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## THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release January 11, 1996

PRESS BRIEFING  
BY GENERAL HOWELL ESTES OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF  
AND SAMUEL BERGER,

### DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

The Briefing Room

12: 35 P.M. EST

MR. JOHNSON: Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen. Welcome to the White House Briefing Room. This afternoon we're going to have a special briefing for you today. Samuel R. -- Sandy Berger, the Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, and Lt. General Howell Estes, the Director for Operations, or J three for the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff, are going to talk about the President's forthcoming trip and the situation on the ground in Bosnia as we implement the Dayton-Paris Agreement.

I'd like to make a couple of points before they begin. The first is, Michael mentioned to you this morning that he would come down at some point and let you know a little bit more about what to expect in terms of the opening statement for this afternoon's press conference. He asked me to tell you that he would come back into your work area at around 2:00 p.m. this afternoon and give you an update on that.

The second point I'd like to make is, in this discussion today, as we've made clear all week as we've gotten toward this trip, we're not going to talk about specific locations and we're not going to talk about specific sequences and times for this trip for security and safety reasons. And that's something we're going to adhere to during this briefing as well. So if you would defer your questions on that until we get much closer to the actual arrival time.

Without further ado, Sandy Berger.

MR. BERGER: Thank you, David.

Let me speak very briefly at the outset about the President's trip to the Balkans over the weekend. I will begin by giving you an overview of the general elements of the trip and the goals for the President's visit. I will then hand the podium over to General Estes of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who will talk more about the military situation on the ground and the implementation process.

On Friday afternoon the President will depart from Nashville. He'll fly to Aviano Air Base in Italy. There he will visit briefly with U.S. troops who are participating in IFOR or supporting the IFOR mission. He'll make some brief remarks to the troops. He will then fly to Hungary and Bosnia to visit U.S. troops who are participating in IFOR.

He will be briefed by our military commanders -- General Joulwan, General Nash, and General Walker and Abrams, Admiral Smith, and others -- and address the troops in both countries. He will also view some of our military operations there. He will meet with President Izetbegovic of Bosnia, as well as with Hungary's President Goncz and Prime Minister Horn. And finally, the President will fly to Zagreb on the way back, where he will meet with President Tudjman.

The President has been eager to make this trip since the Paris signing of the Dayton Agreement on December 14th. He wants to show the American troops by his presence the deep gratitude and pride that he and the American people feel for the efforts that they are making in Bosnia. He hopes to speak to them personally about the importance of what they are doing in Bosnia, the importance to the Bosnians, the importance to the United States, the importance to the world. He hopes to gain firsthand understanding impression of the operation. And, finally, as he talks to the parties, he will emphasize the historic opportunity that they have to seize this moment to build an enduring peace, and he will urge them, of course, to comply fully with the agreement.

The President believes very strongly that the American troops are participating in this mission in Bosnia, performing heroic work under difficult circumstances. They are making a difference between a war that resumes and a peace that takes hold. The President believes they are also carrying out a crucial mission for American security by preventing a fire in the heart of Europe from reigniting into an even more dangerous conflict.

Now, the mission, if I can speak just briefly to what has happened in the past month or so, the mission, so far, in our judgment, is off to a generally good beginning. General Estes will speak more specifically about conditions on the ground and about logistics of the operation. But I would say that, once again, we have seen the ingenuity, the discipline, the training and the extraordinary can-do spirit of the American military when faced with one challenge after another.

In terms of compliance by the parties, although there have been some sporadic incidents in general, the cease-fire which was initiated on October 11th has now been in place for nearly three months and is generally holding around the country. The separation of forces around Sarajevo, which was to take place seven days after the transfer authority to the NATO mission, has been completed successfully. And we are also seeing very good signs in terms of the separation of the forces generally along the cease-fire line, which is expected to be completed next week. There has been generally good cooperation with IFOR, with the NATO mission by the parties, assistance in clearing mine fields, and generally a receptive welcome to the international forces.

There still are areas of concern. As you know, there have been some concerns by the Serbs around Sarajevo. We were pleased yesterday that President Izetbegovic of Bosnia announced a general amnesty for Serb soldiers, which we believe ought to be reassuring. And there are other measures that we have discussed with the Bosnian government that could be taken to have a greater sense of confidence around Sarajevo. We obviously want to foster an environment in which the Serbs there feel that they can remain in security.

Let me just say a word about the civil implementation effort before asking General Estes to talk about the military implementation. The civil implementation side of this being undertaken by the international community is, obviously, extraordinarily important. It did not have as long a gestation period in the sense as the military planning side. There has been planning going on at NATO for months and the civil implementation really began with the Dayton Agreement. But we believe that there are beginning now to be progress in establishing the elements of implementation of other aspects of the agreement.

Carl Bildt, who is the High Representative responsible for coordinating all of the civil elements of this agreement -- the elections, human rights, economic reconstruction, resettlement, all which will be conducted by individual international organizations -- Bildt's operation now is established in Sarajevo with two deputies; one a German, Michael Steiner, and one an American Jacques Covey.

Our full-time coordinator for civil implementation, Ambassador Bob Gallucci, is in the region this week. He's meeting with the parties and reviewing the situation, and he will be addressing full-time with his staff here our own participation with the international community in these civil implementation elements.

On the economic reconstruction side, in Brussels last week, the international community pledged \$500 million for the first quarter of this year for economic reconstruction. And that is in addition to the \$85 million in humanitarian assistance that the President had spoken about when he was in Paris.

The OSCE mission, which is charged with beginning to plan for elections, has been established under former U.S. diplomat Bob Frowick, a very respected former foreign service officer. That mission will be responsible for monitoring human rights and supervising the elections. And we are moving forward in Vienna last week, beginning the arms control process, which is part of the Dayton agreement.

So all of these civil efforts are moving forward even as the more limited and specific military missions being undertaken by our forces together with the other NATO and non-NATO forces are moving forward.

Let me say a final word on the trip, and then ask General Estes to speak more specifically and with charts, which I don't have, about what is happening on the ground.

As I mentioned, the President will be stopping in Hungary, which, as you know, is one of the principal staging areas for our soldiers who are going to Bosnia. The President is looking forward very much to thanking that nation for their support of NATO's operation in Bosnia.

We should not overlook this element of this mission. Less than seven years after the end of the Cold War, this former Warsaw Pact nation is providing critical support for a NATO mission in its own territory. This development, along with the dispatch of Polish, Czech, Russian, and Lithuanian troops to Bosnia, has been possible because President Clinton devoted himself over the last two years to building a Partnership for Peace within the umbrella of NATO and opening NATO's doors to new members. These efforts helped build a free, democratic and undivided Europe, are beginning to pay off because safeguarding the future of Europe, a continent for which and on which we have sacrificed so much for freedom, is ultimately essentially what the mission in Bosnia is about.

Let me now turn to General Estes and ask him to speak briefly about the situation on the ground.

GENERAL ESTES: Thank you, Sandy.

Good afternoon. I think I'll spend a few minutes trying to set a framework for what the President will see when he gets over into the Balkans. I think it's best to do that by trying to describe for all of you where we are on the deployment of forces and what the forces are doing once they arrive at their final destination. And I'll do that with a series of charts.

Put the first one up, please.

Now, these are charts we've used in some of the Pentagon briefings -- a couple of these -- and I think they will best describe where we are in the actual deployment because, as the President pays his visit to U.S. forces, this will give you some idea of exactly where we are and where we expect to go.

This chart basically lays out some of the key time lines across the top for what's in the Dayton Agreement. Some of these things have passed already. There have been some things that the Dayton Agreement called for that are not shown on here that we've had full compliance with, as Mr. Berger mentioned.

The key date, though, for us is this date right here, the 19th of January. And that's the date at which the Implementation Forces under NATO from all the countries that are there, within their own sectors, of which the U.S. has one, as you know, will start to monitor and enforce this zone of separation along the cease-fire line. So this is the primary and the largest task that NATO will have with its Implementation Force, and it starts on the 19th of January. So the key is that we need to be sure that the bulk of our force as we support this NATO mission is deployed and ready to carry out this task.

What you see here are the weeks since we started deploying what we call the enabling force which went before the actual peace accord was signed. This enabled the rapid movement of the main body force. That's why we called it the enabling force.

It deployed in early. The support force is the U.S. support force in Hungary. This is the main U.S. support forward location. And then we started with a command post in the Tuzla area and the security for it, the bridge being constructed, and then the main deployment of the forces -- aviation forces and ground forces.

The colors you see shown on the chart really say, here is today -- everything to the right of the line shows what's planned. To the left of the line is really a history report on, did we do it on time or were we a little late or were we a lot late based on the needs of the commander. And so you can see that some of the forces were a little late, but no major impact.

The problems with the bridge that you all are well aware of and were well reported on are shown here as well. The aviation brigade, initially a little late because of the bad weather, again, which we are all aware of -- but the bulk of the ground forces which moved by train have been essentially on time and are arriving on time and will be there on time to do the mission that's required by the 19th.

So what the President is going to see when he goes on the trip is a fairly sizable buildup of forces in Bosnia itself -- and I'll give you those numbers here in just a minute as to where we are in the U.S. sector. He will also see a fairly substantial flow of forces, which will be this part of the force as it's moving down through Eastern Europe, through Hungary, through Croatia into Bosnia itself.

Let's go to the next slide, please.

This shows the overall lay-down, of course, with this area being Bosnia itself and divided into three sectors, with the U.S. sector being in the Northeast; British sector to the west and southwest, and French to the east and southeast.

The forces themselves that were flowing in, they're coming by rail and road, are coming out of Germany, down through Budapest, down into this forward support location that Mr. Berger talked about, which is located at Taszar and Kaposvar. And this is where the large buildup of forces is taking place. Large amount of trains, in fact, over 220 trains have come down through this area, bringing our forces in. We then stage from this forward support base, move down across the Sava River, which is located right down here on the border between Croatia and Bosnia, as you all are aware. And it's right near Zupanja and then into Tuzla. So that's the flow in which U.S. forces are moving.

We have an air base that we're using, a Hungarian air base here at Taszar, and then, of course, an air base here at Tuzla and one at Sarajevo -- the primary U.S. support going into Taszar and Tuzla, although we have had some flights into Sarajevo as well supporting U.S. forces.

Over here, Aviano, you're well aware of what Aviano is. This is where our air presence is that is being used to support the NATO Implementation Force. We have the U.S. Navy, the U.S. Marine Corps and U.S. Air Force aircraft based there. Out here in the Adriatic Sea, of course, we have an aircraft carrier and a amphibious readiness group, Navy and Marines, that are there as part of the normal presence we have in the Mediterranean, although the amphibious readiness group is in direct support of the NATO Implementation Force. And so I would say, in general, this is the overall scheme with the bulk of U.S. forces going into the U.S. sector -- the bulk going there. That's where our primary mission is.

Okay, one more chart and then we'll get on to questions.

I think it's important that we take a look at the U.S. sector itself. This is a blow-up again of the northeast sector of Bosnia with this outer line being Bosnia-Herzegovina -- the line, the black line you see being the division between the Federation territory and the Bosnian Serb territory. So as I mentioned, we're flowing down out of -- this is Croatia in this area -- across the bridge at Zupanja, and then down this road network into Tuzla.

And what you see in the U.S. sector here, which is all of Bosnia-Herzegovina, both Federation side and Bosnian Serb side, is that we are deploying in our sector with other nations from NATO and non-NATO countries. And I'll just describe that to you. Down here in the south or south-western part of the U.S. sector, we will have a Turkish battalion. Many of the Turkish forces are already in place, more to come. There's a multinational brigade of the countries you see here, primarily Nordic, but other non-NATO countries as well supporting that multinational brigade that will be in this general area.

In the area of the Posavina Corridor, which is this Bosnian Serb land that runs in the northern part of the country to connect the two major parts of Bosnian Serb territory, we will have the 1st Brigade of the U.S. division. The Russian brigade will be in the northeast side, and in the southwest and south side here will be another U.S. brigade. So the two U.S. brigades, one in the north and northwest, and one in the south and southwest, with the other nations participating on either side of our force. And that's the general layout of what things will look like in our sector.

In terms of what's there now, elements of both of these Army brigades of the 1st Armored Division commanded by General Nash, are already in place. More are to come, as you can see from the flow diagram I showed you earlier. The Russians will start deploying their forces here in the next few days. Some of the multinational countries are already in place because they were there as part of the U.N. force. And they became part of the NATO force as we changed command in the theater back in mid-December. And more of them are yet to come. And as I described earlier, some of the Turkish battalion is already there with a few more to come.

Many of these forces will flow in, again, prior to the 19th, although all of them will not be there. But sufficient force will be there, according to General Nash, to be able to accomplish the mission of monitoring this zone of separation which will be along the black line approximately that you see depicted on this chart.

So what the President will see then is U.S. forces here and here in the U.S. sector. There are U.S. forces also down in other parts of Bosnia. This is not to say that all the U.S. forces are located in that sector. There are other forces which are located in other parts of Bosnia, Special Operations forces. And in Hungary he will see the primary supply lines as we push the forces down to conduct the operational mission which is oriented on the U.S. sector

And I think with that I'll stop and see if you have any questions. And Sandy, you may want to come up as well.

Helen.

Q Are people totally accepting all of this. I mean, in general, and there have been no mishaps other than, I guess, some guerrilla sniper attacks in Sarajevo?

GENERAL ESTES: Yes. I think I would say that we have been extremely pleased with the very widespread compliance with the requirements laid out by the Dayton Agreement. Have there been exceptions? There obviously have. But they're basically few and far between, although some of them, the Sarajevo incident yesterday with the street car, a very serious incident.

But by and large, when you look at the magnitude of what has to take place based on the Dayton Agreement by the 19th of January that I showed you on the earlier chart, I think the NATO commanders would tell you they are very pleased with the activity they see on both sides. We've had general compliance with the major elements of the Dayton Agreement that were required by date.

Q Why do you think that's so?

GENERAL ESTES: That we've had compliance?

Q Yes. After four years of --

GENERAL ESTES: I think, again, Admiral Smith -- I think Admiral Smith's characterization that the Bosnian-Herzegovina people are ready for peace is exactly correct. That's why you have compliance.

MR. BERGER: Let me say, just to amplify that, I think there are a couple of elements. There clearly was an enormous price that the Bosnian people paid for this war and an enormous weariness with the war. And you can see anecdotally as well as what we are hearing from the military people a general desire to pivot, to move beyond war to peace.

I think, second of all, this rather imposing international presence which they asked for in the agreement obviously gives them a higher level of confidence that there will be compliance on all sides. So I think it's a combination of the strong international presence that is there to help them realize their peace, as well as a strong desire on the part of most Bosnians to seize this moment.

Q General, could you just give us a general idea of how many American soldiers are going to be in Bosnia when the President visits?

GENERAL ESTES: Sure, I'd be glad to. When the President visits there will be in the neighborhood of 7,000 to 7,500 U.S. forces in Bosnia. As we've told you before, we're building to approximately 20,000. And that force flow and the building of these forces, as I showed you earlier, goes on through about the 7th of February. The bulk of the force, though, the combat force required to do the mission will be there in time, by the 19th. What comes after the 19th is some additional combat force that will be required to do other things that are laid out by the Dayton Agreement, and then the sustainment of the force, the ability to support it long-term -- that's what comes later.

Q And the numbers in Hungary?

GENERAL ESTES: The numbers in Hungary -- of course, as we flow forces through, we have big fluctuations in those numbers in both Hungary and Croatia. But in Hungary and in Italy, the two rim countries, as we call them, the total is about 7,000. That's about the steady state. We won't go above that. And the steady state in Croatia, which is primarily support for the Implementation Force, will be no more than 5,000. So 20,000, approximately, inside of Bosnia. No more than 5,000 in Croatia. And no more than about 7,000 in Hungary and Italy, which is where the support is located.

Q About how many troops will be in Hungary when the President is there?

GENERAL ESTES: We would expect again in the neighborhood of about 7,000 in Hungary. There's about 7,000 U.S. forces in Hungary at the moment.

Q Sandy, although your reluctance to discuss the exact itinerary this far in advance of the President's trip speaks to it, to what extent did security concerns argue against the President's visit?

MR. BERGER: Well, the President has waited -- as I said, he's been anxious to go from the beginning to demonstrate his gratitude and support for our troops. He's waited to do that until he was assured by our military commanders and those responsible for security of two things: Number one, a visit would not interfere with the deployment. There was some concern in the very early days that they basically wanted a clear shot here, no outside visitors, even the Commander in Chief, so that they can spend all the time in those early weeks of getting the deployment off ground. And second, we would be at a point where we would be very satisfied with the security situation. The President has been assured by his military advisers and security advisors that both those conditions now pertain.

Q Are you able to tell us the delegation, members of Congress that are going with the President?

MR. BERGER: I don't have a complete list. I'm sure we can get that for you probably later today. There are about, I think, 10 members of Congress going with the President, bipartisan delegation.

Q Why did the President feel it was important to go early in the operation? In Haiti, for example, he waited until several months after the operation was established. What's the difference in this --

MR. BERGER: Well, I think the President -- I think, as I said, in the outset, I think the President has wanted very much to clearly express to these troops the gratitude that Americans feel, the pride they feel for the job they're doing, the importance of what they are doing for their nation, and by his presence, to manifest that as clearly as possible.

Q Why early and not wait -- that's the question.

MR. BERGER: I think he's wanted to do that as early as the mission was feasible to do it.

Q What are the living conditions that he'll see the American troops in? I mean, what kind of -- is it a primitive situation that they're in? Sort of describe what it is. And can you tell us anything about what are the security hazards that you worried about? I mean, as I understand, he's going to be on a military base the entire time. What is the threat to the President?

MR. BERGER: I'll answer the last question, and then -- I won't answer the last question, and I will let General Estes answer the first question. Let me simply say that we're satisfied, and more importantly, the military and security people are satisfied that this trip will -- can be done in a manner that is safe and secure. And I'm not going to go beyond that. But now let me ask General Estes to describe living conditions in Bosnia.

GENERAL ESTES: As an airman who's not been there, it's difficult for me to put myself in a position of what a soldier is going through in Bosnia. You must understand that. But the reports I have are that the conditions are very difficult. We've had an early thaw. The weather is a little warmer than it would be expected this time of the year. There's a lot of mud. This is making it going tough. We must be very honest with this. And that's why you're going to see a great effort being put in terms of getting the base camps built to get the soldiers out of the muck. That's what it is very simply.

We're trying to get tents built. We're trying to put wooden floors in them with heat and light. A number of those have been built, and many more will be built. There are other facilities that the Army is putting in to allow the soldiers to come back off patrol and be in a little bit better conditions than living in a tent. That's called Force Provider, and over time you will hear more about this operation.

Facilities for about 3,000 will be made in Bosnia to accommodate this little better living conditions than living in a tent.

But we must remember we're in the process of moving the force in now, and so it's very difficult to have your final end state living conditions right off the bat. And so as we build toward that we want to do it as quickly as we can to get the soldiers out of the conditions that they're obviously seeing. We know the weather is tough, as the Balkans are tough this time of the year. It's been a little warmer, which some people say makes it better, except it's created -- instead of frozen ground, we're dealing with a lot of mud. You've seen pictures of that. We have this same problem in Bosnia. And so the commanders are working very hard to try to improve the conditions as rapidly as possible.

Q General, what would you hope the troops would get out of the President's visit?

GENERAL ESTES: Well, I think, speaking as a person who has been in locations where the President has visited as a member in uniform, it's a tremendously uplifting feeling to you as an individual to see your President come and express enough concern about what's going on, what you are personally doing, to take the time to come and visit. And so it's a tremendous morale booster that the soldiers, sailors, airmen or Marines -- and we have all involved in the locations we've been talking about, in Hungary and in Bosnia -- see their President. This is a morale issue. It's a tremendously -- I mean, even here, to see the President is an uplifting feeling for people that don't see him very often. You all see him all the time; most Americans don't get a chance to. It's no different with a person in uniform, especially someone deployed away from their families, that the President would take the time to come pay them a visit.

Q Are there any diplomatic initiatives in the meetings with these leaders? Is the President -- is it just a meet and greet, or what's he doing with these --

MR. BERGER: There will be some opportunity to talk with some of the leaders in the region about issues of compliance that are of concern both to them and to us. I'm sure there will be discussions with President Izetbegovic about various compliance issues with respect to the agreement, as well as with President Tudjman. So there will be an opportunity for the President to make very clear how we see the obligations of the parties under Dayton, and if there are any areas in which we want to press them to move more quickly, we will do that.

Q What about the Serb leaders? Are they --

MR. BERGER: Well, the President will meet --

Q Have they been isolated totally?

MR. BERGER: No. This is -- one of the clear operating principles of the international force in Bosnia has been to proceed in an even-handed way. As the General indicated, forces are deployed both in Serb territory as well as in Federation territory. The President will see Bosnian Serb people while he is there. President Milosevic -- an announcement was made yesterday or a few days ago that Secretary Christopher will be going to Belgrade in a few weeks and will be meeting with President Milosevic. Bob Gallucci has been there, our Special Ambassador, in the last few days.

Q How about the two who were dubbed war criminals by the World Court?

MR. BERGER: We have no expectation of seeing --

Q Are they there in the vicinity?

MR. BERGER: Well, we have no expectation of meeting with them. And I think you're quite familiar with what the IFOR rules of engagement are -- that is, if they come within the control of the IFOR troops, then they will be taken into custody and detained.

Q Is he going to meet -- is the President going to meet with any ordinary Bosnians? Will he see orphans or hospital patients, anything like that?

MR. BERGER: Some of this is still a little bit unresolved and we continue to work on the schedule. And we'll be able to give you more details about that probably tomorrow.

Q Sandy, do you -- there's some talk that this would set the stage for either a major foreign policy speech or some sort of foreign policy section of the State of the Union. Do you expect the President to come back from here and immediately start talking about the U.S. role in the world --

MR. BERGER: Well, the President has been talking up until the last few weeks quite a bit the last few months about America's role in the world; gave a major speech at Freedom House, as you know, not too long ago. I would anticipate the State of the Union would address not only domestic, but international priorities of the President.

There may be other speeches the President gives in the near-term specifically on foreign policy and how Bosnia fits in within the larger effort that the United States has been undertaking to try to advance the process of peace, whether that's in the Middle East or Northern Ireland or Southern Africa or Bosnia.

Q With all the physical problems you described with the deployment, does a visit like this help slow things down even further with all the security and planning that's involved?

GENERAL ESTES: I'll answer that. Let me come back to the earlier question, though. I've got one other point I want to make. You asked me what the soldiers are going to get out of this trip. There is one other point, and I should have made this, and I think this is equally important. And that is the soldiers feel their Commander in Chief has taken the time to come see what they are doing and the conditions they are living in and will have a firsthand knowledge, which I think is also very important. So I want to mention that point.

Back to the issue of does a trip like this take away from the mission. I think the planning that's been done for this visit in the places the President will go is such that we have provided additional people and facilities to allow this to happen. So obviously, the commanders are going to be tied up with the President wherever he happens to visit. That takes time. But it's important -- we must remember, the President is our Commander in Chief. And we are pleased he's coming. Nobody views this as something that's taking up a lot of time and is going to prevent us from doing other tasks --

Clearly, the missions that General Nash has his people doing will go on and will be done to the level necessary during the President's visit, and that applies to wherever he happens to go. Nash's people, of course, are located in Hungary, Croatia and in Bosnia.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

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REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
IN VIDEOTAPED MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE OF BOSNIA

THE PRESIDENT: To all the people of Bosnia, let me say I look forward to being with you tomorrow in a land where the waste of war is finally giving way to the promise of peace.

As I visit with American peacekeeping forces stationed in Bosnia, I urge you to seize that promise, to turn the peace agreement signed one month ago from words into deeds. For nearly four years the war that tore Bosnia apart dramatized your differences.

But for all that divides you, so much more unites you. Of course you are proud to be Muslims or Croats or Serbs. But all of you are also citizens of Bosnia, bound together by marriage and culture, by language and work, by shared love in a place you all call home. I believe that deep down you all want the same things: To live and raise your families without fear, to make a better life for your children. If these desires are ever to become reality, there must be peace.

The United States and countries all around the world have sent you the men and women of our armed forces to help safeguard the peace so many of you have wanted for so long. Our troops are well prepared and heavily armed, but they come in peace. Their mission is to supervise the withdrawal of your armies behind the agreed separation line; to help assure that war does not break out again; to create a more secure climate throughout Bosnia so that you can rebuild your towns and roads, your factories and shops, your parks and playgrounds.

We can help you do all these things, but we cannot guarantee that the people of Bosnia will come together and stay together as citizens, equal citizens, of a common land with a shared destiny. Only you can do that -- with the courage of an open mind and the generosity of an open heart.

After so many lives lost and futures destroyed, I know that rebuilding a sense of community and trust may be the very hardest task you face. But you have a responsibility to try -- not because other nations want you to do it, not even because your leaders want you to do it. You must do that for yourselves, and especially for your children. It is said that every child is the chance for a new beginning. Now, this peace gives to all the children of Bosnia, and to all of their families, the chance for a new beginning. Seize this chance for peace. We don't have to imagine what the future will look like if you don't -- we have seen that in the sorrow and suffering you have endured already over the past four years.

But just imagine the future if you do seize this moment, if you do rebuild your land and your lives together. For so much of your history you found strength in your diversity. Muslims, Croats and Serbs flourished side by side in Sarajevo, in Tuzla, in Mostar and throughout Bosnia. Some of you prayed in churches, some in mosques, some in synagogues. But you lived and worked together, building schools and libraries, trading goods and services, creating plays and music. You were neighbors and friends and families, and you can be again if you seize the best chance for peace you have had -- and what could be the last chance for peace you will have for a long, long time.

I speak to you today on behalf of the American people, who know from our own experience the hard work it takes to forge a community from a nation of so many different groups. More than a century ago we fought a fierce civil war over race and slavery. Still today we struggle with the legacy of that war, and the challenge of our present make-up -- when we have so many races and religions and ethnic groups all over America. But we have learned that there are great benefits which come from finding common ground. Our nation is stronger and the lives of our people are more peaceful, more prosperous, more filled with hope when we bridge the valley of our differences to become a real community. Together with nations from all corners of the world, we have come here to Bosnia to help you do the same.

So, people of Bosnia, you have ended your war, but now you must build your peace. I believe the greatest struggle you face is not among Muslims and Serbs and Croats; it is between those who embrace peace and those who reject it, those who look to the future and those who are blinded by the past, those who open their arms and those who still clench their fists. So each and every one of you must choose. You have seen the horror of war, you know the promise of peace. Choose peace.

May God bless all the people of Bosnia.

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Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release January 13, 1996

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
TO U.S. TROOPS

Tuzla Airfield  
Tuzla, Bosnia-Herzegovina

### 8:18 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: General Nash; Sergeant Major Tilley; the men and women of Task Force Eagle; the 1st Armored Division; the 3rd Infantry Division; the 3rd Battalion of the Three-Two-Five Parachute Infantry Regiment; the Air Force 4100th Provisional Group; the legendary Red Horse engineers -- (cheer); the Navy Seabees -- (cheer); and all the veterans of the Tuzla mud. (Cheer.)

I am proud to stand with you today on dry ground. I come with a simple message: Your country is very proud of you. I'm glad to be joined here today by General Shalikashvili; by General Joulwan; our Ambassador to the United Nations, Madeleine Albright; and a very distinguished delegation from the United States Congress. They're standing over there to my left and to your right. I hope you will make them feel welcome. They are here to support you.

We know that you are the best-trained, best-equipped, best prepared fighters in the world. Time and again, you have stood down aggression. Time and again you have triumphed in war. But to Bosnia you came on a mission of peace, a mission for heroes. We thank you for defending our nation's values and our nation's interests. We thank you for helping the Bosnian people. Men and women of Operation Joint Endeavor, we thank you here for being warriors for peace.

When I last saw many of you in Baumholder, the headquarters of the 1st Armored Division in Germany, your Humvees were a little cleaner, your BDUs a little greener. But to me, seeing you here in the field, doing the jobs you were trained for so well, you have never looked better.

Soon I will have a chance to be briefed again by your Commanders, Admiral Smith and General Nash. On behalf of a grateful nation, I want to tell everyone what I know they are going to tell me from our already brief conversations -- we know that in less than a month and despite terrible weather, 7,000 of our nation's finest fighters, the first wave of a force to be 20,000-strong, have set up camp in Bosnia. We know you fought rain and floods to bridge the Sava River in our biggest military river crossing since 1945. (Cheer.) We know that in only two weeks, more than 2,000 vehicles -- M1s, Bradleys, Humvees and more -- have rolled across the waters and rumbled into town. We know you have secured your base of operations and established base camps throughout your sector.

I just came from Outpost Lima, manned by the Charlie Rock Company of the 3rd Battalion. (Cheer.) I saw for myself that the third herd and everyone else at the outpost are doing a great job in what might be called less than great conditions.

You took an airfield that had no lights or navigational equipment, turned it around and opened it for business 24 hours a day, at least when the fog permits. You've strung nearly five miles of phone and cable wire to build a massive modern communications network. You're working with soldiers from more than two dozen other nations, and I have met some of their leaders here today.

Among them, our former adversaries, who are now our friends -- Polish and Czech combat battalions; Hungarian engineering corps, soldiers from the Baltic States; an entire Russian brigade; and, of course, the Nordic brigade that has been here for sometime now. From the ashes of war in Bosnia, you and they, together, are raising the torch of a new undivided Europe. Step by steady step, you are making history here in Bosnia. Don't you ever forget that -- even when this extraordinary mission may seem routine.

I am told that some of you have compared life here with the Bill Murray movie, "Groundhog Day," where the same day keeps repeating itself over and over and over again. I'm also told that there are really only two kinds of weather conditions here in Tuzla. When it snows, the mud freezes, and when it rains, the mud thaws. Even the dining hall apparently is in on the act, dishing out the same food every morning and night.

Just remember this: The military promised you square meals. And when you get your eggs each morning, you know the military has kept its commitment to you. I see you laughing about that, and I want you to be able to laugh. I hope you'll be laughing tomorrow morning at breakfast.

But I am very serious when I tell you that your mission is anything but routine. There has never been anything quite like it before. The Bosnian people have chosen peace, but they cannot do it alone. You and our allies must give them the confidence they need to follow the rules they have agreed to. We have a strong interest here in seeing peace take hold. The people of Bosnia have suffered so much; Europe's stability, so crucial to our own, has been threatened; and we all want a safer, better world for our children.

The Bosnian people are exhausted by war. You can give them the strength they need for peace. This mission requires your strength and your skill: separating former enemies, avoiding the dangers of mines, making sure the cease-fire holds; creating a stable environment. From the days on your feet in the rain and the snow, to the nights you must sleep in your Bradleys, this mission requires your strength, your skills, your determination.

The people around you know you are prepared, heavily armed, ready to meet any threat to your safety. They know that our J-Star aircraft are patrolling high above the clouds, tracking the smallest movement; that out in the Adriatic the Navy and the Marine Corps are ready to project power at moment's notice; that just above the treetops, the Army's Apache gunships are scouring the ground below; and that our Special Forces are here, there, and everywhere.

I have said it before and I will say it again: You can see from this operation that America looks out for its own. I know the burden of our leadership weighs heavily on you and your loved ones back home. Just as your commanders and I are committed to protecting your safety, so we are working to help your families -- to keep them informed and in touch with you; to help them with the things that matter most, like day care and health care and paying the bills. The pride your families have in you is shared by Americans all across our nation. We look at you all and we look at all you're doing here -- confident, compassionate, disciplined, and strong -- and we see in you the best our country has to offer.

Before I left Washington to be with you, I signed an executive order that creates a new campaign medal. It's called the Armed Forces Service Medal. It will be awarded to all those who serve our nation in significant noncombat military missions, such as peacekeeping. I am pleased to announce that as participants in Operation Joint Endeavor, each of you will receive America's newest military honor.

As you move around the world -- excuse me, as you move ahead with your mission, I ask you, too, to keep this in mind: Around the world people look to America not just because of our size and strength but because of what we stand for and what we're willing to stand against. And though it imposes extra burdens on us, people trust us to help them share in the blessings of peace. We can't be everywhere, and even you can't do everything. But where we can make a difference, where our values and our interests are at stake, we must act. Here, where our values and interests so clearly are at stake, you are acting on America's behalf.

All the people of Bosnia are looking to America, and so we look to you, the men and women of our Armed Forces. Here our nation, through you, can make a difference between a war that starts again and peace that takes hold; from the highest commander to the newest recruit, that difference lies in your hands.

You give America power and strength. And you are giving Bosnia a new day of peace. Always be proud of what you are doing here. Your country and your Commander-in-Chief are immensely proud of you.

God bless you all, and God bless the United States of America. Thank you. (Applause.)

As part of our family outreach, I'd like to ask Colonel Neal Patton to come up here. Colonel Patton, where are you?

I flew into Aviano, Italy, this morning at 6:00 o'clock, and there were a huge number of young children there and a lot of family members. Colonel Patton's wife gave me a hug and said, "You sent my husband to Tuzla. So I expect you, Mr. President, to personally deliver his birthday present." Here it is Colonel. Happy birthday. (Applause.)

COLONEL PATTON: Sir, thank you very much. (Applause.) That's really something. Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you.

(inaudible)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much.

**END 8:31 A.M. EST**

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

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For Immediate Release January 13, 1996

TAPED RADIO ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT  
TO THE NATION

IFOR Headquarters  
Taszar, Hungary

**10:06 A.M. EST**

THE PRESIDENT: Good morning. I'm speaking to you today from Taszar, Hungary, the main staging base for America's soldiers in Bosnia. I've just visited with our commanders and troops. The American people should be very proud of the job they're doing.

Our Armed Forces are giving the Bosnian people, exhausted by four years of war, the strength to make peace. I wish every American could see firsthand what the men and women of our military are accomplishing under very difficult conditions, both here and in Bosnia.

Here in Taszar, our troops are providing the beans, bullets and black oil that are keeping our people in Bosnia fed, armed and ready to roll. In Tuzla, the headquarters for our troops in Bosnia, the weather report is pretty much the same every day: mud, mud, and more mud. But despite that, and the snow and the freezing rain, in less than a month our soldiers have built a base camp with more than 100 hard-backed tents, complete with wooden floors, heat and lights. They've set up a road network and sophisticated communications. The airfield, which had no lights or navigational equipment when they got there, is up and running 24 hours a day.

Some of the men and women I'm seeing today designed, built and now operate the pontoon bridge over the Sava River, the key landlink to Bosnia for our troops. The biggest Army bridging operation since World War II demanded the kind of strength and ingenuity that only American soldiers have. The river swelled to a record high for this century, washing away our encampments. Its banks became muddy bogs, but the Sava didn't drown America's spirit. As one of our Army engineers put it: We've been crossing rivers for 218 years; we're going to cross this river -- and they did.

Now that most of the preliminary work is done, our soldiers and their partners from more than two dozen other nations, including NATO allies and former adversaries, like Hungary, Poland and Russia, are set to carry out their mission, step by step, steadily, surely and safely. They'll make sure the former warring parties in Bosnia live up to the letter of the peace agreement they signed, and they'll create a secure environment to give the people of Bosnia a chance to rebuild their lives and their land.

Only the people of Bosnia can seize that chance and come together as equal citizens of a shared land with a common destiny. After so many lives lost and futures destroyed, finding the strength to live and work side by side, as they have done for so much of their history, will now be very hard. But I am convinced that the overwhelming majority of Bosnia's people agree that the alternative of return to the sorrow and suffering of the past four years must not be allowed to happen. And they're looking to our soldiers to help them make a new beginning.

So often when people abroad look to America for help and hope, America looks to the men and women of our Armed Forces. Of course, we can't be everywhere, and even they can't do everything. But where we can make a difference and where our interests and our values are clearly at stake, we must step forward. In Bosnia, where those interests and values are very clearly at stake, our soldiers are making a difference -- the difference between a war that resumes and a peace that can take hold.

We've asked the men and women of our military to bear the burden of America's leadership, and they're rising to the challenge with strength, skill and determination. The soldiers I've talked with are proud of their accomplishments and ready for the hard work ahead. I know all the American people are very proud of them, and that all Americans join me in saying Godspeed to the men and women of the world's finest military as they carry out their mission of peace in Bosnia.

Thanks for listening.

**END 10:12 A.M. EST**

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

(Manchester, New Hampshire)

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For Immediate Release February 3, 1996

### STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT UPON DEPARTURE

Manchester Airport  
Manchester, New Hampshire

**3:30 P.M. EST**

THE PRESIDENT: I was deeply saddened to learn of the death of an American soldier this morning in Bosnia. This is the first fatality suffered by American service personnel in Operation Joint Endeavor. Hillary and I join all Americans in extending our deepest sympathies to his family and his friends. Our prayers are with you this afternoon and so is the pride of the nation, for he gave his life in the noblest of causes, the search for peace.

I have been clear since before this operation began that our mission to secure peace in Bosnia would entail some risks. We have done everything we could to minimize those risks, and all Americans should know that we have provided our troops with the best training, the best equipment, to confront the challenges they face in Bosnia, and they are very well led in a careful implementation of their mission. We will continue to take every precaution we can to protect our troops as they work to secure an enduring peace in Bosnia. And all of our troops should know that today our thoughts and our sincere gratitude are with them, especially on this difficult day.

Thank you very much.

**END 3:32 P.M. EST**

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

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For Immediate Release February 20, 1996

### STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

This afternoon I met with my senior national security team to review the situation in Bosnia. I received a report on this weekend's meeting in Rome with the Presidents of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia.

I am pleased that in Rome, the Balkan leaders recommitted themselves to keeping peace on track. The parties pledged to resume contacts with the NATO-led Implementation Force, to reunify Sarajevo on schedule, to release all remaining war prisoners, to remove any remaining foreign forces, to cooperate in the investigation and prosecution of war crimes, and to strengthen the Bosnian-Croat Federation and reunify Mostar.

I have instructed my foreign policy team to continue efforts to convince all the parties that their Rome commitments must be implemented faithfully and without delay. The road to peace is a hard road, but it is the right road. We are proud to be part of the NATO force, and I am pleased to be meeting with NATO Secretary General Solana today.

While serious problems remain, it is important to keep the situation in Bosnia in perspective. After nearly four years of war, peace will not take hold overnight. We should not lose sight of the remarkable progress that has been made since Dayton. The cease-fire is holding. The zones of separation are in place. And in Sarajevo, once a dying city haunted by snipers and shells, the markets are filled. People are back on the streets. Builders are repairing shops and small businesses in the center of town. Sarajevo has come back to life, with a future for all of its people.

These are the kinds of tangible benefits that will help give all the people of Bosnia a greater stake in peace than in war. Tomorrow, I am sending to Capitol Hill a supplemental appropriations request for \$820 million to support IFOR and its mission. This includes \$200 million to assist the essential process of civilian implementation -- specifically, economic reconstruction and reform, deployment of international police monitors, and demining. I will work with congress to secure these funds as quickly as possible. The sooner the Bosnian people recover the blessings of a normal life, the surer the chances for a peace that endures.

I would also like to take this opportunity to acknowledge the enormous dedication of Assistant Secretary Holbrooke, who has spearheaded the peace effort for us since last August. As Ambassador Holbrooke steps down, I want to thank him for his service to our nation. The people of Bosnia and American people owe him a tremendous debt of gratitude. My new Special Advisor for Implementation of the Dayton accords, Ambassador Robert Gallucci -- one of our most experienced and successful diplomats -- joined our meeting today and will continue our mission of moving the peace process forward.

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

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For Immediate Release February 21, 1996

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

February 21, 1996

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

In accordance with the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974, I herewith report three rescission proposals of budgetary resources, totaling \$820 million. These rescissions offset the emergency FY 1996 Defense supplemental appropriations, which support the Bosnia peace implementation force. The rescissions affect the Department of Defense.

Sincerely,

**WILLIAM J. CLINTON**

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

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For Immediate Release February 21, 1996

### STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

President Clinton has asked the Congress to provide \$820 million to support the Bosnian peace process.

The United States and its allies have begun the difficult task of bringing peace to Bosnia. Under the U.S.-brokered agreement that led to the Dayton Peace Accords, U.S. troops have been committed to a multinational force in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the United States has pledged help in multinational civilian peace implementation programs.

The requests seek \$620 million for Department of Defense operations associated with the NATO-led Bosnia Peace Implementation Force (IFOR) and Operation Deny Flight, and \$200 million for civilian implementation of the Dayton Peace Accords.

The security and success of the IFOR mission go hand-in-hand with implementation of all aspects of the Dayton Peace Accords. The planned civilian programs will not only underpin the Dayton Accords but also support IFOR and American troops, enhancing their security as they perform their mission and facilitating their safe and smooth withdrawal upon its completion.

The President designated the \$820 million in fiscal 1996 spending as an emergency under the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985, as amended. In addition, the President proposed to offset this spending fully by rescissions from funds available to the Department of Defense.

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

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For Immediate Release February 26, 1996

### STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

Special Tax Provisions for U.S. Troops In Bosnia

Today, in recognition of the sacrifices members of the U.S. Armed Forces are making in and around Bosnia, I am asking Congress to extend to them a series of special tax rules.

Historically, these provisions -- which include extending the time to file returns and certain tax relief for those serving under hostile conditions -- have been restricted to individuals deployed in combat zones. However, the men and women of today's military confront hardships and risks in non-combat missions like the one we have undertaken in Bosnia. I believe the law should be extended to cover them. I look forward to working with Congress to enact these changes as quickly as possible.

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the First Lady

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For Immediate Release March 18, 1996

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON TO VISIT  
GERMANY, BOSNIA, ITALY, TURKEY AND GREECE

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton will make an official visit to Baumholder, Germany; Tuzla, Bosnia; Aviano, Italy; Turkey and Greece March 23 - April 1, 1996. Mrs. Clinton's visit serves to affirm the United States' commitment to democracy in that region of the world and to encourage and support American troops in Bosnia and their families.

In Baumholder, Germany, Mrs. Clinton will spend time with the families of American troops serving in Bosnia. Mrs. Clinton had previously visited with many of these families on December 2, 1995 and promised to return to carry their messages and letters to the troops.

In Bosnia, the First Lady will spend time with the American troops and with representatives of American Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs) as well as Bosnian government, civic and religious leaders who are working to establish stability, peace and democracy in the region. Sheryl Crow, Grammy award winning singer will accompany the First Lady to Germany and Tuzla to entertain the families and troops. Following the First Lady's visit to Bosnia, Mrs. Clinton will meet with military family members at Aviano Air Base in Italy.

The First Lady has been invited by both Turkey and Greece to visit their countries to underscore the strength of their friendship and alliance with the United States. These two vibrant democracies are both under the leadership of new governments. President Demirel of Turkey will meet with President Clinton later this month. Greek Prime Minister Simitis will meet with the President in early April and Greek President Stephanopoulos will make a state visit to the United States in early May.

While in Turkey, Mrs. Clinton will travel to Ankara, Ephesus and Istanbul. In Istanbul, the First Lady will meet with religious leaders representing the many faiths of Turkey convened by the prestigious Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture (IRICA). She will also emphasize the significant role of secular/civic society in Turkey through discussions with Turkish women about health, family and economic issues and a site visit to a USAID-supported family planning clinic which partners with Baltimore, Maryland's John Hopkins Hospital to train medical professionals.

In Greece, Mrs. Clinton will visit Athens, the birthplace of democracy, focusing attention on the historic connections between the Greek democratic idea and America's own commitment to democracy; our support for democracies around the world and for those countries still struggling toward democracy -- all themes which resonate throughout the Clinton administration's foreign policy.

A key component of Mrs. Clinton's goodwill tour of Greece will be her attendance at the torch-lighting ceremony marking the opening of the 1996 Olympic Games. That same lighted torch is scheduled to arrive in Los Angeles, California April 27, 1996. The Games, which will be held in Atlanta, Georgia, this year celebrate their centennial. The Olympic games were revived in Greece in 1896 by French Baron Pierre de Coubertin. The President asked Mrs. Clinton to attend the ceremony to pay tribute to the ideals of the Olympic movement.

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

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For Immediate Release March 20, 1996

### STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

#### Quick Impact Assistance Package for Bosnia Nears Completion

The "Quick Impact" package of urgent assistance to Bosnia-Herzegovina that President Clinton announced at the Paris signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement three months ago is beginning to show results. Nearly all of the \$85.6 million pledged by the President has been awarded and most projects have been successfully completed or are well underway. Further support for civilian implementation of the Bosnian peace agreement is awaiting Congressional approval of urgently needed funds and activities for the region.

The \$85.6 million Quick Impact package announced by President Clinton in Paris on December 14, 1995, funds 36 projects relating to humanitarian assistance, urgent reconstruction, and immediate rebuilding of key infrastructure. Of these projects, 15 have been completed and another 15 are either near completion or ongoing as scheduled. Grants are pending and sites are being selected for the balance of the projects.

The Quick Impact package has helped millions of Bosnians through the harsh winter months and the early stages of their country's rehabilitation. Emergency food and clothing have been delivered; home heating and electricity have been restored; emergency building and infrastructure repairs have been carried out; employment-generating activities have begun; and efforts to strengthen the Bosnian Federation and repair the human fabric of local communities have been initiated.

"Only when the people of Bosnia can readily see the results of peace will they come to believe that their investment in peace is worthwhile," said President Clinton. "We must work hard in the early phases of implementation to ensure that all Bosnians see that peace brings immediate and tangible awards. I am gratified to see that the Quick Impact package I announced only three months ago is bearing quick results."

The Quick Impact package is designed to jump-start the recovery process and represents the first part of a longer-term international effort to assist in the reconstruction and recovery of Bosnia. On February 21, the President requested \$200 million to fund civilian implementation efforts outlined in the Dayton Peace Accords. This request, which awaits Congressional approval, includes funds for reconstruction, demining, and police monitors and training. Activities funded by the request will focus on areas within the U.S. IFOR sector and Sarajevo.

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

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For Immediate Release March 20, 1996

### FACT SHEET

Significant Projects Included in \$85 Million  
"Quick Impact" Package

**Food Aid:** Began providing emergency food aid totaling 93,000 metric tons to 1.9 million Bosnians. Reopened bakery that will serve Sarajevo, Tuzla, and other cities (over 100,000,000 loaves of bread baked). Provided funds to feed 60,000 elderly citizens in Tuzla and Zenica.

**Food Production:** Funded supplies to resume agriculture planting, livestock production, and food processing. Will benefit 250,000 people in Sarajevo, Tuzla, Zenica, and Mostar.

**Clothing:** Funded project to produce 15,000 winter coats for children in Sarajevo and Gorazde.

**Heating:** Completed rebuilding 17 of 23 boiler houses in the Sarajevo gas system and replaced 6,000 residence gas connections. Over 120,000 residents benefited.

**Water Systems:** Repaired water pumps and equipment in Sarajevo, restoring regular water service to 180,000 residents.

**Reconstruction:** Signed agreement with contractor to begin mass replacement of glass in Sarajevo homes and businesses (over 752,000 square feet in 6 months). Projects on residential building repairs also underway in Sarajevo suburb of Dobrinja and multi-ethnic town of Busovaca.

**Hospital Repairs:** Completed repairs on hospitals in Sarajevo, including major winterization work, and began repairs on health facilities in two towns.

**Road Work:** Replaced road signs in Tuzla and set plans for repaving roads in spring.

**School Repairs:** Began project to renovate elementary schools in Bihac area (e.g., fix pipes, windows, and heating).

**Radio Station:** Repaired radio station "Kameleon" in Tuzla region. Station operates 24 hours a day and broadcasts VOA, RFE, and local public service programs.

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

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For Immediate Release April 17, 1996

### STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

McLarty Trip to the Gulf

President Clinton's Bosnia peace initiative took another important step forward earlier this week when key Arab states committed about \$100 million to fund the U.S.-led train and equip program.

Presidential Counselor Mack McLarty and a senior interagency team met April 14-15 with Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah bin Abd al-Aziz Al-Saud; Sheikh Zayid bin Sultan al-Nuhayyan, President of the United Arab Emirates; Sheikh Jabir al-Ahmed al-Sabah, Amir of Kuwait; and other top officials. Counselor McLarty delivered personal messages from the President stressing the importance of the train and equip program to the success of the Dayton Accords.

The President is deeply gratified by the generosity and understanding of the response to the McLarty mission. The mission is one element in a broad and continuing U.S. effort to mobilize donors in support of the process of establishing a durable military balance in Bosnia.

The purpose of the train and equip program is to provide the Bosnian Federation the military capability it needs to deter attacks in the future and defend its people and territory should deterrence fail. The success of the McLarty mission will enable the training element of the train and equip program to move ahead in a timely manner. Combined with the U.S. commitment of \$100 million in military equipment, the start-up training in Bosnia will provide a solid foundation for improving the military capability of the Bosnian Federation.

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

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For Immediate Release April 18, 1996

April 18, 1996

Presidential Determination  
No. 96-22

### MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE

SUBJECT: Determination Pursuant to Section 2(c)(1) of  
the Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of  
1962, as Amended

Pursuant to section 2(c)(1) of the Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1962, as amended, 22 U.S.C. 2601(c)(1), I hereby determine that it is important to the national interest that up to \$22 million be made available from the United States Emergency Refugee and Migration Assistance Fund to meet the urgent needs of refugees and victims of conflict from the former Yugoslavia. These funds may be used as necessary to provide U.S. contributions in response to the appeals of international and nongovernmental organizations for funds to meet the urgent and unforeseen humanitarian needs of victims of conflict from the former Yugoslavia.

You are authorized and directed to inform the appropriate committees of the Congress of the determination and the obligation of funds under this authority and to publish this memorandum in the Federal Register.

**WILLIAM J. CLINTON**

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

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For Immediate Release May 14, 1996

### STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

President Clinton Meets Bosnian Federation Leadership; Announces New Business Development Mission to Bosnia and Croatia

President Clinton met at the White House today with the leaders of the Bosnian Federation, along with senior officials from the governments of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, to underscore the importance of continued Federation progress for peace and stability in Bosnia. The President announced to the visiting leaders that he has asked Commerce Secretary Mickey Kantor to organize and lead a business development mission to Bosnia and Croatia to continue the work begun by Secretary Ron Brown. The Kantor mission will contribute to the economic revitalization of Bosnia and Croatia and to the strengthening of the Bosnian Federation as the essential foundation for implementation of the Dayton accords. It will mark the start of a new phase in our relations with Croatia and Bosnia -- commercial and economic engagement -- and contribute to the long-term stability of the entire Balkan region.

During the talks with Federation leaders, the President also discussed the new Federation Defense Law, the consolidation of joint economic institutions, freedom of movement, and this summer's Bosnian elections. The President urged all parties to work together in the spirit of cooperation to overcome the remaining obstacles to getting the Federation fully up and running.

The Federation leadership is in Washington at the invitation of Secretary of State Christopher for the second meeting of the Federation Forum, a U.S.-led structure designed to facilitate more intensive regular consultations with the Bosnian Croats and Muslims on Federation issues. This meeting underscores the commitment of the United States and the participants in the Forum to accelerating the process of reconciliation and reconstruction and extending the benefits of peace to all the people of Bosnia.

The meetings are being attended by Kresimir Zubak, Federation President; Ejup Ganic, Federation Vice President; Izudin Kapetanovic, Federation Prime Minister; Hasan Muratovic, Bosnian Prime Minister; Jadranko Prlic, Bosnian Foreign Minister; Mate Granic, Croatian Foreign Minister; Miomir Zuzul, Croatian Ambassador to the United States; Sven Alkalaj, Bosnian Ambassador to the United States; and Michael Steiner, the Deputy High Representative for the Implementation of the Dayton Peace Agreement.

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

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For Immediate Release May 24, 1996

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

May 24, 1996

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

Section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)) provides for the automatic termination of a national emergency unless, prior to the anniversary date of its declaration, the President publishes in the Federal Register and transmits to the Congress a notice stating that the emergency is to continue in effect beyond the anniversary date. In accordance with this provision, I have sent the enclosed notice to the Federal Register for publication, stating that the emergency declared with respect to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), as expanded to address the actions and policies of the Bosnian Serb forces and the authorities in the territory that they control within the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, is to continue in effect beyond May 30, 1996.

The circumstances that led to the declaration on May 30, 1992, of a national emergency and to the expansion of that emergency on October 25, 1994, have not been resolved. On November 22, 1995, the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 1022, immediately and indefinitely suspending economic sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) in view of the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (the "Peace Agreement") initialled by the Presidents of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the Republic of Croatia in Dayton, Ohio, on November 21, 1995, and signed by the parties in Paris on December 14, 1995. On December 27, 1995, I issued Presidential Determination No. 96-7, directing the Secretary of the Treasury to suspend the application of sanctions imposed on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). These sanctions were suspended on January 16, 1996. Sanctions imposed on the Bosnian Serbs were subsequently suspended on May 10, 1996.

These suspended sanctions will not be terminated, however, until the Peace Agreement has been fully implemented through the occurrence of free and fair elections in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and provided that the Bosnian Serb forces have continued to respect the zones of separation as provided in the Peace Agreement. Assets blocked pursuant to the sanctions also remain blocked until claims and encumbrances involving those assets can be addressed. Until the peace process is fully implemented, this situation continues to pose a continuing unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy interests, and the economy of the United States. For these reasons, I have determined that it is necessary to maintain in force the broad authorities necessary to reimpose economic pressure on the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and the Bosnian Serb forces and the authorities in the territory that they control if either fail significantly to meet their obligations under the Peace Agreement.

Sincerely,

**WILLIAM J. CLINTON**

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

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For Immediate Release May 24, 1996

### NOTICE

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#### **CONTINUATION OF EMERGENCY WITH RESPECT TO THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA (SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO) AND THE BOSNIAN SERBS**

On May 30, 1992, by Executive Order 12808, President Bush declared a national emergency to deal with the unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States constituted by the actions and policies of the Governments of Serbia and Montenegro, blocking all property and interests in property of those Governments. President Bush took additional measures to prohibit trade and other transactions with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) by Executive Orders 12810 and 12831, issued on June 5, 1992, and January 15, 1993, respectively. On April 25, 1993, I issued Executive Order 12846, blocking the property and interests in property of all commercial, industrial, or public utility undertakings or entities organized or located in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), and prohibiting trade-related transactions by United States persons involving those areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina controlled by Bosnian Serb forces and the United Nations Protected Areas in the Republic of Croatia. On October 25, 1994, because of the actions and policies of the Bosnian Serbs, I expanded the scope of the national emergency to block the property of the Bosnian Serb forces and the authorities in the territory that they control within the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as the property of any entity organized or located in, or controlled by any person in, or resident in, those areas.

On December 27, 1995, I issued Presidential Determination No. 96-7, directing the Secretary of the Treasury, inter alia, to suspend the application of sanctions imposed on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) pursuant to the above-referenced Executive orders and to continue to block property previously blocked until provision is made to address claims or encumbrances, including the claims of the other successor states of the former Yugoslavia. This sanctions relief, in conformity with United Nations Security Council Resolution 1022 of November 22, 1995 (hereinafter the "Resolution"), was an essential factor motivating Serbia and Montenegro's acceptance of the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina initialled by the parties in Dayton, Ohio, on November 21, 1995, and signed in Paris on December 14, 1995 (hereinafter the "Peace Agreement"). The sanctions imposed on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) were accordingly suspended prospectively, effective January 16, 1996. Sanctions imposed on the Bosnian Serb forces and authorities and on the territory that they control within the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina were subsequently suspended prospectively, effective May 10, 1996, also in conformity with the Peace Agreement and Resolution.

In the last year, substantial progress has been achieved to bring about a settlement on the conflict in the former Yugoslavia acceptable to the parties. Before agreeing to the sanctions suspension, the United States insisted on a credible reimposition mechanism to ensure the full implementation of the Peace Agreement. Thus, Resolution 1022 provides a mechanism to reimpose the sanctions if the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or the Bosnian Serb authorities fail significantly to meet their obligations under the Peace Agreement. It also provides that sanctions will not be terminated until after the first free and fair elections occur in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as provided for in the Peace Agreement, and provided that the Bosnian Serb forces have continued to respect the zones of separation as provided in the Peace Agreement. The Resolution also provides for the continued blocking of assets potentially subject to conflicting claims and encumbrances, including the claims of the other successor states of the former Yugoslavia, until provision is made to address them.

Because the resolution of the crisis and conflict in the former Yugoslavia that resulted from the actions and policies of the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), and of the Bosnian Serb forces and the authorities in the territory that they control, will not be complete until such time as the Peace Agreement is implemented fully and the terms of Resolution 1022 have been met, the national emergency declared on May 30, 1992, as expanded in scope on October 25, 1994, and the measures adopted pursuant thereto to deal with that emergency must continue beyond May 30, 1996.

Therefore, in accordance with section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)), I am continuing the national emergency with respect to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and the Bosnian Serb forces and those areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the control of the Bosnian Serb forces.

This notice shall be published in the Federal Register and transmitted to the Congress.

**WILLIAM J. CLINTON**

**THE WHITE HOUSE,**

May 24, 1996.

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release May 29, 1996

Fact Sheet on Bosnia

IFOR, the NATO-led Implementation Force, has achieved early success, thereby solidifying the peace.

IFOR has maintained the cease-fire and compelled the Parties to withdraw all forces behind a 4 km Zone of Separation without significant incident.

Substantial compliance has been achieved in withdrawing all heavy weapons and forces to cantonments or other designated areas.

IFOR's presence is the foundation for the creation of a secure environment necessary for the implementation of the civilian aspects of Dayton.

The Parties successfully negotiated and implemented the first series of Confidence Building Measures designed to reduce military activity, restrict location of weapons and troops, and exchange data on weapons holdings. Negotiations on limits on armament levels and manpower are nearing completion.

IFOR is committed to establishing freedom of movement in Bosnia and is aggressively working toward the elimination of all internal checkpoints.

Virtually all prisoners of war have been released or are now formally held as war crimes suspects; the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia has reviewed or is reviewing these latter cases.

Substantial improvement has been made in freedom of movement: IFOR reports that 10,000-15,000 people cross the inter-entity boundary every day.

All of the civilian reconciliation institutions mandated by Dayton have been created.

The Office of the High Representative, led by Former Swedish Prime Minister Carl Bildt, has taken the lead in coordinating the myriad agencies, institutions and activities which are critical to the return of peace and stability of Bosnia.

The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) designated a multi-ethnic Provisional Election Commission (PEC), which consists of the Human Rights Ombudsperson, Gret Haller of Switzerland, who is tasked with investigating allegations of human rights violations, and the Human Rights Chamber which will hear cases and issue decisions which are binding on the parties.

The ICRC formed a commission to investigate the fate of all missing persons in Bosnia, especially those from Srebrenica and Zepa.

The International Organization of Migration has formed the Commission of Displaced Persons and Refugees, which will guarantee the right of individuals to return to their homes or receive fair compensation.

The Joint Civilian Commission gives all parties, military and civilian, a venue to review and coordinate efforts to rebuild Bosnian society.

The Bosnian Federation is growing stronger.

The Federation Government now has 15 ministries functioning, including a constitutional Court.

The Agreement between the Federation partners, negotiated under the auspices of the Office of the High Representative and the United States, has dissolved all internal customs collection points and ensured that all revenues collected will flow to the Federation Government.

Mostar, now organized into 6 districts with a joint central area, is moving toward reintegration.

Federation officials agreed in Washington on a Defense Law which establishes a single Ministry of Defense and calls for the integration of all Federation military forces within three years.

A series of agencies will be created to strengthen the Federation's financial system and promote investment.

The International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) is making sure that there will be peace with justice.

ICTY Chief Prosecutor Judge Goldstone and IFOR Commander Admiral Smith reached agreement in January on the types of assistance IFOR will provide to the ICTY. These include protection of war crimes investigators, monitoring of mass grave sites, assistance with transport of suspected war criminals to the Hague and a commitment to detail those who are indicted by the Tribunal should the opportunity arise.

The ICTY has five war crimes suspects in custody. The Tribunal also is holding one witness.

The parties accepted U.S.-proposed "rules of the road" that set out procedures for detaining suspected war criminals while still safeguarding the principle of freedom of movement.

Humanitarian Assistance has already improved living conditions in Bosnia and the International community is poised to begin substantial reconstruction efforts thanks to the recent Donors' Conference.

The \$86 million in "Quick Impact" funding announced by the President at the signing of the Agreement has been spent, resulting in restoration of heat and electricity, provision of winter clothing, and other improvements in quality of life for thousands of Bosnians.

The recent Donors' Conference in Brussels raised a total of \$1.2 billion for Bosnian economic recovery. The United States pledged approximately \$200 million in reconstruction aid for the current fiscal year, in addition to over \$350 million in humanitarian aid, funding for policy training, support for the elections, demining and other projects.

Projects currently underway include emergency shelter repair, rehabilitation of utilities, educational and community facilities, journalist training and voter education projects.

Efforts to provide for the personal security of the Bosnian people are well underway.

As of mid-May the UN has deployed over 1300 International Police Task Force monitors to the region, 90 of whom are American, representing about half of the full U.S. contingent.

A Mine Action Center has been established to collect information on the location of mines and coordinate efforts to train Bosnians in demining.

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release May 29, 1996

### FACT SHEET

#### IMPLEMENTING THE PEACE IN BOSNIA

"...we stood up for peace in Bosnia. Remember the skeletal prisoners, the mass graves, the campaign to rape and torture, the endless lines of refugees, the threat of a spreading war. All these threats, all these horrors have now begun to give way to the promise of peace.

Now our troops and a strong NATO, together with our new partners from central Europe and elsewhere, are helping that peace take hold."

President Clinton, State of  
the Union address

January 23, 1996

In the aftermath of July 1995 Bosnian Serb assaults on the UN-declared safe areas of Bosnia, the United States won the agreement of our NATO allies to meet any further assaults with a decisive military response. Following the shelling of a Sarajevo marketplace in late August, American pilots participated in a vigorous NATO bombing campaign to stop the perpetrators. This determined effort helped convince all the parties to turn from the path of war to the path of negotiation and peace.

On the diplomatic front, in August 1995, President Clinton directed his National Security Advisor, Anthony Lake, to present a new U.S. initiative to our Allies and the Russians. With this initial breakthrough, a U.S. negotiating team in the succeeding weeks, directed by Secretary of State Warren Christopher and led by Ambassador Richard Holbrooke, conducted tireless shuttle diplomacy throughout the region and Europe as a whole. The President's determination to see this mission succeed resulted in a cease-fire, followed by three weeks of negotiations in Dayton, Ohio.

In November 1995, the United States, in cooperation with our Contact Group partners, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Russia and the European Union, succeeded in brokering a comprehensive peace agreement negotiating and settling territorial, constitutional, and military issues. With President Clinton and the leaders of other Contact Group states looking on, the Dayton Peace Agreement, concluded on November 21, was signed in Paris on December 14 by the presidents of Bosnia, Serbia, and Croatia.

On December 15, the UN approved the operation of the peace Implementation Force (IFOR) and on December 16, the North Atlantic Council approved IFOR as a NATO-led multinational force to implement the military aspects of the Dayton agreement. By mid-February, NATO, together with forces from 18 other countries -- including Russia and other members of the Partnership for Peace -- had deployed roughly 60,000 troops to Bosnia. **A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT:**

IFOR stopped the widespread killing of civilians and restored security to Sarajevo, where people can now walk the streets in safety.

Deployed some 20,000 highly trained American troops to Bosnia as part of the NATO-led IFOR.

Completed implementing all major military aspects of the Dayton agreements and is now sustaining a secure environment for economic recovery and the consolidation of democracy.

Supported continued development of the Bosnian-Croat Federation to include building democratic government structures and procedures.

Contributed more than any other nation in financial and other assistance to the International War Crimes Tribunal.

Leading an international effort to train and equip Federation forces to provide a self-defense capability and deterrent against a return to war.

Began the process of holding free and fair elections in Bosnia by late summer.

Facts:

Pledged roughly \$200 million for 1996 for Bosnia's economic reconstruction and related activities, as part of three-year U.S. commitment of about \$600 million.

Contributed \$85.6 million in quick-impact assistance that funds 36 projects relating to humanitarian assistance, urgent reconstruction, and immediate rebuilding of key infrastructure and has helped millions of Bosnians through the harsh winter months and the early stages of their country's rehabilitation.

U.S. contribution to civilian implementation (support for elections, police, demining, refugee resettlement as well as economic reconstruction) totals approximately \$550 million for 1996.

Pledged 200 police monitors to the new International Police Task Force in Bosnia; about 90 are in place.

#### THE CHALLENGES AHEAD:

The Clinton Administration is dedicated to helping restore peace and stability to the former Yugoslavia by helping to implement the provisions of the 1995 Dayton Peace Accords. The United States, with NATO and other partners, will ensure implementation of the military provisions of the Dayton agreement while minimizing the risk to U.S. forces; create secure conditions in which international organizations can implement the critical civilian aspects of the settlement; and work toward ensuring a stable military balance by the time IFOR departs. The United States, along with our European Union partners, the World Bank and others, intends to enhance humanitarian assistance, economic stabilization, police training and demining, and to support economic reconstruction and the growth of democracy in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Our objectives are to:

Preserve the unity of Bosnia-Herzegovina within its existing, internationally recognized borders and establish a stable military balance of forces in the region.

Establish a civil society in Bosnia in which independent media are operating; the rule of law is generally accepted; and democratically-elected institutions are operating at every level.

Establish opportunities for the orderly return of refugees and displaced persons to their homes, and a process for compensating those who choose not to return or whose property cannot be restored to them.

Insist that the parties cooperate with the War Crimes Tribunal and comply with its decisions, including transfer of indicted war criminals to The Hague.

Continue to monitor the active departure of foreign forces from the region as agreed to in the Dayton accords.

Support implementation of the Erdut Agreement which enables the peaceful reintegration of the Eastern Slavonia region into Croatia.

Last Update: May 29, 1996

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

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For Immediate Release May 29, 1996

### STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

I am pleased to announce the appointment of Mr. Richard Sklar as Special Representative of the President and the Secretary of State for Civilian Implementation in Bosnia. This appointment underscores that, with success in meeting the principal military tasks under the Dayton Accords, we must give high priority now to making the peace irreversible by accelerating efforts to rebuild the political and economic fabric of Bosnian society.

Mr. Sklar will be the senior U.S. official resident in Bosnia responsible for coordinating the work of all U.S. civilian agencies involved in the reconstruction effort, under the authority of the U.S. Ambassador to Bosnia. His responsibilities will encompass humanitarian assistance, economic revitalization and reconstruction, the resettlement of refugees, the conduct of elections, and strengthening of public security. He will also serve as liaison to his counterparts from other countries and the heads and staffs of all the international institutions engaged in civilian implementation activities.

I can think of no one more qualified to spearhead this critically important endeavor than Richard Sklar. Mr. Sklar has had a distinguished 35 year career in private and public sector management. Prior to accepting this appointment, he has served as President and Chief Operating Officer of O'Brien-Kreizberg Inc. (OK), the oldest and largest "pure" project and construction management firm in the United States. OK is now managing over 100 major construction projects in the United States and abroad, from airports and rail systems to facilities for the Atlanta Olympics. Mr. Sklar served on the Administration's transition team for the Agency for International Development during the Administration's first three months, and then became a member of the Board of Directors of the Russian-American Enterprise Fund. He has continued to serve as an advisor to AID Administrator Brian Atwood and to Richard Morningstar, coordinator for assistance to the New Independent States. Mr. Sklar has built and led two businesses, both world leaders in the construction industry. In addition, he served in major public management roles for the City of San Francisco. Mr. Sklar was an officer in the U.S. Army Artillery following his graduation as a Mechanical Engineer from Cornell University in 1956.

I am deeply grateful that Mr. Sklar has accepted this appointment, and for his willingness to serve our nation in helping to build an enduring peace in Bosnia.

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release May 29, 1996

### PRESS BRIEFING

BY

RICHARD SKLAR, SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE AND REPRESENTATIVE  
OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
CIVILIAN IMPLEMENTATION IN BOSNIA

AND

SANDY VERSHBOW, SENIOR DIRECTOR FOR EUROPEAN AFFAIRS AT NSC

The Briefing Room

**2:42 P.M. EDT**

MR. MCCURRY: I've got an announcement from the President. The President today is pleased to announce the appointment of Richard Sklar as his Special Representative and the Representative of the Secretary of State for Civilian Implementation in Bosnia. In the President's words in a statement we'll have for you shortly, he says, "This appointment underscores that with success in meeting the principle military tasks under the Dayton Accords we must give high priority now to making the peace irreversible by accelerating efforts to rebuild the political and economic fabric of Bosnian society."

Mr. Sklar will be the senior U.S. official in residence in Bosnia. He'll be responsible for coordinating the work of all U.S. civilian agencies that are now involved in the reconstruction effort that's underway. He'll work, obviously, under the authority of the U.S. Ambassador to Bosnia, Ambassador Menzies. His responsibilities will encompass humanitarian assistance, economic revitalization and reconstruction, the resettlement of refugees, conduct of elections and strengthening of public security.

He'll also serve as liaison to counterparts from other countries that have been participating in the reconstruction and development effort in Bosnia. Dick Sklar has got a very impressive 35-year record of service in the public and private sector. He's most recently been president and CEO of O'Brien-Kreizberg, which is the oldest and largest pure project and construction management firm in the country. So he brings credentials of very well qualified for an important post, an important part of the process of strengthening and deepening the peace process foreseen in the Dayton Accords.

I'm delighted that Dick can be here. He will say a few words and then, also with him is Sandy Vershbow, who is our senior director for European Affairs at the NSC.

Dick, congratulations, it's a pleasure to have you here.

MR. SKLAR: The President has honored me by asking me to take 40 years of experience into a new and unusual challenge. I've learned over these years how to take things from ideas to physical reality, but I think I'm going into a place where the rules of the game are different than at an airport in New York or a rail system in Cleveland.

I understand fully the importance of moving from this very successful military effort and the first successful efforts in the civilian phase, where the funding is in place, there's planning done, to the need to get reality in place. The people in Bosnia have got to see that peace is something different than the absence of shooting. And that's what we're going to set about trying to do over the next three or four years.

The World Bank has laid out for all us an ambitious agenda. The U.S. has put resources in place, as has the Bank, the European Union, other bilateral donors. And we're going to work with the folks who are on the ground and see if we can move some of these things into physical being.

Q Do you have to be confirmed for your nomination?

MR. SKLAR: No, I do not.

Q And, how's it going so far, as to what you can tell?

MR. SKLAR: Well, I have been spending the last four or five days climbing up a very steep learning curve here, and I'm going to leave for Bosnia in a couple of days and climb further. What is clear is that not all of the money, but a large amount of money, has been both pledged and delivered by this government, the World Bank and others. The plans are in place against a World Bank list of priorities that I think has been very intelligently put together. The next step is to start the physical movement into design and building. And we're going to start that, and I'll tell you in a couple of months how it's going.

Q Do you ever see the money every contributed by all nations, or just --

MR. SKLAR: No, the United States has its own package. The work with the World Bank -- and Jim Wolfensohn and I met yesterday, and his staff again today -- are clearly going to work together. It's going to be a cooperative effort. This is not a United States effort. We're about 20 percent of the funds. Our leadership as it was during the war ending phase, the shooting ending phase, will be critical. But it will only work if it works in conjunction with the Bank, the EU and the other bilateral donors.

Q Who oversees all of it?

MR. SKLAR: There is no single person. Carl Bildt runs the entire civilian effort and so all of it will be under his overall direction. But, again, the United States cannot fail to take leadership and work cooperatively. And as I said, the earliest meetings with the World Bank have been excellent. I'm certain the Europeans will be anxious to cooperate also.

Q Mr. Sklar, in the past, in similar international efforts, it's been difficult to track the funds, to make sure they're used in a proper manner. How much of a role do you think you're going to have in making sure that U.S. tax dollars aren't squandered over there?

MR. SKLAR: I've had a long history of using and managing public funds for public bodies in intelligent ways to deliver projects on time and on budget. I hope I'll be able to do the same here. We'll find out. I don't have any illusions about the difficulty of working in this environment. It is not, as I said, it is not the same as Cleveland or Buffalo or Atlanta.

Q There have been growing calls from many quarters for the elections to be postponed. Would the U.S. agree to this?

MR. SKLAR: I am not now, or in the future, going to get into political questions. And with respect to the elections, my job will be to make sure that Bob Frowick has the logistical pieces in place to proceed. But that's not something I have any way of answering. I see no reason why they should not proceed. But that's not my agenda.

Q What are some of the big infrastructure projects in the U.S. package?

MR. SKLAR: The U.S. package is focused on restoring basic services to towns and villages -- sewer, water, gas, electric and heat -- both for residential purposes -- and there's got to be residential reconstruction, too -- but to get small businesses going. It'll extend, in cooperation with the World Bank, to larger projects. The U.S. total package is not enough in itself to rebuild major hydrostations, but it will be a cooperative effort. And our initial thrust will be at the ground in the towns.

Q Has the refugee resettlement been pretty much of a failure thus far? I mean, it seems like the ethnic groups are not allowing other ethnic groups to come back to places they were kicked out of. Are they really going to be able to put their lives and cities back together?

MR. SKLAR: I'll be able to give you an opinion on that when I get back from my first trip and maybe after my second, but I can't right now.

MR. VERSHBOW: Yes. I think it's too soon to draw any conclusions about the return of refugees. It's going to be a multi-year project, and that's how Mrs. Ogata, of the UNACR is trying to organize it. We're concentrating in the short-term, on improving freedom of movement, and we think that we've made some significant strides. We hear a lot about the problems, but one neglects to pay attention to the fact that 10- to 15,000 people are crossing in and out of the opposite entity every day in both directions.

And so this is going to take a lot of time to unfold, but we're building this process of freedom of movement step by step. And as we look down the road over the next one to three years, I think we can see a process of resettlement taking hold.

Q Sandy, what do you think about the elections?

MR. VERSHBOW: Well, as you know, we think that elections should take place within the time frame that was agreed to by all the parties in Dayton. They're an essential element to building the constitutional structures that were agreed at Dayton, putting into place the central government, the parliament, the constitutional court that are essential to make Bosnia work as a single country.

So we're not convinced that there's a good case for postponing the elections but, rather to the contrary. And, indeed, we think the conditions are beginning to take shape in which free and fair elections can take place. We're making progress on freedom of movement. Ambassador Frowick has done tremendous work in putting together the regime under which the elections will be held. The local election commissions are set up. All the parties have agreed to the ground rules under which refugees can return to vote, or they can vote by absentee ballot in their original places of residence.

So we think that by the end of the summer there's no question that the conditions will be sufficient to hold a free and fair election, which is a vital objective.

Q Can you refresh our memories on how much the total package is that Mr. Sklar will be administering over there?

MR. VERSHBOW: Well, the U.S. has pledged for this year about \$200 million for economic reconstruction. Plus, when you add in other funds for other civil tasks, it comes to about \$550 million for this year -- that includes things like de-mining, the police and the like.

So he'll be overseeing the implementation of all these different civilian programs, and also trying to make them mesh with the international efforts and to try to be the spark plug that makes those international efforts move as quickly as we're trying to make our own move. AID is determined to ensure that its program for this year is completed and implemented before the end of the construction season, so that there are tangible results evident to Bosnian citizens by the end of the year, around the time the elections are taking place so that they will see, as he said, that peace is a hell of a lot more than just the absence of fighting.

Q Can you give us an update on U.S. efforts to neutralize Karadzic and Mladic? What's happening now?

MR. VERSHBOW: Well, the next step towards that end is the departure tomorrow of Ambassador Kornblum to the region to put additional pressure on Milosevic, who undertook at Dayton to ensure that Karadzic and Mladic would be removed from positions of authority. Under the Dayton constitution they are not allowed to hold office -- that's from day one, not from the time of the elections next September.

Q It doesn't seem to be working very well, I mean --

MR. VERSHBOW: Well, I think we're certainly not satisfied

with what's happened. There's been some movement in recent weeks, but it's far from sufficient. Karadzic handing over a few of his powers to his vice president is simply not enough, it's largely a cosmetic move. And Kornblum made that very clear to Milosevic when they met on his last swing through the region. And after Kornblum's stop in Belgrade at the end of the week, Secretary Christopher is convening a summit of the three Balkan presidents. This will be one of the top priorities.

So that is the focus of our attention right now.

Q Do you see the elections taking place with these two guys still around, Mladic and Karadzic, in the same positions?

MR. VERSHBOW: Certainly we would prefer that they be removed from the scene as quickly as possible, within the coming days or weeks. But we're not saying that the elections cannot take place if they are still at large. They cannot run as candidates. They cannot be elected or hold office. And we believe it's critically important that other voices within the Bosnian-Serb political establishment begin to be heard. And we're pushing very hard to open up the media, to encourage independent voices -- particularly in Banja Luka -- to step forward as an alternative to the Karadzic group. So we don't think it's desirable that they still be out there, but the election still could take place.

Q And they would be free and fair -- they could be free and fair there?

MR. VERSHBOW: We think they could be.

Q When do you leave, Mr. Sklar?

MR. SKLAR: In the next three or four days.

**END 2:53 P.M. EDT**

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

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For Immediate Release June 24, 1996

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

June 21, 1996

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

In my report to the Congress of December 21, 1995, I provided further information on the deployment of combat-equipped U.S. Armed Forces to the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as other states in the region in order to participate in and support the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)-led Implementation Force (IFOR). I am providing this follow-up report, consistent with the War Powers Resolution, to ensure that the Congress is kept fully informed on continued U.S. contributions in support of peacekeeping efforts in the former Yugoslavia.

We and other countries are working in concert to encourage the parties to fulfill their commitments under the peace agreement and to usher in a new era of cooperation. In accordance with United Nations Security Council Resolution 1031 and the North Atlantic Council decision of December 16, 1995, IFOR continues to carry out its mission to monitor and ensure compliance by all parties with the military aspects of the peace agreement initialed in Dayton and formally signed in Paris on December 14, 1995. Consistent with the accomplishment of its principal task, IFOR is also assisting various aspects of civilian implementation, including elections support, support to the International Criminal Tribunal, and the facilitation of freedom of movement of civilian persons. NATO has also agreed and IFOR stands ready to provide emergency support to the United Nations Transitional Administration in Eastern Slavonia (UNTAES). One year ago, war raged throughout Bosnia. Today, the killing has ended and peace is taking hold.

Approximately 17,000 U.S. military personnel remain deployed in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under NATO operational command and control as part of a total IFOR contingent of about 60,000. Most of these U.S. personnel are assigned to a sector surrounding Tuzla. In addition, approximately 5,500 U.S. military personnel are deployed in Hungary, Croatia, Italy, and other states in the region in order to provide logistical and other support to IFOR. These personnel remain under U.S. command and control and rules of engagement.

Many of the U.S. forces participating in IFOR are from U.S. Army forces who are stationed in Germany. Other participating U.S. forces include special operations forces, airfield operations support forces, air forces, and reserve personnel. An amphibious force is normally in reserve in the Mediterranean Sea, and a carrier battle group remains available to provide support for IFOR's air operations.

Thus far, U.S. forces have sustained one fatality, which occurred when a soldier was killed by a mine. One soldier was also slightly wounded by sniper fire in an isolated incident, one soldier was wounded after interrupting an attempted break-in at a storage facility, and several were injured, one seriously, when their vehicle struck a mine. Several other deaths have occurred because of accidents. The IFOR's mission for 1 year ends in December 1996, at which time it will begin withdrawal. At present, it is our intention that IFOR will complete the withdrawal of all troops in the weeks after December 20, 1996, on a schedule set by NATO commanders consistent with the safety of troops and the logistical requirements for an orderly withdrawal.

A U.S. Army contingent remains deployed in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia as part of the United Nations Preventive Deployment Force (UNPREDEP). This U.N. peacekeeping force observes and monitors conditions along the border with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, effectively contributing to the stability of the region. Several U.S. Army support helicopters are also deployed to provide support to U.S. forces and UNPREDEP as required. Most of the approximately 500 U.S. soldiers participating in these missions are assigned to the 2nd Battalion, 63rd Armor, 1st Infantry Division. A small contingent of U.S. military personnel is also serving in Croatia in direct support of the UNTAES Transitional Administrator.

The U.S. naval forces continued, until recently, to assist in enforcing the U.N.-mandated arms embargo and economic sanctions as part of NATO's participation in Operation "SHARP Guard." Since the arms embargo has been terminated and economic sanctions have been suspended, U.S. naval activities in support of Operation SHARP Guard have ceased. Operation SHARP Guard, however, will not be terminated until economic sanctions are terminated and U.S. naval forces will remain on call to provide assistance again should economic sanctions be reimposed.

It is in the U.S. national interest to help bring peace to Bosnia. Through American leadership and in conjunction with our NATO allies and other countries, we have seen real progress toward sustainable peace in Bosnia. We have also made it clear to the former warring parties that it is they who are ultimately responsible for implementing the peace agreement.

I have directed the participation of U.S. Armed Forces in these operations pursuant to my constitutional authority to conduct U.S. foreign relations and as Commander in Chief and Chief Executive, and in accordance with various statutory authorities. I am providing this report as part of my efforts to keep the Congress fully informed about developments in the former Yugoslavia. I will continue to consult closely with the Congress regarding our efforts to foster peace and stability in the former Yugoslavia.

Sincerely,

**WILLIAM J. CLINTON**

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

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For Immediate Release June 26, 1996

### STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

The President today certified the Bosnian Government's compliance with the requirement in the Dayton Accords that foreign forces be withdrawn from Bosnia. He also certified that Iranian-Bosnian intelligence cooperation on training, investigations, and related activities has been terminated.

Since the signing of the Dayton Accords, the Bosnian government has made major progress in meeting our demands on foreign forces and in ending its military and intelligence relationship with Iran. Although some individuals have assimilated into Bosnian society and assumed civilian roles, there is no evidence of any remaining organized Mujahedin units.

With respect to the Iranians, the Bosnian government has assured that all IRGC personnel we identified to them have left Bosnia. We have no evidence that those IRGC remain. The Bosnian government has also assured us that none of the Iranians can be brought back to Bosnia without its knowledge and that, should any of them return, they would be expelled.

Although we have never demanded that all Iranian nationals depart Bosnia or that Bosnia terminate diplomatic or economic relations with Tehran, we have insisted that the Bosnian government end bilateral intelligence cooperation in such operational areas as training and investigations, and end all military ties. The Bosnian government has moved to end the operational military and intelligence relationship with Iran. It has removed from positions of authority key officials that were heavily engaged in intelligence cooperation with Iran, including the former head of the Bosnian intelligence agency.

Congress conditioned appropriation of the final \$70 million for economic reconstruction assistance in FY 1996 on the President certifying Bosnian compliance with these requirements. With this certification, these funds will now be available to meet the needs of the Bosnian people and to begin the long process of rebuilding the war-shattered Bosnian economy. The President's certification also removes a major stumbling block to commencing the U.S.-led program to train and equip Bosnian Federation armed forces and to strengthening Bosnia's self-defense capability. We are eager to move ahead with this program and will do so as soon as final defense arrangements between the Bosnians and Croats have been completed.

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

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For Immediate Release July 9, 1996

### FACT SHEET

#### Training and Equipping the Bosnian Federation

The stabilization of the military balance at the lowest level of forces is a central element in the U.S. effort to bring peace and stability to Bosnia. As a complement to arms control and confidence-building provisions of the Dayton Peace Accords, the U.S. has launched an initiative to train and equip (T&E) Bosnian Federation armed forces.

The purpose of T&E is to assist Bosnia in self-defense, thereby promoting security and stability in the region.

T&E also will help ensure, upon IFOR's departure, that a military balance exists among the former antagonists, such that none of them are encouraged to resume hostilities.

The U.S. contribution to T&E of \$100 million in defense articles and services -- authorized by Congress in FY 96 legislation -- includes the following items: 46,100 rifles, 1,000 machine guns, 6,592 radios and tactical telephones, 45 tanks, 80 armored personnel carriers, 840 light anti-tank weapons, and 15 utility helicopters. All equipment will be fully mission capable and will include related ammunition, spares, and support equipment.

Another key aspect of T&E is the training effort provided by MPRI, a civilian firm under contract to the Federation. The training program, as well as the purchase of additional military equipment, will be funded from \$140 million pledged by Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, UAE, Malaysia, and Brunei.

The T&E program serves multiple, reinforcing purposes, including:

- Establishing a single, Federation Defense Ministry and Joint Command;
- Orienting Federation forces on a Western model; Integrating donated equipment into the Federation force structure;
- Reducing destabilizing foreign influences in the Federation;
- Providing leverage for continued compliance with Dayton; and
- Enabling the withdrawal of IFOR on a timely basis.

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release July 9, 1996

PRESS BRIEFING  
BY SECRETARY OF COMMERCE MICKEY KANTOR

The Briefing Room

**9:44 A.M. EDT**

MR. MCCURRY: I've asked the Secretary of Commerce, Mickey Kantor, to come here today because he is leaving tomorrow, I believe -- right, Mickey -- on a presidential economic and business development mission to Croatia and Bosnia. He'll be gone July 10th through July 14th. He's leading a delegation consisting of 16 U.S. companies from sectors of all the telecommunications infrastructure, tourism, areas which we believe will be vital to the economic reconstruction of both Croatia and Bosnia in the aftermath of the war.

Mickey will tell you more about his mission, but among many other things about it, it reflects the continuing U.S. commitment to nurturing and deepening the peace process in the Balkans; and, secondly, it also reminds people of our commitment personally to fulfill the legacy and the achievements launched by the late Ron Brown.

So it's a pleasure to have Secretary Kantor here. He's going to tell you a little bit about his trip and take a few questions. And thanks for coming over.

SECRETARY KANTOR: Thank you, Mike.

First of all, I'm joined by our Under Secretary for International Trade, Stu Eizenstat, who as both the E.U. Ambassador, U.S. Ambassador to the European Union and now as Under Secretary, has done an enormous amount of work in this area.

We really are -- this mission represents not only a follow-on to Secretary Brown's mission, which ended in tragedy on St. John's Mountain, but also represents these next or -- stage or new phase in what we're trying to do in this war-torn area in order to reconstruct and revitalize. It is visible. It is going to be concrete, a demonstrable presence of U.S. and private business working with government resources as well as private resources in Bosnia, and to work with trade normalization, number one, with Croatia. Number two, to involve an advocacy for U.S. businesses in two ways -- one, in terms of the \$5 billion which will be provided internationally for the reconstruction of Bosnia and advocacy for U.S. businesses in Croatia, where the economy is in fairly good shape, as well as, of course, coordination and dissemination of information and the integration in Bosnia of private and public sector resources in order to rebuild that area.

I'll be starting -- I'll arrive Thursday morning, leave tomorrow afternoon. I arrive -- the first event, I will do a private memorial service on St. John's Mountain, memorializing the military and business and, of course, Commerce Department and, of course, my friend Ron Brown's tragic death on that mountain. It'll be a private service, not a public service.

I'll then meet with the Prime Minister of Croatia. We'll talk about trade normalization. I will go through a number of events there. We will go on to Sarajevo the next morning, where I will meet with both the Federation leadership as well as the Bosnian leadership. And we'll talk there about the integration of private and public sector, advocacy of U.S. being involved in -- U.S. businesses being involved in a number of projects there that are funded by the \$5 billion.

I'm going to Tuzla to meet with U.S. troops -- Army and Air Force and Navy. And then go to Zagreb and end the trip in Zagreb meeting with President Tudjman. And we'll be talking there about advocacy of very specific U.S. projects. We have 16 businesses, as Michael said, on the trip with us. A number of them have been involved in negotiations in Bosnia as well as, most particularly, Croatia on particular projects -- everything from ENRON to ENSERCH to Boeing aircraft and Parson's Group and others. And so we hope, of course, to move those negotiations along as well.

I'd be happy to answer any questions. Yes, sir.

Q Mr. Secretary, just a basic question. Are you sensitive, are you convinced that your aircraft is safe to travel?

SECRETARY KANTOR: I'm convinced it's safe or I wouldn't really subject others to any kind of danger. We've had meetings with the Air Force. I'm totally convinced it's not only safe, but it's a well-planned mission, and I'm deeply grateful to the Air Force for the amount of time and effort they spent on this. The fact is, we should not be deterred, nor will we -- the President has made it clear -- in memory of these folks who gave their lives in trying to put a foundation under the peace process, deterred from pursuing that because of this tragedy that occurred. I'm completely confident of its safety.

Q What changes have been made by the Air Force in terms of the aircraft that you're going to be flying as opposed to the aircraft that Ron Brown flew that gives you that confidence?

SECRETARY KANTOR: Frankly, the confidence comes out of, one, what was learned from, unfortunately, that tragedy; number two, the imposition of only visual flight rules going into Dubrovnik. We've already made contingency plans if, of course, the visual flight rules can't be carried out as to where we'll go into. And so, therefore, I am completely confident this has been well thought out. I've had two meetings with the Air Force to make sure the people going with me are safe.

Q Did some corporate leaders who were invited decline to go because of their concerns?

SECRETARY KANTOR: No. The fact is, almost every company, without exception, who went on the first trip will be on the second trip. And the only reason there are -- may be one or two exceptions -- I don't know, David, how many, one or two, three?

MR. MARCHICK: Just three, I think.

SECRETARY KANTOR: Three exceptions to this is -- for other reasons, having nothing to do with the safety or security of the trip.

Q I just want to clarify -- 16 companies?

SECRETARY KANTOR: Sixteen companies are going, yes. They involve everything from tourism to finance to energy to aerospace. They cover a full gamut of U.S. private sector involvement. It's quite an impressive list of companies. They represent \$65 billion last year in revenues. And so it's substantial companies going on this trip. And I'm deeply grateful that they would again participate.

Q Do you expect to sign any agreements while you're there?

SECRETARY KANTOR: Well, we'll see. I don't want to presage any commitments or decisions made by other governments. I don't think that would be wise or appropriate on my part. The fact is we've made some progress there. We continue to do it. The fact is we're moving into the next stage. I have to undergird this peace process with a private sector and public sector building of these economies. You can't have peace if people don't have jobs.

For instance, in Bosnia today, 75 to 80 percent of the people are unemployed. Roads, bridges, gas lines, generators are all gone or destroyed. Industries have been completely obliterated. There needs to be a complete rebuilding process.

Now, Croatia is in a little different situation. Croatia, of course, has a \$17 billion economy. Their per capita GDP is about \$3,650. It's about seven times that of the folks in Bosnia today. So, therefore, it's at a different stage. So we're talking about in trade normalization with Croatia, we're talking about individual projects in Croatia of some magnitude, versus in Bosnia working with government and other resources, nongovernmental organization resources, to try to start rebuilding the infrastructure. So there's two different stages you need to look at as you look at the underpinning of the peace process.

Q Mr. Secretary, why would an American business executive think that Bosnia was a fit place for capital investment when there is still evidence of ethnic tensions and there was just an incident the other day where Bosnian Serb citizens almost attacked some IFOR troops that were Americans?

SECRETARY KANTOR: I think a couple of reasons. One is the future. But even more important, you know, there's something that characterizes Americans, whether it be business people or government leaders, nongovernmental organization -- that is, we believe in peace and stability, we believe in reaching out. This is, in some ways, a faith in what has been accomplished in the last year, which is quite substantial.

And I think we ought to have some admiration for these businesses who are looking at the long-term rather than the short-term, and also showing a patriotic inclination to go in there and to try to contribute to this process.

There will be no, or very few, short run profits, especially in Bosnia. There will be, obviously in Croatia it's a different situation given the size of the economy. But this has to do with people's commitment to the peace process, and I think they ought to be admired for it.

Thank you very much. I appreciate it.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

**END 9:56 A.M. EDT**

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

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For Immediate Release July 9, 1996

### STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

#### Training and Equipping the Bosnian Federation

I am pleased to announce the start of the U.S.-led train and equip program for the armed forces of the Bosnian Federation. The purpose of this program is to assist in providing Bosnia with the ability to defend itself, and thereby promote security and stability in the region. The program will also help ensure that upon IFOR's departure, a military balance exists among the former warring parties so that none of them are encouraged to resume hostilities.

Full commencement of the train-and-equip program was conditioned on the Bosnian government fully complying with two commitments: first, the Dayton provision mandating the withdrawal of foreign forces and terminating its intelligence cooperation with Iran; and, second, the passage of a new Federation Defense Law leading to the integration of Federation military forces and the creation of western-oriented defense institutions in Bosnia. On June 26, I certified that the Bosnian government had met its commitments with regard to foreign forces and relations with Iran.

I am very pleased to say that this afternoon, the Bosnian Federation Parliament adopted a new Defense Law. Bosnian President Izetbegovic and Federation President Zubak have overcome many significant issues in order for the Defense Law to become reality. Their leadership reflects a commitment to a workable Federation government, and this law is an essential building-block of a functioning Federation. When implemented, it will strengthen security for all Bosnians and contribute significantly to a lasting peace in the region.

With the passage of the law, the Bosnian government has made good on its commitments. Now we can make good on ours: the U.S.-led, international train and equip program will begin immediately. We anticipate the program will start in a matter of days in Sarajevo when the Federation signs a contract with MPRI, a U.S.-based company which will execute and manage the program within Bosnia. MPRI will conduct its first training session for senior military leaders in Bosnia within approximately three to four weeks.

The U.S. drawdown and transfer of approximately \$100 million worth of military equipment to Bosnia will also now begin soon. The drawdown package includes individual equipment items, tactical communications assets, small arms and ammunition, main battle tanks, armored personnel carriers, light anti-tank weapons and utility helicopters.

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

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For Immediate Release September 9, 1996

### STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

The Administration believes that postponing this week's elections in Bosnia would be a mistake. Those who argue for postponement ignore what the people of Bosnia want -- and what Bosnia needs to help its hard won peace endure.

Much has been accomplished in the nine months since American diplomacy backed with force helped the Bosnian people turn from war to peace. The warring armies have separated and put down their heavy weapons. Battlegrounds are once again playgrounds. Marketplaces are full of life, not death. Children can go to school and their parents to work. Basic infrastructure -- like water, electricity and shelter -- is being rebuilt. Slowly, Bosnia is returning to normalcy.

The elections are a key next step along the long, difficult path to a lasting peace in Bosnia. They will create the institutions of a single, democratically elected national government for all of Bosnia -- including the Presidency, the Parliament, a Constitutional Court and key government agencies. These institutions will require practical, day-in day-out interaction among Bosnia's Muslims, Croats and Serbs -- bringing the people of Bosnia together instead of keeping them apart. The elections and the institutions they create are Bosnia's best bet to break the status quo of separation, erode the forces of extremism, and lay the foundation for a sovereign, independent Bosnian state as provided for in the Dayton peace agreement.

The overwhelming majority of Bosnians "whether Serb, Croat or Muslim" say the elections are important, intend to vote, believe they will be able to do so without fear or intimidation, and agree that delaying elections would risk widening the tensions and divisions in Bosnia. In a recent USIA poll based on nearly 4000 face-to-face interviews, 83% of the Muslims, 65% of the Croats and 89% of the Serbs said it was better to vote now than to wait for better conditions, because delay would only strengthen separatist forces. 95% of the Bosnian Muslims, 92% of the Croats and 95% of the Serbs said they intend to vote. 96% of each group said they believed they would be able to vote for the party of their choice without being intimidated. Their voice as expressed through the polls is a vote for democracy. It would be ironic to postpone democracy because we fear its results -- that sends precisely the wrong message to democracy's enemies.

Conditions for free and fair elections -- including freedom of movement and access to the media -- are far from perfect. They cannot be after 40 years of dictatorship and four years of the most brutal war in Europe since World War II. So the elections are likely to be uneven; there may be some violent incidents.

But the international community, led by the OSCE and IFOR, has worked tirelessly to deal with these challenges and to create the conditions for successful elections. We have seen significant improvements in recent weeks. Last week, in the U.S. sector alone, more than 100,000 people crossed the boundary between the Serb Republic and the Bosnian Croat Federation -- bringing the six-month total to more than 1.3 million crossings. Thirteen major parties representing all political views are contesting the elections nationally, and dozens more are taking part in individual races. They have access to a wide range of electronic and print media, including a Swiss-funded independent radio network, the major independent television Open Broadcast Network (which went on the air September 7 and reaches 50% of the Bosnian population), and dozens of independent newspapers.

As we get closer to election day, IFOR will work with the international and local police to help provide as safe and secure an environment as possible. It will step up its presence in areas where there is a potential for violence and intervene if people's lives are threatened. Twelve hundred international election supervisors and hundreds of international election monitors will help prevent intimidation and other abuses.

After so much bloodshed and loss, there is no guaranty that Muslims, Croats and Serbs will come together -- and stay together -- as citizens of a shared state with a common destiny. But the point of the Dayton Agreement was to give them a chance to try -- by ending the war, creating a secure environment, promoting economic reconstruction and growth and establishing the institutions of a single Bosnian state. We should now take the next step and let the Bosnian people vote for their leaders and their future.

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

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For Immediate Release September 12, 1996

Today, the President announced that Ambassador Richard Holbrooke will lead the Presidential Delegation to observe this Saturday's Bosnian elections. In addition to Holbrooke, the former chief negotiator for Bosnia, the delegation consists of Members of Congress, senior Administration officials and distinguished private American citizens.

The September 14 elections, which will take place on the national, entity and cantonal level, will create essential legislative and judicial bodies to provide the framework for inter-ethnic cooperation and enable Bosnia to function as a unified civil society.

"I am grateful to Ambassador Holbrooke and the rest of the members of this observer delegation for agreeing to take on this important mission. Since the Dayton Peace Accords last November, the United States has led the process of reconciliation and rebuilding in Bosnia. I am proud of our efforts to date and am pleased to be sending this talented group of Americans to support the elections," said the President. "These elections are a key step on the long, difficult path to a lasting peace in Bosnia -- a path we are determined to walk alongside the Bosnian people in the days ahead," he said.

The Delegation plans to observe the elections in several locations, including Sarajevo, Banja Luka, Mostar-and Tuzla. They will also meet with a wide variety of Bosnian leaders and senior international officials involved in the election process, including Ambassador Robert Frowick of the OSCE and IFOR military Commander Admiral Joseph Lopez.

The Delegation will be available to media in Sarajevo for preliminary comment before returning home to report their findings and observations to the President.

Members of the Delegation include:

Head of Delegation

The Honorable Richard Holbrooke  
Vice Chairman of CS First Boston

Members of the Delegation

The Honorable John Menzies  
U.S. Ambassador to Bosnia

The Honorable John P. Murtha  
House of Representatives (D-PA)

The Honorable Steny Hoyer  
House of Representatives (D-MD)

The Honorable Peter King  
House of Representatives (R-NY)

The Honorable Frank Mascara  
House of Representative (D-PA)

The Honorable John Shattuck  
Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor

The Honorable Richard Penn Kemble  
Deputy Director  
United States Information Agency

The Honorable Sally A. Shelton  
Assistant Administrator  
U.S. Agency for International Development

The Honorable Sam W. Brown, Jr.  
Head of Delegation to the Organization  
on Security and Cooperation in Europe

The Honorable William Montgomery  
Special Advisor for Bosnia Implementation

The Honorable Mike Jaros  
Legislator Minnesota House of Representatives

Mr. William S. White Chairman, President and CEO Charles Stewart Mott Foundation

Mr. Tom McDonald, Partner  
Arter & Hadden Law Firm

Mr. Howard Roy Williams  
Vice President  
Overseas Policy and Planning,  
International Rescue Committee

Ambassador Lester Korn Chairman,  
Korn Tuttle Capital Group  
Founder Korn/Ferry International

Ms. Nancy Rubin  
Board of Director of the Overseas Development and the International Human Rights Law Group and serves on The Women's Commission on Refugees for Women and Children

The Honorable William Luers  
President, Metropolitan Museum of Art and former Ambassador to Venezuela and Czechoslovakia

Mrs. Wendy Luers, Chairperson  
Foundation for a Civil Society

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release September 13, 1996

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

The Briefing Room

**12:45 P.M. EDT**

MR. MCCURRY: Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen.

Q Do you have polling results?

MR. MCCURRY: We have with us today -- and it is a great honor to have him here -- Sandy Vershbow who is the Senior Director for European Affairs at the National Security Council. I've asked him to come in given that tomorrow the people of Bosnia will at long last take a step forward in the process of implementing the Dayton Accords and reaching for the goals of a democratic society that we labored so hard to help them achieve. Because of that, I thought it would be useful for him to talk a little bit about our government's work to make sure that these elections are effective.

Sandy, we're delighted to have you here.

MR. VERSHBOW: Thanks very much. In case you hadn't noticed, having all your fun on the campaign trail, there is going to be an election in Bosnia tomorrow. And we think it is a critical step in the continuing process of implementing the Dayton Peace Accords.

Many people have described these elections as the end of the Dayton process, but really it is only an important milestone -- an essential step toward recreating a single Bosnian state, as envisaged in the Dayton Agreement itself. We've been working very hard over the past few months with the rest of the international community to help create an environment that is conducive to holding a democratic election. Of course, ending the war and securing the peace, which was IFOR's main mission, has created the basic conditions for these elections, and indeed, it's important to remember how different the situation is today compared to what it was a year ago when NATO was engaged in a bombing campaign. We had continued bloody conflict, and at that point, little prospect of bringing this to a peaceful conclusion.

So we've come a long way, but this is by no means the end of the road. The conditions have improved steadily since the date for the elections was set in June by Ambassador Frowich, the OSCE's representative. Certainly no one would pretend that the conditions are perfect; that's hard to imagine that they ever could be after 40 years of dictatorship and four years of war. And there will, inevitably, be some disruptions and some problems. But we have succeeded in creating the conditions in which we think the balloting can go forward.

IFOR has played a critical and central role in supporting the OSCE in establishing secure routes for voters to get to the different polling stations. We have worked to ensure an opening up of the media. The open broadcast network began broadcasting last week, which has given opposition parties a louder voice in the final days of the campaign. Freedom of movement has improved. It's certainly not anywhere near satisfactory, but we think that, with IFOR's support and the involvement of the international police task force, all those who want to vote and want to cross from one entity into the other will be able to do so.

I think it's important to remember that the Bosnian people are very keen on seeing these elections go forward on time. There's tremendous enthusiasm on the ground in Sarajevo and in the rest of Bosnia today. John Kornblum and his team, and Dick Holbrooke and his presidential delegation have arrived in the midst of rallies and a lot of last-minute electioneering. So the vote is on course for tomorrow.

And then we move on to the next important step, perhaps even harder than bringing off these elections; namely, the establishment of the common institutions that will try to knit together the two entities -- the Federation and the Republic of Srpska -- and try to bring into reality what was agreed upon on paper at Dayton, namely the preservation of a single Bosnian state.

We will, of course, stay very much engaged in the next step, as we've been all the way along. It's clear that the parties are not able to fully realize the Dayton vision without a lot of international assistance and international pressure. And in the weeks ahead we intend to be very much in the middle of the process of bringing into reality the national government institutions -- the presidency, the parliament, so that we can move ahead to bringing a lasting peace to Bosnia.

So with that, let me take your questions.

Q When do you think they'll have the results of the election? Will it be Sunday?

MR. VERSHBOW: I think it will be a little bit longer than that. Some preliminary returns may be in, but our expectation is that the presidential election results will be in in two to three days; the parliamentary elections, both the national and the entity parliaments, may not be available for about a week.

But we expect that there will be an assessment by Ambassador Frowich on the election process itself, which -- probably by Sunday in terms of his declaring that an effective democratic election has taken place.

Q Now, all parties are participating and cooperating as you expect or hope?

MR. VERSHBOW: They've been cooperating for the most part. There have been problems. We've had to come down hard and the OSC has been very firm in coming down hard on some of the parties that have been engaged in rhetoric that is incompatible with Dayton. The calls by the Serbs for secession, for establishing their own state have been subject of warnings by the OSCE. John Kornblum met with Mrs. Plavsic, the Bosnian Serb President, last night, and stressed that secession is simply incompatible with the Dayton Accords. And she reassured him that she may have gotten carried away with election rhetoric; she wants to work within the Dayton process and accepts that the Serbs' goals can and should be achieved by making Dayton work. So we're going to hold her at her word, in that case, rather than what she said the day before.

Q Is it realistic to assume that these elections are going to really confirm the ethnic divisions that a lot of people are expecting?

MR. VERSHBOW: I think it is clear that the nationalist parties remain the most popular among all three ethnic communities in Bosnia. Again, that's not surprising. The passions that led to this war have not subsided, and these parties also have been doling out the patronage for several years. So we're not expecting any dramatic surprises, but that doesn't in any way invalidate the importance of having this election. One can't decide that an election shouldn't be held just because one isn't entirely happy with the results.

But the important thing is that these are the parties that were there at Dayton in signing on to the basic vision of a single Bosnian state, and so we will continue to press them to bring it into reality.

Q What will we be doing? Will we be monitoring there and here? We'll be watching the election?

MR. VERSHBOW: Please repeat.

Q Will you be going to Bosnia?

MR. VERSHBOW: I will be here minding the store. The rest, just about the rest of the U.S. government working on Bosnia is on the scene.

Q How many people do we have on the scene?

MR. VERSHBOW: I couldn't give you the tally. There's several dozen Americans participating as monitors under the OSCE's auspices. John Kornblum is there; Bill Montgomery, our special coordinator for Bosnian implementation, is part of the Holbrooke delegation, which numbers about 20 people. A lot of other people from the government are there helping out.

Q Well, when you say -- apparently you expect to be not, in your words, entirely happy with the results. What results -- if these nationalist parties you expect are the winners, what is the impact of that on your efforts to then create this integrated Bosnian state?

MR. VERSHBOW: Well, as I said, these are the parties that agreed to the Dayton approach, which was, one must remember, a compromise. It creates a modified constitution under which a single Bosnian state is preserved and national government institutions are created, but two entities with a high degree of autonomy are also created, so -- that marry the Bosnian Muslim commitment to preserving Bosnia as a single state with the realities of the war, which has led to a certain degree of separation, and the Serbs' desire for a high degree of autonomy.

So we will continue to work within that framework and continue to hold the parties to that. This, as we've said, is only one step in a long process of democratization in Bosnia. These institutions will be created for a period of two years; there will be follow-on elections two years down the road. Hopefully by that time, peace will become more irreversible, the benefits of cooperation and coexistence will become more apparent to people and an even more pluralism will begin to enter into the political process.

Q I know that the steps you just outlined yet to come are called for in the Dayton Accords. Does the administration fear a stray into the nation-building it has tried to eschew as it engages in these enterprises within other countries?

MR. VERSHBOW: Well, there are clearly going to be limits to how deeply we get involved. We're not going to assume responsibility for making these institutions work. Ultimately, that responsibility will rest with the Bosnian parties themselves. This is not an international protectorate, as pointed out in the column by Carl Bildt today. But we can continue to help create the conditions in which the parties can begin to get used to cooperating with one another so that they can make the ultimate long-term decisions to make this single Bosnian state a functioning reality.

They're not quite ready to do it without some international support, international pressure. So we will stay engaged politically, economically. The World Bank's economic program was envisaged to run for at least three years, and as we've seen in trying to build a federation since the Washington accords of '94, it takes continuous engagement both to get the parties to agree to take the next step, and then to get them to live up to their commitments.

Q Will the international peacekeeping forces be doing anything different tomorrow? Will they be going about normal business? Will they be deliberately more visible or less visible?

MR. VERSHBOW: IFOR has focused its resources in a massive way in making these elections a success. I think, while they will continue to be doing their countrywide missions and maintaining the cease-fire, the bulk of their forces will be devoted to securing the 19 election routes that were agreed between the Serbs and the Federation authorities, and in generally showing presence in all key sensitive areas so that the elections come off smoothly.

Q They'll be more visible?

MR. VERSHBOW: They'll be very visible. Indeed, I think OSCE has said that IFOR support has been really indispensable to making these elections possible.

Q Would you say there's a significant number of potential voters who remain displaced and unable to vote?

MR. VERSHBOW: Well, everyone -- displaced persons, refugees, as well as those who may have settled in different areas -- everyone has an opportunity to vote according to the rules agreed at Dayton. Displaced persons in country can either vote in person in their original place of residence, according to the 1991 census; by absentee ballot; or if they chose during the registration process, they can vote in their new place of residence.

Refugees have already cast their votes in third countries. A very high participation was recorded; I think something on the order of 75 percent of those who registered did cast their votes by absentee ballot and those are now being gathered in secure warehouses. So participation for all categories looks to be very high.

Q What's the current target date for all U.S. troops to be out of Bosnia?

MR. VERSHBOW: Well, we're still on the timetable that was set forth a few months ago. The IFOR mission runs through December 20th, and SACEUR General Joulwan has said we will maintain an effective force right up until that date. So the redeployment or drawdown may begin somewhere -- some weeks before that date, but the completion of the redeployment would still extend into the first weeks of next year. There are already command arrangements being set up to oversee the redeployment, but no fundamental change in the timetable.

Q How many troops do we have --

Q -- news stories of a few days ago saying the United States is committed to maintaining troops there for two additional years. Are those stories incorrect?

MR. VERSHBOW: Yes, certainly those stories are incorrect. There have been no decisions taken within NATO, within the larger coalition or by the United States alone with respect to any successor force to IFOR. That discussion really can't begin until the results of the election are in. I would point you towards a meeting at the end of the month of the NATO defense ministers in Norway where I think there will be a discussion of how the elections have gone and what are the implications, and that will lead to the beginning of an assessment of the different possibilities by the NATO military planners in the weeks that follow.

So no decisions have been taken. Whether some kind of follow-on military presence in addition to follow-on police presence is necessary to buttress the continued implementation of Dayton is still an open question, but we're on the threshold of getting into that discussion.

Q How can you say with such certainty that this December 20 target date will be met?

MR. VERSHBOW: As we've been quite clear that IFOR was a force that was mandated to carry out a specific mission which we continue to believe can be finished in one year. It was to secure the cease-fire, separate the forces, oversee the exchange of territory between the two entities; in short, to implement the military aspects of Dayton which have largely been achieved, and then to provide the secure environment in which to launch civilian implementation, including holding of these elections. So if there is some continued need for an international military presence, it will be a different force under different mandate, different tasks. But again, whether that is going to be judged necessary remains to be seen.

Q Well, would it include Americans?

MR. VERSHBOW: That's a question that has also not been decided, since we haven't decided whether there's any force that's going to be there.

Q Are you in a position to answer on another topic a question about U.S. allied support for action in Iraq and where the French stand now and is the United States disappointed?

MR. VERSHBOW: I'd rather leave that to David or Mike.

Q Have you been drawn into those discussions, though, given your role?

MR. VERSHBOW: Not in -- I haven't personally been involved in the last couple of days. But there's ongoing consultations with all our allies.

Q On what?

MR. VERSHBOW: On the situation in Iraq.

Q Meaning what? Can you be more specific?

MR. VERSHBOW: Let me leave it to others. I'll stick with Bosnia.

Q How many troops do we have in Bosnia now?

MR. VERSHBOW: We still have roughly 20,000 or a little bit under 20,000 troops as the original U.S. share of the overall IFOR deployment.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

**END 1:00 P.M. EDT**

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

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For Immediate Release September 15, 1996

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
UPON DEPARTURE

The South Lawn

**11:45 A.M. EDT**

THE PRESIDENT: Good morning. A year ago, Bosnia was racked by the bloodiest war in Europe since World War II. Yesterday, Bosnians went to the polls in peace to cast their votes for their future. The road ahead will be hard, but yesterday was a remarkable step forward. The Bosnian people, the international community and the American people should be proud.

Our observer delegation, led by Ambassador Richard Holbrooke, reports that the elections generally were orderly and calm. Close to 70 percent of Bosnia's registered voters cast a ballot freely at one of 4,400 polling places all across the country. And nearly 80 percent of the registered refugees abroad voted by absentee ballot.

I want to thank IFOR, the international police task force, and the more than 1,200 international election monitors for helping so many Bosnians take part in these elections. By voting yesterday, the Bosnian people gave life to the institutions of national government: a presidency, a parliament, a constitutional court, key government agencies. These institutions can bring the country together instead of driving it apart. Now, we have to get them up and running and help the Bosnian people in the hard work of building a unified, democratic and peaceful Bosnia.

Our commitment to Bosnia does not end with these elections. We will continue to do our part to hold Bosnia's leaders to their commitments and to turn the promise, born nine months ago at Dayton, into a reality.

Thank you.

Q Mr. President, there are reports that Iraq has fired more missiles at U.S. planes. Do you know if those reports are true, and if so, do you plan to respond?

THE PRESIDENT: I can't confirm that now.

Q Mr. President, what do you say to criticism by House Speaker Newt Gingrich, especially in light of the confusion with the ground troops, U.S. ground troops potentially going to Kuwait, now waiting, he says our policy over there makes no sense, that it's a typical muddle?

THE PRESIDENT: That's just election year talk by Mr. Gingrich.

Q Mr. President, is Kuwait at all delaying or not approving the deployment of U.S. ground troops?

THE PRESIDENT: No, we have no information to that effect. I think that what I would do is just let the orderly processes that are always followed in these kinds of cases go forward. I think that there is no problem here, based on what I know. I think that what happened was that the decision on the movements that we had made actually became public before we had done our regular consultation and the Kuwaitis had done their regular review. As far as I know, there is nothing irregular or troubling here.

Q Mr. President, what do you think of Senator Nunn saying that Saddam is stronger now, and are you all set to retaliate again if something happens?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I believe that he's in better shape than he was the day after the Gulf War in 1991, but strategically, I do not believe he is stronger because of the expansion of the no-fly zone. I think the expansion of the no-fly zone was designed to do one thing and one thing only: to increase our capacity to monitor and to limit his ability to threaten his neighbors in light of his increased aggressiveness. And I think that we will achieve that, and I think we are achieving that, and that was exactly what we set out to achieve.

But he was not taken out of office in the Gulf War, he has managed to survive and he is still in power. But the important thing for the United States is that he not be able to threaten his neighbors, and to do what was done in 1991 in the Gulf War, we don't want to have to do that all over again, and that's what we're trying to avoid, and I believe we have taken an appropriate step to do that.

Q Is there a breakdown in communications between you and Capitol Hill? They act like they don't know what's going on.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I can't comment on that. We've done our best to keep them very carefully informed, and I expect to have some personal consultations in the next few days, and we'll see about that. But I believe we did the right thing, and I think it was the appropriate course, and I will do everything I can to answer whatever questions any member of Congress has. Thank you.

**END 11:52 A.M. EDT**

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

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For Immediate Release November 16, 1996

RADIO ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT  
TO THE NATION

The Oval Office

THE PRESIDENT: Good morning. As I've said many times, America is the world's indispensable nation, the one the world looks to for leadership because of our strength and our values. This week I've taken two important decisions that are part of America's responsibilities in the world. The first is agreement, in principle, for our troops to take limited part in a mission to ease the suffering in Zaire. The second is approval -- again in principle -- for our troops to be part of a follow-on security presence in Bosnia. Today, I want to tell you why our role in these missions matters.

Two years ago, following genocide in Rwanda, more than 1 million Rwandan refugees fled for Zaire. Recently, their plight has worsened as fighting among militant forces has driven them from their camps. Relief agencies have been unable to provide food and water. Disease is breaking out.

As the world's most powerful nation, we cannot turn our back when so many people, especially so many innocent children, are at mortal risk. That is why, when Canada proposed to lead an international humanitarian force, I agreed that, under appropriate circumstances, America would participate. I've set out clear conditions for American participation to minimize risk and give our troops the best possible chance to make a difference.

The mission's aim must be to speed delivery of humanitarian aid and to help refugees who want to go home. Our contribution will reflect our special capabilities, such as providing airport security and helping to airlift forces. We know the mission is not risk-free, but hundreds of thousands of people are in desperate need. This is the right thing to do.

In Bosnia, because of our leadership, nearly four years of brutal war are over, and America troops, through the NATO-led force called IFOR, have helped to create conditions in which the Bosnians could start to rebuild. IFOR has completed its mission more successfully than anyone expected, ending the fighting, separating the forces, creating security for democratic elections. But these remarkable achievements on the military side have not been matched, despite all our efforts, by similar progress on the civilian side.

Rebuilding the fabric of Bosnia's political and economic life is taking more time than anticipated. NATO has been studying options to help give the Bosnian people more time with a new security presence in Bosnia when IFOR withdraws. Having carefully reviewed these options, I have agreed that America should take part.

Before making a commitment, I must be satisfied that the new mission is clear, is limited, and is achievable. Its focus should be preventing a renewal of fighting so that reconstruction and reconciliation can accelerate. That will require a strong but limited military presence in Bosnia, able to respond quickly and decisively to any cease-fire violations. This new mission will be more limited than IFOR, charged with maintaining the stability that IFOR created.

Our military planners believe the mission will require less than half the troops our nation contributed to IFOR, about 8,500. There will be an American commander and tough rules of engagement, and every six months we will review whether stability can be upheld with fewer forces.

By the end of 1997, we expect to draw down to a much smaller deterrent force, half the initial size. We will propose to our NATO allies that by June, 1998, the mission's work should be done and the force should be able to withdraw.

As Zaire and Bosnia remind us, differences among people can fuel the most vicious and violent hatreds. Whether these differences are ethnic, tribal or religious, the result is tragedy and despair. In our own country, we have seen the price we all pay whenever discrimination and hatred occur. But we also know how much is possible when people find unity and strength in their diversity. The world looks to America as a living example of how people can triumph over hatred and fear, and come together as one nation under God.

This week, we lost a great American who taught us the importance of this lesson, and whom people all over the world looked up to as the embodiment of the values that keep America strong: Cardinal Joseph Bernadin of Chicago. As one of the most influential Roman Catholics in modern history, Cardinal Bernadin devoted himself to bringing out the best in humanity. He taught us that what unites us is more important than what divides us, that we can meet our challenges, but only by coming together across our differences. As he said shortly before he died, "It is wrong to waste the precious gift of time given to us on acrimony and division."

This true man of God spent his entire life helping people to find their way to common ground. That was, in fact, the project he was most involved with when he died -- the common-ground project to unite Catholics of different views. Hillary and I counted him as our friend, and we'll miss him very much.

So let us all strive to find that common ground where all Americans can stand in dignity and help one another make the most of their dreams, and let us be ready to share our strength when our values and our interests demand it, with others around the world who need a hand to help themselves to reach their dreams.

Thanks for listening.

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

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For Immediate Release December 4, 1996

### STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

#### Serbian Elections Crisis

We are deeply concerned by decisions of the Serbian government to annul the results of the November 17 municipal elections won by the opposition. These steps undermine the election process and invalidate Serbian leaders claims that they are committed to democracy. The continuing demonstrations around the country show that the Serbian people take seriously their right to choose their leaders. Denial of the democratic rights of citizens, such as the annulment of the opposition victories, can lead only to the continued decline and isolation of Serbia.

We call on the Serbian government to respect the democratic will of the people and to accept the results of the November 17 elections. We condemn the closure of the independent radio stations, including Radio B-92. Attempts to stifle the opposition s call to respect the democratic will of the people and to keep the Serbian public in the dark will only exacerbate the situation.

We commend the opposition for its adherence to non-violence and call upon the Serbian government to avoid any use of force against peaceful protestors. The Serbian government should harbor no illusions: any crackdown will provoke a strong reaction from the international community, resulting in Serbia s further isolation.

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release December 6, 1996

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

December 6, 1996

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

On May 30, 1992, by Executive Order 12808, President Bush declared a national emergency to deal with the unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States constituted by the actions and policies of the Governments of Serbia and Montenegro, blocking all property and interests in property of those Governments. President Bush took additional measures to prohibit trade and other transactions with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) by Executive Orders 12810 and 12831, issued on June 5, 1992, and January 15, 1993, respectively.

On April 25, 1993, I issued Executive Order 12846, blocking the property and interests in property of all commercial, industrial, or public utility undertakings or entities organized or located in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) (the "FRY (S&M)"), and prohibiting trade-related transactions by United States persons involving those areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina controlled by the Bosnian Serb forces and the United Nations Protected Areas in the Republic of Croatia. On October 25, 1994, because of the actions and policies of the Bosnian Serbs, I expanded the scope of the national emergency by issuance of Executive Order 12934 to block the property of the Bosnian Serb forces and the authorities in the territory that they control within the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as the property of any entity organized or located in, or controlled by any person in, or resident in, those areas.

On December 27, 1995, I issued Presidential Determination No. 96-7, directing the Secretary of the Treasury, inter alia, to suspend the application of sanctions imposed on the FRY (S&M) pursuant to the above-referenced Executive orders and to continue to block property previously blocked until provision is made to address claims or encumbrances, including the claims of the other successor states of the former Yugoslavia. This sanctions relief, in conformity with United Nations Security Council Resolution ("UNSCR") 1022 of November 22, 1995, was an essential factor motivating Serbia and Montenegro's acceptance of the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina initialed by the parties in Dayton, Ohio, on November 21, 1995 (the "Peace Agreement") and signed in Paris on December 14, 1995. The sanctions imposed on the FRY (S&M) and on the United Nations Protected Areas in the Republic of Croatia were accordingly suspended prospectively, effective January 16, 1996. Sanctions imposed on the Bosnian Serb forces and authorities and on the territory that they control within the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina were subsequently suspended prospectively, effective May 13, 1996, in conformity with UNSCR 1022. On October 1, 1996, the United Nations passed UNSCR 1074, terminating U.N. sanctions against the FRY (S&M) and the Bosnian Serbs in light of the elections that took place in Bosnia and Herzegovina on September 14, 1996. UNSCR 1074, however, reaffirms the provisions of UNSCR 1022 with respect to the release of blocked assets, as set forth above.

The present report is submitted pursuant to 50 U.S.C. 1641(c) and 1703(c) and covers the period from May 30 to November 29, 1996. 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 12808 of May 30, 1992 (57 FR 23299) and Executive Order 12934 (59 FR 54117) and to expanded sanctions against the FRY (S&M) and the Bosnian Serbs contained in Executive Order 12810 of June 5, 1992 (57 FR 24347, June 9, 1992), Executive Order 12831 of January 15, 1993 (58 FR 5253, January 21, 1993), Executive Order 12846 of April 25, 1993 (58 FR 25771, April 27, 1993), and Executive Order 12934 of October 25, 1994 (59 FR 54117, October 27, 1994).

1. 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).
2. Since the declaration of the national emergency with respect to the FRY (S&M) on May 30, 1992, the Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) acting under authority delegated by the Secretary of the Treasury has implemented the sanctions imposed under the foregoing statutes. Effective January 16, 1996, OFAC amended the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and Bosnian Serb-Controlled Areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Sanctions Regulations, 31 CFR Part 585 (the "Regulations"), to implement in the United States provisions of the Peace Agreement and UNSCR 1022 (61 FR 1282, January 19, 1996). The amended Regulations authorize prospectively all transactions with respect to the FRY (S&M) otherwise prohibited. Property and interests in property of the FRY (S&M) previously blocked within the jurisdiction of the United States remain blocked, in conformity with the Peace Agreement and UNSCR 1022, until provision is made to address claims or encumbrances, including the claims of the other successor states of the former Yugoslavia. On May 10, 1996, OFAC amended the Regulations to authorize prospectively those transactions previously prohibited with respect to the Bosnian Serb forces and authorities; entities organized or located in those areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under their control; entities owned or controlled directly or indirectly by any person in, or resident in, those areas; and any person acting for or on behalf of any of the foregoing. United States persons are also authorized to engage in transactions involving the areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the control of the Bosnian Serb forces, and services may be exported either from the United States or by United States persons to those areas. Property and interests in property previously blocked because of an interest of any of the above persons remain blocked. (61 FR 24696, May 16, 1996.)
3. Over the past 6 months, the Departments of State and the Treasury have worked closely with European Union member states and other U.N. member nations to implement the provisions of UNSCR 1022. In the United States, retention of blocking authority pursuant to the extension of a national emergency provides a framework for administration of an orderly claims settlement. This accords with past policy and practice with respect to the suspension of sanctions regimes.
4. Subsequent to the prospective authorization of transactions with the FRY (S&M), effective January 16, 1996, OFAC has issued 28 specific licenses regarding transactions pertaining to the FRY (S&M) or assets it owns or controls. As of October 28, 1996, specific licenses have been issued (1) to authorize the unblocking of certain funds and other financial assets previously blocked; (2) for the payment of crews' wages, vessel maintenance, and emergency supplies for FRY (S&M)-controlled ships blocked in the United States; and (3) to authorize performance of certain transactions under pre-sanctions contracts.

During the past 6 months, OFAC has continued to oversee the maintenance of blocked accounts and records with respect to: (1) liquidated tangible assets and personalty of the 15 blocked U.S. subsidiaries of entities organized in the FRY (S&M); (2) the blocked personalty, files, and records of the 2 Serbian banking institutions in New York previously placed in secure storage; (3) remaining tangible property, including real estate; and (4) the 5 Yugoslav-owned vessels still blocked in the United States.

5. Despite the prospective authorization of transactions with the FRY (S&M), OFAC has continued to work closely with the U.S. Customs Service and other cooperating agencies to investigate alleged violations that occurred while sanctions were in force.

Since the last report, OFAC has collected five civil monetary penalties totaling more than \$28,300 for violations of the sanctions. These violations included prohibited exports and payments to persons in the FRY (S&M) or to blocked entities owned or controlled by the FRY (S&M).

6. The expenses incurred by the Federal Government in the 6-month period from May 30, 1996, through November 29, 1996, 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 \$1.252 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 OFAC 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.

7. In the last year, substantial progress has been achieved to bring about a settlement of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia acceptable to the parties. UNSCR 1074 terminates sanctions in view of the first free and fair elections to occur in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as provided for in the Peace Agreement. In reaffirming Resolution 1022, however, UNSCR 1074 contemplates the continued blocking of assets potentially subject to conflicting claims and encumbrances until provision is made to address them, including claims of the other successor states of the former Yugoslavia.

The resolution of the crisis and conflict in the former Yugoslavia that has resulted from the actions and policies of the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), and of the Bosnian Serb forces and the authorities in the territory that they control, will not be complete until such time as the Peace Agreement is implemented fully and the terms of UNSCR 1022 have been met. Therefore, I have continued for another year the national emergency declared on May 30, 1992, as expanded in scope on October 25, 1994, and will continue to enforce the measures adopted pursuant thereto.

I shall continue to exercise the powers at my disposal with respect to the measures against the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), 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).

Sincerely,

**WILLIAM J. CLINTON**

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

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For Immediate Release December 16, 1996

### FACT SHEET

#### U.S. and EU Assistance to Bosnia

The United States and European Union have been leading partners in helping rebuild and bring long-term peace to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The U.S. and EU are the major donor countries to the reconstruction effort and coordinate closely to ensure that assistance reaches those who need it.

In late 1995 and early 1996, the U.S. participated in two successful donor coordination meetings hosted by the EU and the World Bank.

At those meetings, donors pledged over \$1.8 billion for reconstruction costs for 1996, including approximately \$282 million from the U.S. and \$718 million from the EU.

The U.S. supports the EU and World Bank plans to host a donors' conference in late February or early March to raise funds for 1997. We expect the U.S. and EU to be leading donors in 1997 as well.

In addition to assistance for reconstruction, the U.S. and EU countries have been working together for long-term peace in Bosnia in other ways as well, including helping the OSCE to organize Bosnia's first democratic elections, contributing international police monitors to the International Police Task Force, jointly pressing the parties to live up to their Dayton commitments, and serving as the leading troop contributors to IFOR.

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

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For Immediate Release December 17, 1996

### STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

Final Approval of New Stabilization Force in Bosnia

I have formally approved NATO's new operation plan for the Stabilization Force (SFOR) that will succeed the NATO-led Implementation Force (IFOR) in Bosnia after December 20. I welcome NATO's decision yesterday to approve formally the new operation plan and today to approve the Activation Order that will authorize the start of SFOR's mission.

SFOR's limited and focused mission is to consolidate the peace that IFOR successfully established and maintained. During the past 12 months, IFOR separated and ensured the demobilization of former warring factions. It provided the secure conditions in which democratic elections could be held and the reconstruction of Bosnia's shattered economy could begin. IFOR succeeded in bringing an end to a war that threatened stability in Europe. Now, by preventing the parties from sliding back into armed conflict and providing more breathing space for political and economic efforts to take hold, SFOR will help Bosnians assume full responsibility for their future -- a future without an outside military presence.

As the leader of NATO and the principal architect of the Dayton peace, the United States must continue to lead in this new mission to consolidate the peace in Bosnia. At the same time, our European allies are sharing the responsibility for building long-term stability. The European Union is the leading donor to the economic reconstruction effort and shoulders the burden of helping Bosnia's refugees. Europe will also contribute a greater share of the troops for SFOR than it did for IFOR, with the U.S. providing less than half of what we provided for IFOR.

SFOR's mission will last 18 months. Every six months we will review and consult with Congress on whether stability can be maintained with fewer forces. By helping the Bosnian people build a peace that is self-sustaining, SFOR will also help advance our fundamental goal of building a Europe that is peaceful, undivided and democratic.

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

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For Immediate Release December 20, 1996

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

December 20, 1996

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

In my report to the Congress of June 21, 1996, I provided further information on the deployment of combat-equipped U.S. Armed Forces to Bosnia and other states in the region in order to participate in and support the North Atlantic Treaty Organization-led Implementation Force (IFOR). I am providing this supplemental report, consistent with the War Powers Resolution, to help ensure that the Congress is kept fully informed on continued U.S. contributions in support of peacekeeping efforts in the former Yugoslavia.

We continue to work in concert with others in the international community to encourage the parties to fulfill their commitments under the Dayton Peace Agreement and to build on the gains achieved over the last year. It remains in the U.S. national interest to help bring peace to Bosnia, both for humanitarian reasons and to arrest the dangers the fighting in Bosnia represented to security and stability in Europe generally. Through American leadership and in conjunction with our NATO allies and other countries, we have seen real progress toward sustainable peace in Bosnia. We have also made it clear to the former warring parties that it is they who are ultimately responsible for implementing the peace agreement.

Approximately 9,000 U.S. troops currently are deployed in Bosnia and Herzegovina under NATO operational command and control as part of the current Stabilization Force (SFOR) total of about 35,800. All NATO nations and 18 others, including Russia, contributed troops or other support to IFOR and most will continue to provide such support to the follow-on force, discussed below. Most U.S. troops are assigned to Multinational Division, North, centered around the city of Tuzla. In addition, approximately 6,900 U.S. troops are deployed to Hungary, Croatia, Italy, and other states in the region in order to provide logistical and other support to SFOR.

Consistent with United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1031 (1995) and the North Atlantic Council decision of December 16, 1995, IFOR has now successfully accomplished its mission to monitor and ensure compliance by all parties with the military aspects of the Peace Agreement initialed in Dayton and formally signed in Paris on December 14, 1995. War no longer rages throughout Bosnia. Weapons have been cantoned, troops demobilized, and territory exchanged. While inter-ethnic tensions remain, the killing has ended and peace is taking hold. Building on its accomplishment of military tasks that established the necessary environment for civilian implementation, IFOR also assisted in the overall civilian implementation effort, including elections support, support to the international criminal tribunal and the facilitation of freedom of movement of civilian persons. IFOR also stood ready to provide emergency support to the United Nations Transitional Administration in Eastern Slavonia (UNTAES).

In order to contribute further to a secure environment necessary for the consolidation of peace throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina, NATO has approved, and I have authorized U.S. participation in, an IFOR follow-on force to be known as the Stabilization Force (SFOR). The United Nations Security Council authorized member states to establish the follow-on force in UNSCR 1088 of December 12, 1996. Transfer of authority from IFOR to SFOR occurred on December 20, 1996. The parties to the Peace Agreement have all confirmed to NATO their support for the SFOR mission. In particular, Bosnia and Herzegovina has indicated that it welcomes SFOR.

SFOR's tasks are to deter or prevent a resumption of hostilities or new threats of peace, to consolidate IFOR's achievements, to promote a climate in which the civilian-led peace process can go forward. Subject to this primary mission, SFOR will provide selective support, within its capabilities, to civilian organizations implementing the Dayton Peace Agreement.

NATO has planned for an 18-month SFOR mission, to be formally reviewed at 6 and 12 months, with a view to progressively reducing the force's presence and, eventually, withdrawing. I expect the U.S. force contribution to SFOR to be about 8,500, less than half that deployed with IFOR at the peak of its strength. Many of the U.S. forces participating in SFOR are U.S. Army forces that were stationed in Germany. Other participating U.S. forces include special operations forces, airfield operations support forces, air forces, and reserve personnel. An amphibious force is normally in reserve in the Mediterranean Sea, and a carrier battle group remains available to provide support for air operations.

IFOR's withdrawal has begun, on a schedule set by NATO commanders, consistent with the safety of the troops and the logistical requirements for an orderly withdrawal. A covering force of approximately 5,000 troops, drawn primarily from the U.S. 1st Infantry Division, deployed to Bosnia in November to assist in IFOR's withdrawal. During IFOR's one-year mission, U.S. forces sustained a total of 13 fatalities, all resulting from accidents. Twenty-one American servicemembers were also injured in accidents. As with U.S. forces, traffic accidents, landmines, and other accidents were the primary causes of injury to IFOR personnel.

A U.S. Army contingent remains deployed in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia as part of the United Nations Preventive Deployment force (UNPREDEP). This U.N. peacekeeping force observes and monitors conditions along the border with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, effectively contributing to the stability of the region. Several U.S. Army support helicopters are also deployed to provide support to U.S. forces and UNPREDEP as required. Most of the approximately 500 U.S. soldiers participating in these missions are assigned to the 2nd Battalion, 63rd Armor, 1st Infantry Division. A small contingent of U.S. military personnel is also serving in Croatia in direct support of the UNTAES Transitional Administrator.

U.S. naval forces continued, until October 2, to assist in enforcing the U.N.-mandated economic sanctions as part of NATO's participation in Operation SHARP GUARD. Because the economic sanctions have been terminated, U.S. naval activities in support of Operation SHARP GUARD have ceased. U.S. naval forces will remain on call to provide assistance should economic sanctions be reimposed.

I have directed the participation of U.S. Armed Forces in these operations pursuant to my constitutional authority to conduct U.S. foreign relations and as Commander in Chief and Chief Executive, and in accordance with various statutory authorities. I am providing this report as part of my efforts to keep the Congress fully informed about developments in Bosnia and other states in the region. I will continue to consult closely with the Congress regarding our efforts to foster peace and stability in the former Yugoslavia.

Sincerely,

**WILLIAM J. CLINTON**

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