acting for or on behalf of any person within the scope of the above definitions.

The Executive order also prohibits the provision or exportation of services to those areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the control of Bosnian Serb forces, or to any person for the purpose of any business carried on in those areas, either from the United States or by a United States person. The order also prohibits the entry of any U.S.-flagged vessel, other than a U.S. naval vessel, into the riverine ports of those areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the control of Bosnian Serb forces. Finally, any transaction by any United States person that evades or avoids, or has the purpose of evading or avoiding, or attempts to violate any of the prohibitions set forth in the order is prohibited. Executive order No. 12934 became effective at 11:59 p.m., e.d.t., on October 25, 1994.

2. The declaration of the national emergency on May 30, 1992, was made pursuant to the authority vested in the President by the Constitution and laws of the United States, including the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 et seq.), the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1601 et seq.), and section 301 of title 3 of the United States Code. The emergency declaration was reported to the Congress on May 30, 1992, pursuant to section 204(b) of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1703(b)) and the expansion of that national emergency under the same authorities was reported to the Congress on October 25, 1994. The additional sanctions set forth in related Executive orders were imposed pursuant to the authority vested in the President by the Constitution and laws of the United States, including the statutes cited above, section 1114 of the Federal Aviation Act (49 U.S.C. App. 1514), and section 5 of the United Nations Participation Act (22 U.S.C. 287c).

3. Effective June 30, 1995, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) Sanctions Regulations, 31 C.F.R. Part 585 (the "Regulations"), were amended to implement Executive Order No. 12934 (60 FR 34144, June 30, 1995). The name of the Regulations was changed to reflect the expansion of the national emergency to the Bosnian Serbs, and now reads "Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia & Montenegro) and Bosnian Serb-Controlled Areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Sanctions Regulations." A copy of the amended Regulations is attached.

Treasury's blocking authority as applied to FRY (S&M) subsidiaries and vessels in the United States has been challenged in court. In *Milena Ship Management Company, Ltd. v. Newcomb*, 804 F.Supp. 846, 855, and 859 (E.D.L.A. 1992) aff'd, 995 F.2d 620 (5th Cir. 1993), cert. denied, 114 S.Ct. 877 (1994), involving five ships owned or controlled by FRY (S&M) entities blocked in various U.S. ports, the blocking authority as applied to these vessels was upheld. In *IPT Company, Inc. v. United States Department of the Treasury*, No. 92 CIV 5542 (S.D.N.Y. 1994), the district court also upheld the blocking authority as applied to the property of a Yugoslav subsidiary located in the United States, and the case was subsequently settled.

4. Over the past 6 months, the Departments of State and Treasury have worked closely with European Union (the "EU") member states and other U.N. member nations to coordinate implementation of the U.N. sanctions against the FRY (S&M). This has included continued deployment of Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) sanctions assistance missions (SAMs) to Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Hungary, Romania, and Ukraine to assist in monitoring land and Danube River traffic; support for the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (ICFY) monitoring missions along the Serbia-Montenegro-Bosnia border; bilateral contacts between the United States and other countries for the purpose of tightening financial and trade restrictions on the FRY (S&M); and ongoing multilateral meetings by financial sanctions enforcement authorities from various countries to coordinate enforcement efforts and to exchange technical information.

5. In accordance with licensing policy and the Regulations, the Office of Foreign Assets Control (FAC) has exercised its authority to license certain specific transactions with respect to the FRY (S&M), which are consistent with U.S. foreign policy and the Security Council sanctions. During the reporting period, FAC has issued 90 specific licenses regarding transactions pertaining to the FRY (S&M) or assets it owns or controls, bringing the total specific licenses issued as of October 13, 1995, to 1,020. Specific licenses have been issued: (1) for payment to U.S. or third country secured creditors, under certain narrowly defined circumstances, for preembargo import and export transactions; (2) for legal representation or advice to the Government of the FRY (S&M) or FRY (S&M)-located or controlled entities; (3) for the liquidation or protection of tangible assets of subsidiaries of FRY (S&M)-located or controlled firms located in the United States; (4) for limited transactions related to FRY (S&M) diplomatic representation in Washington and New York; (5) for patent, trademark, and copyright protection in the FRY (S&M) not involving payment to the FRY (S&M) Government; (6) for certain communications, news media, and travel-related transactions; (7) for the payment of crews' wages, vessel maintenance, and emergency supplies for FRY (S&M)-controlled ships blocked in the United States; (8) for the removal from the FRY (S&M), or protection within the FRY (S&M), of certain property owned and controlled by U.S. entities; (9) to assist the United Nations in its relief operations and the activities of the UNPROFOR; and (10) for payment from funds outside the United States where a third country has licensed the transaction in accordance with U.N. sanctions. Pursuant to U.S. regulations implementing UNSC Resolutions, specific licenses have also been issued to authorize exportation of food, medicine, and supplies intended for humanitarian purposes in the FRY (S&M).

During the period, FAC addressed the status of the unallocated debt of the former Yugoslavia by authorizing nonblocked U.S. creditors under the New Financing Agreement for Yugoslavia (Blocked Debt) to exchange a portion of the Blocked Debt for new debt (bonds) issued by the Republic of Slovenia. The completion of this exchange will mark the transfer to Slovenia of sole liability for a portion of the face value of the \$4.2 billion unallocated debt of the FRY (S&M) for which Slovenia, prior to the authorized exchange, was jointly and severally liable. The exchange will relieve Slovenia of the joint and several liability for the remaining unallocated FRY (S&M) debt and pave the way for its entry into international capital markets.

During the past 6 months, FAC has continued to oversee the liquidation of tangible assets of the 15 U.S. subsidiaries of entities organized in the FRY (S&M). Subsequent to the issuance of Executive Order No. 12846, all operating licenses issued for these U.S.-located Serbian or Montenegrin subsidiaries or joint ventures were revoked, and the net proceeds of the liquidation of their assets placed in blocked accounts.

In order to reduce the drain on blocked assets caused by continuing to rent commercial space, FAC arranged to have the blocked personalty, files, and records of the two Serbian banking institutions in New York moved to secure storage. The personalty is being liquidated, with the net proceeds placed in blocked accounts.

Following the sale of the M/V Kapetan Martinovic in January 1995, five Yugoslav-owned vessels remain blocked in the United States. Approval of the UNSC's Serbian Sanctions Committee was sought and obtained for the sale of the M/V Kapetan Martinovic (and the M/V Bor, which was sold in June 1994).

With the FAC-licensed sales of the M/V Kapetan Martinovic and the M/V Bor, those vessels were removed from the list of blocked FRY (S&M) entities and merchant vessels maintained by FAC. As of October 12, 1995, five additional vessels have been removed from the list of blocked FRY (S&M) entities and merchant vessels maintained by FAC as a result of sales conditions that effectively extinguished any FRY (S&M) interest: the M/V Blue Star, M/V Budva, M/V Bulk Star, M/V Hanuman, and M/V Sumadija. The new owners of several other formerly Yugoslav-owned vessels, which have been sold in other countries, have petitioned FAC to remove those vessels from the list.

During the past 6 months, U.S. financial institutions have continued to block funds transfers in which there is a possible interest of the Government of the FRY (S&M) or an entity or undertaking located in or controlled from the FRY (S&M), and to stop prohibited transfers to persons in the FRY (S&M). The value of transfers blocked has amounted to \$137.5 million since the issuance of Executive Order No. 12808, including some \$13.9 million during the past 6 months.

To ensure compliance with the terms of the licenses that have been issued under the program, stringent reporting requirements are imposed. More than 318 submissions have been reviewed by FAC since the last report, and more than 130 compliance cases are currently open.

6. Since the issuance of Executive Order No. 12810, FAC has worked closely with the U.S. Customs Service to ensure both that prohibited imports and exports (including those in which the Government of the FRY (S&M) or Bosnian Serb authorities have an interest) are identified and interdicted, and that permitted imports and exports move to their intended destination without undue delay. Violations and suspected violations of the embargo are being investigated and appropriate enforcement actions are being taken. Numerous investigations carried over from the prior reporting period are continuing. Since the last report, FAC has collected 10 civil penalties totaling more than \$27,000. Of these, five were paid by U.S. financial institutions for violative funds transfers involving the Government of the FRY (S&M), persons in the FRY (S&M), or entities located or organized in or controlled from the FRY (S&M). One U.S. company and one air carrier have also paid penalties related to unlicensed payments to the Government of the FRY (S&M) or other violations of the Regulations. Two companies and one law firm have also remitted penalties for their failure to follow the conditions of FAC licenses.

7. The expenses incurred by the Federal Government in the 6-month period from May 30, 1995, through November 29, 1995, that are directly attributable to the declaration of a national emergency with respect to the FRY (S&M) and the Bosnian Serb forces and authorities are estimated at about \$3.5 million, most of which represent wage and salary costs for Federal personnel. Personnel costs were largely centered in the Department of the Treasury (particularly in FAC and its Chief Counsel's Office, and the U.S. Customs Service), the Department of State, the National Security Council, the U.S. Coast Guard, and the Department of Commerce.

8. The actions and policies of the Government of the FRY (S&M), in its involvement in and support for groups attempting to seize and hold territory in the Republics of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina by force and violence, and the actions and policies of the Bosnian Serb forces and the authorities in the areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina under their control, continue to pose an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States. The United States remains committed to a multilateral resolution of the conflict through implementation of the United Nations Security Council resolutions.

I shall continue to exercise the powers at my disposal to apply economic sanctions against the FRY (S&M) and the Bosnian Serb forces, civil authorities, and entities, as long as these measures are appropriate, and will continue to report periodically to the Congress on significant developments pursuant to 50 U.S.C. 1703(c).

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

THE WHITE HOUSE,

December 8, 1995.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release December 13, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT AND ELIE
WIESEL
IN STATEMENT FROM THE OVAL OFFICE

Oval Office

10:40 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: I have just had the pleasure of a meeting with Elie Wiesel to discuss our efforts to secure the peace in Bosnia. The citation on the Nobel Peace Prize, awarded to Elie Wiesel nine years ago, describes him as a messenger to mankind. He is a passionate witness to humanity's capacity for the worst, and a powerful example of humanity's capacity for the best.

Throughout his life, he has been an advocate for peace and human dignity and the duty we owe to one another, and I'd like to ask him to say just a few words about the decisions that are before our country and the work of peace in Bosnia.

MR. WIESEL: Mr. President, it is with a great sense of pride and pleasure that I came to support your decision. I believe it is right, I believe it is honorable. Two years ago or so, when we both spoke at the very important event, the opening of the Holocaust Memorial Museum, I left my prepared remarks and appealed to you, to your humanity, which I know is profound, to do something, anything, to stop the killing, the bloodshed, the violence, the hatred, the massacre in former Yugoslavia.

I know how concerned you were. I know you tried. You tried very hard, trying to influence the European nations, the allies, the United Nations. And what you are doing now will be remembered in history, because it is intervention on the highest level and in its most noble form.

We in the United States represent a certain moral aspect of history. A great nation owes its greatness not only to its military power, but also to its moral consciousness, awareness. What would future generations say about us, all of us here in this land, if we do nothing? After all, people were dying, people were killing each other, day after day. They stopped, thanks to your leadership. I know of no other world figure today who has done so much in the field of foreign affairs as you have, Mr. President. To send American men and women to preserve the peace is an act of courage and of decency, and I use the word advisedly -- it's an act of morality, and that is why I am here with you today, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. I'd like just to make, if I might, one or two other remarks. As all of you know, I will travel to Paris this evening to witness the signing of the peace agreement. After nearly four years of terrible destruction, Bosnia is at peace; we must not lose sight of that fact. This is an extraordinary achievement, and the question now is whether the peace will endure.

Ultimately, of course, that will have to be decided by the Bosnian people themselves. But they cannot have the opportunity to have peace take hold without American leadership. I believe our nation has already made the difference between war and peace there. Now, I believe only the United States can make the difference between whether the peace takes hold, because the actions of all of our allies depend upon our working together.

I hope that the members of Congress will recognize that fundamental truth as they consider support for our troops and for the mission of peace in Bosnia. We have an obligation as we make this decision to remember that Bosnia's war involved a lot of innocent people -- snipers and shells turn schoolyards into graveyards. There were terrified faces of women and girls who were raped as an instrument of war, there were skeletal prisoners behind barbed wire fences in what can only be called concentration camps.

There were defenseless men who were shot down into mass graves. Now we have a chance to end all that and to give Bosnia a chance at a better future. I think we should also not forget that the situation there has not always been hopeless; that's another thing I think that has colored this debate. The fact is that for generations, Bosnia was a place where people of different traditions and faiths could, and did, live side by side in peace. Its people were joined by marriage, by language, by culture.

One of the most heartbreaking things to me is to see refugees from Bosnia in our own country who comprise families that have Croatian and Serbian and Muslim roots within one family being driven out of their country. We now can give that country a future back again, and I hope the Congress will vote to do it, and I believe America must lead the way in doing it. And I thank you, Elie Wiesel, for being a conscience of this terrible conflict for the last four years.

Q What do you think the chances are of getting support in Congress?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know. We're working hard. We had another -- I had another long meeting yesterday with the members of the Senate. And I understand there's going to be a vote -- there are a series of votes there sometime today. Then I think the House will have to determine what to do based on what the Senate does. That's -- my instinct is that they have not -- it's not clear to me where it's going, but we have worked very hard, and we will continue to work hard. And in the end I just can't believe that Congress won't support our troops in this mission. That's what I think will happen.

Q Mr. President, when you sit down with the three Balkan leaders, you will come to them as the leader of a nation that is divided about whether to support them. What will you tell them?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, if they're concerned about that, I will tell them that our people have always had a reluctance to send our young people in uniform overseas -- that goes back throughout our entire history -- and that on the whole that has been a healthy thing, because we have not been -- we have not been a country that has sought the gains of empire. We have not been a country that has sought to tell other people how they must live their lives. But that we are fundamentally a good people and when we understand our duty, historically, we nearly always do it. That's what I'll -- thank you.

Q What do you think of the Republicans thinking you shouldn't go and you should work on the budget?

THE PRESIDENT: We will be working on the budget.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END 10:50 A.M. EST

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Paris, France)

For Immediate Release

December 14, 1995

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT CLINTON
AT THE SIGNING OF THE
GENERAL AGREEMENT ON THE FRAMEWORK
FOR PEACE IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

Elysee Palace
Paris, France

12:50 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: President Chirac, President Izetbegovic, President Tudjman, President Milosevic, Secretary General Boutros-Ghali, Secretary General Solana, Representative Bildt, Prime Minister Filali, Prime Minister Chernomyrdin, Prime Minister Major, Prime Minister Gonzales, Chancellor Kohl:

Let me begin, on behalf of the people of the United States, by thanking all of those whose labor and wisdom helped to keep hope alive during the long, dark years of war -- the humanitarian relief workers, the United Nations forces from Europe and beyond. Had it not been for their dedication and their sacrifice, the toll of the war in Bosnia would have been even greater.

And I thank those whose work helped make this moment of peace possible, beginning with our host, Prime Minister Chirac, for his vigor and determination; Prime Minister Major, who was a full partner in the development of the rapid reaction force and our NATO cooperation; and our friend, Chancellor Kohl, who has taken so many of the refugees and who now is sending German troops beyond his border in this historic common endeavor. I thank the leaders of the strong NATO and the determined negotiating team of Russians, Europeans and Americans.

All of you have brought us to this bright new day, when Bosnia turns from the horror of war to the promise of peace. President Izetbegovic, President Tudjman, President Milosevic, by making peace you have answered the call of your people. You have heard them say, stop the war, end the suffering, give our children the blessings of a normal life.

In this chorus for peace today we also hear the hallowed voices of the victims -- the children whose playgrounds were shelled in the killing fields, the young girls brutalized by rape, the men shot down in mass graves, those who starved in the camps, those who died in battle, the millions taken from their homes and torn from their families. Even from beyond the grave there are victims singing the song of peace today. May their voices be in our minds and hearts forever.

In Dayton, these three Balkan leaders made the fateful choice for peace. Today, Mr. Presidents, you have bound yourselves to peace. But tomorrow you must turn the pages of this agreement into a real-life future of hope for those who have survived this horrible war. At your request, the United States and more than 25 other nations will send you our most precious resource, the men and women of our Armed Forces. Their mission, to allow the Bosnian people to emerge from a nightmare of fear into a new day of security, according to terms you have approved in a manner that is evenhanded and fair to all.

The international community will work with you to change the face of Bosnia: to meet human needs; to repair and to rebuild; to reunite children with their families and refugees with their homes; to oversee democratic elections, advance human rights, and call to account those accused of war crimes.

We can do all these things, but we cannot guarantee the future of Bosnia. No one outside can guarantee that Muslims, Croats and Serbs in Bosnia will come together and stay together as free citizens in a united country sharing a common destiny. Only the Bosnian people can do that.

I know the losses have been staggering, the scars are deep. We feel even today that the wounds have not healed. But Bosnia must find a way, with God's grace, to lay down the hatreds, to give up the revenge, to go forward together. That is the road -- indeed, that is the only road -- to the future.

We see from Northern Ireland to the Middle East, from South Africa to Haiti, people turning from hatred to hope. Here in Europe countries that for centuries fought now work together for peace. Soon the Bosnian people will see for themselves the awesome potential of people to turn from conflict to cooperation. In just a few days troops from all over Europe and North America and elsewhere; troops from Great Britain, France and Germany; troops from Greece and Turkey; troops from Poland and Lithuania; and troops from the United States and Russia -- former enemies, now friends will answer the same call and share the same responsibilities to achieve the same goal, a lasting peace in Bosnia where enemies can become friends.

Why would they do this? Because their hearts are broken by the suffering and the slaughter; because their minds recoil at the prospect of needless spreading war in the heart of Europe. But they -- we -- do so in the face of skeptics who say the people of the Balkans cannot escape their bloody past, that Balkan hearts are too hard for peace.

But let us remember this war did violence not only to Bosnia's people, but also to Bosnia's history. For Bosnia once found unity in its diversity. Generations of Muslims, Orthodox Catholics and Jews lived side by side, and enriched the world by their example. They built schools and libraries and wondrous places of worship. Part of the population laid down their tools on Friday, part on Saturday, and part on Sunday. But their lives were woven together by marriage and culture, work, a common language, and a shared pride in a place that then they all called home. Now, if that past is any guide, this peace can take hold. And if the people of Bosnia want a decent future for their children, this peace must take hold.

Here in this City of Light, at this moment of hope, let us recall how this century, marked by so much progress and too much bloodshed, witness to humanity's best and humanity's worst, how this century began in Bosnia. At the dawn of the century, when gunfire in Sarajevo sparked the first of our two world wars, the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Gray, said these words: The lamps are going out all over Europe. We shall not see them lit again in our lifetimes.

But they were lit again, by an extraordinary generation of Europeans and Americans. The torch of freedom they carried now shines more brightly than ever before on every continent. That torch can shine on Bosnia again, but first it must warm the hearts of the Bosnian people.

So I say to all the people of the Balkans on behalf of all of us who would come to see this peace take hold: You have seen what war has wrought. You know what peace can bring. Seize this chance and make it work. You can do nothing to erase the past, but you can do everything to build the future. Do not let your children down.

Thank you. (Applause.)

END 12:28 P.M. (L)

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Paris, France)

For Immediate Release

December 14, 1995

REMARKS BY
PRESIDENT CLINTON
IN PHOTO OPPORTUNITY
WITH PRESIDENT IZETBEGOVIC, PRESIDENT MILOSEVIC,
AND
PRESIDENT TUDJMAN

U.S. Ambassador's Residence
Paris, France

9:22 A.M. (L)

PRESIDENT CLINTON: As you know, we will be having formal ceremonies later today and more remarks will be made then. I just want to say very briefly, because we want to get on to our meeting, that I applaud these leaders for making the decision to turn from war to peace that they will formalize today. And tomorrow, they will begin the hard work of making that peace real.

I am pleased that they have asked the United States, our NATO allies, and a number of other countries, to help them secure this peace. And I am pleased that we will be going forward to do it.

I'm convinced that working together in good faith, this effort can be successful.

Q Are you concerned that there may be some reluctance in parts of the Balkans to implement a peace?

PRESIDENT CLINTON: All I can tell you is the cease-fire has been in place for a couple of months. It has basically held. There have been -- there have been many things that have happened in the last three years. I'm sure many people have different feelings. But we believe these leaders have acted in good faith and will continue to do so. And if they do, we think we'll be successful.

Q Do you think the Congress has given you a whole-hearted vote of support on this, or how do you -- how do rate --

PRESIDENT CLINTON: -- I'll tell you how I read the vote. I think Congress -- first of all, both Houses decided not to cut off funds and to support the troops. And the Senate, in what could only be characterized as an overwhelming bipartisan vote, gave its support to the mission subject to conditions with which the administration agrees. So I was quite pleased with where the Congress came out yesterday compared to where they were just a month ago. And, again, I think that is in part due to the fact that these leaders have been willing to meet with the members of the Congress who have traveled to the area in the last couple of weeks. And I think they have seen the people and their desire for peace. And they have heard from these leaders about their desire for peace and their determination. And I feel that we made a lot of progress. And I think now that the time for debate is over, the time for decision is at hand. And I believe the United States and the United States Congress will rally behind our troops in this mission.

Q Are you satisfied with the pace of the deployment, Mr. President? Are you satisfied that the deployment is proceeding as fast as it can at this point?

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Yes, you know, it's the winter. We have snow, we have first one thing then another, but I think we're going forward in good faith and in an appropriate way.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END 9:26 A.M. (L)

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release December 22, 1995

TEXT OF A LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT
TO THE SPEAKER OF THE
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND THE
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE OF THE SENATE

December 21, 1995

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Mr. President:)

I last reported to the Congress on December 6, 1995, concerning U.S. support for the United Nations and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) efforts to bring peace to the former Yugoslavia. In that report I noted the success of our diplomatic efforts at Dayton, Ohio, to assist the parties to reach a negotiated settlement to the conflict in the former Yugoslavia and reported the deployment of a NATO "enabling force" and U.S. support forces in order to lay the groundwork for the deployment of the main body of the NATO-led Implementation Force (IFOR). I am now able to report that on December 14, 1995, the peace agreement that was initialed in Dayton was formally signed in Paris.

Following the formal signing of the peace agreement by all the parties, and consistent with our consultations with the Congress, United Nations Security Council Resolution 1031, and the North Atlantic Council (NAC) decision of December 16, 1995, I have ordered the deployment of approximately 20,000 U.S. military personnel to participate in the IFOR in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, principally in a sector surrounding Tuzla. Approximately 5,000 U.S. military personnel will also deploy as part of the IFOR in other states of the former Yugoslavia, principally Croatia. The IFOR, including U.S. forces assigned to it, will be under NATO operational control and will operate under NATO rules of engagement. In addition, a total of approximately 7,000 U.S. support forces, under U.S. command and control and rules of engagement, will deploy in Hungary, Croatia, Italy, and other states in the region in support of IFOR. These force levels are those stated by U.S. commanders to be appropriate for the missions assigned to them.

The IFOR's mission, as outlined in more detail in the summary of the operation plan (OPLAN), which I sent to the Congress on December 11, 1995, is to monitor and help ensure compliance by all parties with the military aspects of the peace agreement. In particular, IFOR will ensure withdrawal of the forces of the parties to the agreed inter-entity borders within an agreed period and enforce establishment of agreed zones of separation between forces of the parties. IFOR will also create secure conditions for the safe, orderly, and speedy withdrawal from the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina of those elements of the U.N. Protection Force not assigned to NATO. Finally, within the strict limits of its key military tasks, IFOR will endeavor to create secure conditions for the conduct by other agencies and organizations of tasks associated with the peace agreement. NATO and U.S. military commanders believe, and I expect, that the military mission can be accomplished in about a year.

Many of the U.S. forces that will deploy to the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina will be drawn from the U.S. Army's 1st Armored Division stationed in Germany, including two mechanized brigades and an aviation brigade. Other participating U.S. forces include special operations forces, airfield operations support forces, naval and air forces previously assigned to support NATO's Operations Sharp Guard and Deny Flight, and an amphibious force in reserve in the Mediterranean Sea. Additionally, a carrier battle group will provide support for IFOR's air operations.

All of our NATO allies are contributing forces as well (except for Iceland, which has no military). Non-NATO nations whose offers to provide forces to IFOR are under consideration include Austria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Finland, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Russia, Slovakia, Sweden, and Ukraine. These forces also will be under NATO operational control and rules of engagement. In total, approximately 60,000 military personnel are expected to be deployed by IFOR to the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. As in the U.S. case, the non-U.S. contingents in Bosnia will in most cases be supported by forces of their respective countries at home and in nearby countries and waters.

I authorized these deployments and U.S. participation in IFOR in conjunction with our NATO allies and other troop contributing nations following the relevant U.N. Security Council resolutions and NAC decisions and as part of our commitment to secure the peace and halt the tragic loss of life in the former Yugoslavia. I have directed the participation of U.S. forces pursuant to my constitutional authority to conduct the foreign relations of the United States and as Commander in Chief and Chief Executive.

I am providing this report as part of my effort to keep the Congress fully informed about developments in the former Yugoslavia, consistent with the War Powers Resolution. I remain committed to consulting closely with the Congress and I will continue to keep the Congress fully informed regarding these important deployments of our forces.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release December 24, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN CHRISTMAS EVE MESSAGE
TO THE TROOPS IN BOSNIA

The Oval Office

THE PRESIDENT: Merry Christmas, and best wishes to all of you on this Christmas Eve. I am honored to speak today to the men and women of Operation Joint Endeavor -- in Bosnia, Croatia, Hungary and Italy; on ships at sea and skies overhead; and those preparing to deploy. I know that all around the world Americans who wear our nation's uniform are listening, and I want to wish all of them well, just as I know they wish you well as you embark on this historic mission.

With me today are the families of seven Americans serving in and around Bosnia: Lieutenant Colonel Bob Norman of the 621st Air Mobility Control Squadron in Tuzla; Command Master Chief Jim Sirles on the USS America in the Adriatic; Sergeant William LeBright of the 26th Marine Expeditionary Unit on board the USS Whidbey Island; Warrant Officer Willie Wade with the 586th Assault Bridge Company; Lieutenant Colonel O'Malley Smith of the 353rd Civil Affairs Group; Sergeant Mark Ackerman with the 114th Public Affairs Detachment; and Linda Carsey, an Army Civilian Contract Specialist on her way to Tuzla.

These families here remind us all of the Americans we're sending to Bosnia. They're leaving their families behind. And many of them are already far from their loved ones this Christmas Eve. I want to extend a special greeting to those families today. I know that when we call on our troops to protect America's interests and values, we also call on their families. Their families' special sacrifice may not make the headlines, but we could not be successful without it, for as our troops stand up on America's behalf, it is their families who stand behind them, who keep them strong with confidence, support and love.

These thoughts are especially close in our minds this time of year. As Americans come together in this season of peace, we know that you, the men and women of Operation Joint Endeavor, are serving on a mission of peace, the noblest mission of all. The pride your families have in each of you is shared by all your fellow Americans all across our nation.

Ten days ago in Paris, the presidents of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia signed an agreement that turns their troubled region from war to peace. Our nation has an important interest in seeing that peace take hold for the people of Bosnia, who have suffered so much for so long; for the stability of Europe, which is so crucial to our own stability; and for the safer, stronger world we want to leave for our children.

There is too much at stake in Bosnia today for our nation to sit on the sidelines, and that's why we've turned to you, our men and women in uniform. You provide us with the power to meet threats to our security. You have the strength to bring hope and stability to people exhausted by war. We know, and the people of Bosnia know, that you will get the job done and that you will do it right.

Each side there wants NATO to help them safeguard the peace they have agreed to make, and to help them live up to their commitments to one another. They trust you to create a secure environment so they can seize this chance to rebuild their lives and their land. They see in you how much can be achieved when people find strength in their diversity. That is the power of America's example.

I know this will be a demanding mission, but I know, too, that you are up to the task. General Joulwan and General Nash have assured me of that. And I have seen it for myself.

Earlier this month, I visited with the men and women of Task Force Eagle in Germany. I saw in them the qualities that all of you share, the qualities that have earned our nation the respect and trust of the entire world. Your training, equipment and preparation are unequalled. Your reputation precedes you. The most advanced technology protects you. But just as important, you are strong in your character. Time and again, without pause or complaint, you step forward to serve our nation.

In this new era of challenge and change, America's obligation to lead for peace and human dignity has remained as important as ever. In Bosnia, you, the men and women of our Armed Forces, will bear that charge with great honor. You will make the difference between horror and hope, between a war that resumes and a peace that take hold.

I am proud to be your Commander in Chief and to thank you on behalf of your nation. Your mission of peace and goodwill in Bosnia reminds us all what this season is all about for all people everywhere.

Tomorrow, on Christmas Day, and as long as you are there, Hillary and I will have you in our thoughts and prayers. May God bless and protect you and your families and bring you success and a very safe return. And may God bless America, the nation you do so much to serve.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release December 28, 1995

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

Section 1511 of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1994 (hereinafter the "Act"), requires that the sanctions imposed on Serbia and Montenegro, as described in that section, shall remain in effect until changed by law. Section 1511(e) of the Act authorizes the President to waive or modify the application of such sanctions upon certification to the Congress that the President has determined that the waiver or modification is necessary to achieve a negotiated settlement of the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina that is acceptable to the parties.

In accordance with this provision, I have issued the attached Presidential Determination stating that the suspension of the sanctions described in section 1511(a)(1-5) and (7-8) and in conformity with the provisions of United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1021 and 1022 is necessary to achieve a negotiated settlement of the conflict. As described in the attached Memorandum of Justification, this sanctions relief was an essential factor motivating Serbia and Montenegro's acceptance of the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina initialed in Dayton, Ohio, on November 21, 1995 (hereinafter the "Peace Agreement").

I have directed the Secretaries of the Treasury and Transportation to suspend immediately the application of these sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro and have authorized the Secretary of State to suspend the arms embargo at appropriate stages consistent with United Nations Security Council Resolution 1021. The first stage would be 91 days after the United Nations Secretary General reports to the United Nations Security Council that all parties have formally signed the Peace Agreement.

The measures taken to suspend these sanctions may be revoked if the Implementation Force (IFOR) commander or High Representative determines that Serbia and Montenegro or the Bosnian Serbs are not meeting their obligations under the Peace Agreement.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

THE WHITE HOUSE,

December 27, 1995.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release December 28, 1995

December 27, 1995

Presidential Determination
No. 96-7

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE

THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION

SUBJECT: Presidential Certification to Suspend Sanctions
Imposed on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
(Serbia and Montenegro)

Pursuant to the authority vested in me by section 1511(e)(2) of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1994 (Public Law 103-160) (the "Act"), I hereby determine that the waiver or modification of the sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro that were imposed by or pursuant to the directives described in section 1511(a)(1-5) and (7-8) of the Act, in conformity with the provisions of United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1021 and 1022 of November 22, 1995, is necessary to achieve a negotiated settlement of the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina that is acceptable to the parties.

Therefore, I hereby direct the Secretary of the Treasury to take appropriate action to suspend the application of the sanctions imposed on Serbia and Montenegro pursuant to Executive Order No. 12808 of May 30, 1992, Executive Order No. 12810 of June 5, 1992, Executive Order No. 12831 of January 15, 1993, and Executive Order No. 12846 of April 25, 1993, effective upon the transmittal of this determination to the Congress. The property and interests in property previously blocked remain blocked until provision is made to address claims or encumbrances, including the claims of the other successor states of the former Yugoslavia.

I hereby direct the Secretary of Transportation to take appropriate action to suspend the application of the sanctions imposed pursuant to Department of Transportation Order 92-5-38 of May 20, 1992, Department of Transportation Order 92-6-27 of June 12, 1992, and Special Federal Aviation Regulation No. 66-2 of May 31, 1995 (14 C.F.R. Part 91, 60 Federal Register 28477), effective upon the transmittal of this determination to the Congress.

I hereby authorize the Secretary of State to take appropriate action to suspend the application of the sanctions imposed pursuant to Department of State Public Notice 1427 of July 11, 1991, at the appropriate time in conformity with the provisions of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1021 of November 22, 1995.

The national emergency declared in Executive Order No. 12808 and expanded in Executive Order No. 12934 shall continue in effect.

The Secretary of State is authorized and directed to publish this determination in the Federal Register.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

Memorandum of Justification for
Presidential Certification Regarding the
Modification of the Application of
U.S. Sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro

The Serbia and Montenegro sanctions program is a key element of the President's policy aimed at bringing about a settlement of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. The United States has continued to strive during the past three years to ensure strong enforcement of the sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro. This has maintained the effectiveness of the sanctions program, motivating the Serbian leadership to come to the negotiating table.

The General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, signed in Paris on December 14, 1995, produced agreement among the warring parties to establish a single state of Bosnia-Herzegovina within its pre-1992 borders. Bosnia will be governed by a central government with constitutionally enumerated powers over internal and international affairs and will contain two entities. Along with resolution of many thorny territorial issues, the parties agreed to regional stabilization measures as well as to protect human rights and fundamental freedoms and to hold elections within the next year.

The agreement required more than two weeks of intensive negotiations in Dayton. During the talks, all sides were forced to make concessions on a range of deeply held issues. The likelihood of sanctions suspension was one of the key factors contributing to Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic's agreement at the talks. As the representative of Bosnian Serb interests at Dayton, Milosevic's role was crucial in reaching agreement. Sanctions relief was clearly anticipated as a consequence of accord, and has already taken the form of the United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1021 and 1022, adopted by the Council on November 22, 1995.

Before agreeing to sanctions suspension, we insisted on a credible reimposition mechanism to ensure no backsliding on the commitments made by the Serbs. If the IFOR commander or High Representative determines that the FRY or the Bosnian Serbs are not meeting their obligations under the Peace Agreement, economic sanctions may again go into effect against the Serbs. Accordingly, we plan to leave the Sanctions Assistance Mission infrastructure and monitors in place.

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