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Bosnia Statement 10/31/95

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release  October 31, 1995

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

The Roosevelt Room

11:35 A.M. EST

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thank you.

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

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

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

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

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

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I look forward to having the opportunity to discuss that with them. I know Senator Dole and Leon Panetta have had a brief conversation about it. I know that a lot of others are contacting the Congress about it. So we'll have a chance to talk about that tomorrow as well.
Q Are you willing to accept a short-term, through November 29th, as has been suggested, extension?

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

Thank you very much.

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

Q Are you happy about Canada?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

END

11:45 A.M. EST
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We will succeed only if America continues to lead. Already, our military strength through NATO and our diplomatic determination have advanced the possibility of peace in Bosnia. We must not stop now. The responsibilities of leadership are real -- but the benefits are even greater. We see them all around the world: a reduced nuclear threat... democracy in Haiti... peace breaking out in the Middle East and Northern Ireland. In Bosnia, as elsewhere, if the United States doesn’t lead, the job won’t get done.

Making peace in Bosnia is important to America.
Making peace will end the terrible toll of this war, the innocent lives lost, the futures destroyed. For four years, the people of Bosnia have suffered the worst atrocities in Europe since World War II: mass executions... ethnic cleansing... concentration camps... rape and terror... starvation and disease. We continue to learn more and more of the slaughter in Srebrenica. The best way -- the only way -- to stop these horrors is to make peace.

Making peace will prevent the war from spreading. So far, we've been able to contain the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. But the Balkans lie at the heart of Europe -- next door to several of our key NATO allies and to some of the new, fragile European democracies.
If the war in Bosnia reignites, it could spread and spark a much larger conflict -- like those that drew Americans into two European wars in this century. We must end the war in Bosnia -- now.

Making peace will advance our goal of a peaceful, democratic and undivided Europe. A Europe at peace will bring extraordinary benefits for our own long term security and prosperity and guarantee us strong partners to meet the challenges of a new century -- challenges that affect us here at home like terrorism... organized crime and drug trafficking... the spread of weapons of mass destruction. A peaceful, democratic, undivided Europe will be such a partner.
In Dayton, our diplomats face a tremendous challenge. There is no guarantee they will succeed. America can help the parties negotiate a settlement. But we cannot impose peace.

In recent weeks, thanks to our mediation efforts, the parties to the war have made real progress toward ending it. They have agreed to the basic principles of a settlement. Bosnia will remain a single state, its land divided between the Bosnian-Croat Federation and the Serbs. There will be free elections and democratic institutions of government at the national and regional levels. And the parties have put into effect a Bosnia-wide cease-fire.
But many difficult issues must still be resolved. These include the internal boundary between the Bosnian-Croat Federation and the Serb Republic; the status of Sarajevo; the practical steps that need to be taken to separate hostile forces; and the procedures for free elections -- to name only a few.

I urge the parties to negotiate seriously -- and for the good of their people. So much is riding on their success in Dayton. And the world is watching.

If the parties reach a settlement, NATO must help secure it. The United States, as NATO's leader, must participate in such an operation. Again I say, there is no substitute for American leadership.
After so many years of violence and bloodshed, a credible, international military presence in Bosnia is needed to give the parties confidence to live up to their agreement and time to begin the long, hard work of rebuilding.

NATO is the one organization with the track record and strength to implement a settlement. And, as I have said many times now, the United States -- the source of NATO's strength -- must participate in an implementation force. If we do not, our NATO partners understandably would reconsider their own commitments. We would undermine American leadership of the alliance. We would weaken the alliance itself. And the hard won peace in Bosnia could be lost.
American troops would not be deployed unless and until the parties reach a real peace agreement. They would operate under NATO command, with clear rules of engagement and a defined mission. They would not be asked to keep a peace that cannot be kept. But they would make sure we do our part in helping peace take hold.

As the peace process moves forward, I will continue to consult closely with Congress. If a peace agreement is reached, I will request an expression of support by Congress for committing U.S. troops to a NATO implementation force. Our foreign policy works best when we work together. I want the widest support possible for peace.
Right now, it would be premature to request an expression of support from Congress. We cannot decide many of the details of implementation until a peace agreement is clearly shaped and defined. Let me stress again: we are not there yet. The obstacles to a settlement are real and difficult. The focus must be on Dayton and the effort to make peace. Without peace in Bosnia, there will be nothing to secure.
Earlier this month, in New Jersey, I had the privilege of spending time with Pope John Paul II. At the end of our meeting, the Pope said: “You know, I am not a young man. I have lived through most of this century. The 20th Century began with a war in Sarajevo. Mr. President, you must not let the 20th century end with a war in Sarajevo.” All of us must work to make good on the Pope's plea. Our conscience as a nation devoted to freedom and tolerance demands it. Our enduring interests in stability and security in Europe demand it. This is our challenge in the days and weeks ahead. I am determined that America will meet it.

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We will succeed only if America continues to lead. Already, our military strength through NATO and our diplomatic determination have advanced the possibility of peace in Bosnia. We must not stop now. The responsibilities of leadership are real -- but the benefits are even greater. We see them all around the world: a reduced nuclear threat... democracy in Haiti... peace breaking out in the Middle East and Northern Ireland. In Bosnia, as elsewhere, if the United States doesn't lead, the job won't get done.

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Making peace will advance our goal of a peaceful, democratic and undivided Europe -- which will bring extraordinary benefits for our own long term security and prosperity. Strong partners to meet the challenges of a new century -- challenges that affect us here at home like terrorism... organized crime and drug trafficking... the spread of weapons of mass destruction. A peaceful, democratic, undivided Europe will be such a partner.
In Dayton, our diplomats face a tremendous challenge. There is no guarantee they will succeed. America can help the parties negotiate a settlement. But we cannot impose peace.

In recent weeks, thanks to our mediation efforts, the parties to the war have made real progress toward ending it. They have agreed to the basic principles of a settlement. Bosnia will remain a single state, its land divided between the Bosnian-Croat Federation and the Serbs. There will be free elections and democratic institutions of government at the national and regional levels. And the parties have put into effect a Bosnia-wide cease-fire.
But many difficult issues must still be resolved. These include the internal boundary between the Bosnian-Croat Federation and the Serb Republic; the status of Sarajevo; the practical steps that need to be taken to separate hostile forces; and the procedures for free elections -- to name only a few.

I urge the parties to negotiate seriously -- and for the good of their people. So much is riding on their success in Dayton. And the world is watching.

If the parties reach a settlement, NATO must help secure it.

The United States, as NATO's leader, must participate in such an operation. There is no substitute for American leadership.
After so many years of violence and bloodshed, a credible, international military presence in Bosnia is needed to give the parties confidence to live up to their agreement and time to begin the long, hard work of rebuilding.

NATO is the one organization with the track record and strength to implement a settlement. And, as I have said many times now, the United States -- the source of NATO’s strength -- must participate in an implementation force. If we do not, our NATO partners understandably would reconsider their own commitments. We would undermine American leadership of the alliance. We would weaken the alliance itself. And the hard won peace in Bosnia could be lost.
American troops would not be deployed unless and until the parties reach a real peace agreement. They would operate under NATO command, with clear rules of engagement and a defined mission. They would not be asked to keep a peace that cannot be kept. But they would make sure we do our part in helping peace take hold.

As the peace process moves forward, I will continue to consult closely with Congress. If a peace agreement is reached, I will request an expression of support by Congress for committing U.S. troops to a NATO implementation force. Our foreign policy works best when we work together. I want the widest support possible for peace.
Right now, it would be premature to request an expression of support from Congress. We cannot decide many of the details of implementation until a peace agreement is clearly shaped and defined. Let me stress again: we are not there yet. The obstacles to a settlement are real and difficult. The focus must be on Dayton and the effort to make peace.

Without peace in Bosnia, there will be nothing to secure.
Earlier this month, in New Jersey, I had the privilege of spending time with Pope John Paul II. At the end of our meeting, the Pope said: “You know, I am not a young man. I have lived through most of this century. The 20th Century began with a war in Sarajevo. Mr. President, you must not let the 20th century end with a war in Sarajevo.” All of us must work to make good on the Pope’s plea. Our conscience as a nation devoted to freedom and tolerance demands it. Our enduring interests in stability and security in Europe demand it. This is our challenge in the days and weeks ahead. I am determined that America will meet it.

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The American people must understand why making peace in Bosnia is so important.
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Making peace will advance our goal of a peaceful, democratic and undivided Europe -- which will bring extraordinary benefits for our own long term security and prosperity. And we need strong partners to meet the challenges of a new century -- challenges that affect us here at home like terrorism... organized crime and drug trafficking... the spread of weapons of mass destruction. A peaceful, democratic, undivided Europe will be such a partner.

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But many difficult issues must still be resolved. These include the internal boundary between the Bosnian-Croat Federation and the Serb Republic; the status of Sarajevo; the practical steps that need to be taken to separate hostile forces; and the procedures for free elections -- to name only a few.
I urge the parties to negotiate seriously -- and for the good of their people. So much is riding on their success in Dayton. And the world is watching.

If the parties reach a settlement, NATO must help secure it. The United States, as NATO’s leader, must participate in such an operation. There is no substitute.

After so many years of violence and bloodshed, a credible, international military presence in Bosnia is needed to give the parties confidence to live up to their agreement and time to begin the long, hard work of rebuilding.
NATO is the one organization with the track record and strength to implement a settlement. And, as I have said many times now, the United States -- the source of NATO's strength -- must participate in an implementation force. If we do not, our NATO partners understandably would reconsider their own commitments. We would undermine American leadership of the alliance. We would weaken the alliance itself. And the hard won peace in Bosnia could be lost.

American troops would not be deployed unless and until the parties reach a real peace agreement. They would operate under NATO command, with clear rules of engagement and a defined mission. They would not be asked to keep a peace that cannot be kept. But they would make sure we do our part in helping peace take hold.
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If the parties reach a settlement, NATO must help secure it. The United States, as NATO's leader, must participate in such an operation. There is no substitute.

After so many years of violence and bloodshed, peace will be fragile. Only a credible, international military presence in Bosnia will give the parties confidence to live up to their agreement and time to begin the long, hard work of rebuilding.
NATO is the one organization with the strength and credibility to implement a settlement. And, as I have said many times now, the United States -- the source of NATO's strength -- must participate in an implementation force. If we do not, our NATO partners understandably would reconsider their own commitments. We would undermine American leadership of the alliance. We would weaken the alliance itself. And the hard won peace in Bosnia could be lost.

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As I told Bosnian President Izetbegovic and Croatian President Tudjman last week in New York, this is the best chance we have had for peace since the war began. It may be the last chance we have for a long time. All of us have an obligation to seize it and stand up for what's right -- for the people of the Balkans, for Europe and for the United States.

Only the parties to this terrible conflict can end it. But the United States and our partners in Russia, the United Kingdom, France and Germany -- must do everything in our power to support them in their search for peace. And that is what I have just instructed Secretary Christopher and our team to do.

I believe we will only succeed if America continues to lead. Already, our military strength through NATO and our diplomatic determination and that of our European and Russian partners have made peace possible in Bosnia. We must not stop now. The responsibilities of leadership
are real -- but the benefits are even greater. We see them all around the world: in our efforts to reduce the nuclear threat... to give the people of Haiti another chance at democracy... to help former enemies make peace in the Middle East and Northern Ireland. In Bosnia, as elsewhere, if the United States doesn't lead, the job won't get done.

The American people must understand why making peace in Bosnia is so important.

Making peace will stop the awful waste of this war -- the innocent lives lost, the futures destroyed. For four years, the people of Bosnia have suffered the worst atrocities in Europe since World War II: mass executions... ethnic cleansing... concentration camps... systematic rape and terror... starvation and disease. The best way -- the only way -- to stop these horrors for good is to make peace.

Making peace will prevent the war from spreading. So far, we've been able to contain the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. But Bosnia borders several of our key NATO allies and some of the new European democracies that America has done so much to promote and defend. Many of these countries have ethnic problems of their own. If the war in Bosnia continues, it could spread and ignite a much larger conflict -- which might demand a far different and more costly American intervention. To prevent that possibility, we must end the war in Bosnia -- now.

Making peace will advance our goal of an undivided, peaceful and democratic Europe. The American people fought two world wars and the Cold War to make that vision real. We know
that a prosperous, secure Europe will bring extraordinary benefits for our own long term security and prosperity. And we need strong partners to meet the challenges of a new century -- challenges that affect us here at home like terrorism, organized crime and drug trafficking, the spread of weapons of mass destruction. An undivided, peaceful and democratic Europe will be such a partner.

In Dayton, our diplomats face a tremendous challenge -- and the American people should know there is no guarantee they will succeed. In recent weeks, thanks to our mediation efforts, the parties to the war have made real progress toward ending it. They have agreed to the basic principles of a settlement. Bosnia will remain a single state. The Bosnian Muslims and Croats will have a territorial agreement. The Serbs will have 49 percent of the land, with 49 percent going to the Serbs. There will be free elections and democratic institutions of government at the national and regional levels. And the parties have put into effect a Bosnia-wide cease-fire.

But many difficult issues must still be resolved. These include the internal boundary between the Bosnian-Croat Federation and the Serb Republic; the status of Sarajevo; the practical steps that need to be taken to separate hostile forces; and the procedures for free elections -- to name just a few. I urge the parties to negotiate in good faith -- and for the good of their people. So much is riding on their success in Dayton. And the world is watching.

If and when the parties reach a settlement, NATO must help secure it. And the United States, as NATO's leader, must participate in such an operation
After so many years of violence and bloodshed, peace will be fragile. Only a credible, international military presence in Bosnia can give the parties confidence to implement their agreement and time to begin the long, hard work of rebuilding.

NATO -- a proven, strong, effective force -- is that presence. And, as I have said many times now, the United States must participate in a NATO operation. If we do not, our NATO partners would reconsider their own commitments and peace in Bosnia could be shattered. We would undermine American leadership of the alliance. And we would weaken the alliance itself -- at a time when NATO has a vital role to play in combating the spread of instability in Europe that has become one of the most serious threats to our security.

American troops will not set foot in Bosnia unless and until the parties reach a real peace agreement. They will operate under NATO command, with robust rules of engagement and a clear exit strategy. They will not be asked to keep a peace that cannot be kept. But they will be asked to make sure America does its part in securing peace in Bosnia.

As the peace process moves forward, I will continue to consult closely with Congress. And, promptly after a peace agreement is reached, I will request an expression of support by Congress for committing U.S. troops to a NATO implementation force. Our foreign policy works best when we work together. I want the widest support possible for peace.
Right now, it would be premature to request an expression of support from Congress. We cannot decide many of the details of implementation until a peace agreement is clearly shaped and defined. Let me stress again: we are not there yet. The obstacles to a settlement are real and difficult. The focus must be on Dayton and the effort to make peace -- without peace in Bosnia, there will be nothing to secure.

Earlier this month, in New Jersey, I had the privilege of spending time with Pope John Paul II. We talked about many of the world's problems. At the end of our meeting, the Pope said: "You know, I am not a young man. I have lived through most of this century. The 20th Century began with a war in Sarajevo. Mr. President, you must not let the 20th century end with a war in Sarajevo." All of us must work to make good on the Pope's plea. That is our challenge in the days and weeks ahead. I am determined that America will meet it.
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It is important for the American people to understand why making peace in Bosnia is so important.

Making peace will stop the awful waste of this war -- the innocent lives lost, the futures destroyed. For four years, the people of Bosnia have suffered the worst atrocities in Europe since World War II: mass executions... ethnic cleansing... concentration camps... systematic rape and terror... starvation and disease. The best way -- the only way -- to stop these horrors for good is to force the parties to reach a serious peace.

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Good morning.

I have just met with Secretary Christopher and our Bosnia negotiating team, led by Ambassador Holbrooke, as they prepare to leave for Dayton, Ohio. There, the presidents of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia will start direct negotiations which we hope will lead to a peaceful, lasting settlement in Bosnia.

As I told Bosnian President Izetbegovic and Croatian President Tudjman last week in New York, this is the best chance we have had for peace since the war began. It may be the last chance we have for very long time. All of us have an obligation to seize it and stand up for what’s right -- for the people of the Balkans, for Europe and for the United States.

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Making peace will stop the awful waste of this war -- the innocent lives lost, the futures destroyed. For four years, the people of Bosnia have suffered the worst atrocities in Europe since World War II: mass executions... ethnic cleansing... concentration camps... systematic rape and terror... starvation and disease. Not because of anything they did, but because of the ethnic groups to which they belong. We must end the killing of the innocent people of Bosnia. The best way -- the only way -- to stop these horrors for good is to make peace.

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Making peace will advance our goal of an peaceful, democratic and undivided Europe. The American people fought two world wars and the Cold War to make that vision real. We know that a prosperous, secure Europe will bring extraordinary benefits for our own long term security and prosperity. And we need strong partners to meet the challenges of a new century -- challenges that affect us here at home like terrorism; organized crime and drug trafficking; the spread of weapons of mass destruction. An peaceful, democratic, undivided Europe will be such a partner.

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But many, many difficult issues must still be resolved. These include the internal boundary between the Bosnian-Croat Federation and the Serb Republic; the status of Sarajevo; the practical steps that need to be taken to separate hostile forces; and the procedures for free elections -- to name only a few. I urge the parties to negotiate in good faith -- and for the good of their people. So much is riding on their success in Dayton. And the world is watching.
If and when the parties reach a settlement, NATO must help secure it. And the United States, as NATO's leader, must participate in such an operation. There is no substitute.

After so many years of violence and bloodshed, peace will be fragile. Only a credible, international military presence in Bosnia can give the parties confidence to implement their agreement and time to begin the long, hard work of rebuilding.

NATO -- a proven, effective force -- is the only organization with the strength and credibility to implement a settlement. The United States is the source of NATO's strength. And, as I have said many times now, the United States must participate in a NATO operation. If we do not, our NATO partners understandably would reconsider their own commitments and peace in Bosnia could be shattered. We would undermine American leadership of the alliance. And we would weaken the alliance itself.

So for the sake of the people of Bosnia, for the sake of NATO, and for our own sake we must continue to lead. If there is a good agreement, we must help to implement it.

American troops would not set foot in Bosnia unless and until the parties reach a real peace agreement. A limited number would operate under NATO command, with robust rules of engagement and a clear exit strategy. They would not be asked to keep a peace that cannot be kept. But they would be asked to make sure we do our part in helping peace take hold and endure.
As the peace process moves forward, I will continue to consult closely with Congress. And I will request an expression of support by Congress for committing U.S. troops to a NATO implementation force. Our foreign policy works best when we work together. I want the widest support possible for peace.

Right now, it would be premature to request an expression of support from Congress. We cannot decide many of the details of implementation until a peace agreement is clearly shaped and defined. Let me stress again: we are not there yet. The obstacles to a settlement are real and difficult. The focus must be on Dayton and the effort to make peace. Without peace in Bosnia, there will be nothing to secure.

Earlier this month, in New Jersey, I had the privilege of spending time with Pope John Paul II — a man who has lived the darkest moments of our time and who helped us to win our greatest victory for freedom. At the end of our meeting, the Pope said: “You know, I am not a young man. I have lived through most of this century. The 20th Century began with a war in Sarajevo. Mr. President, you must not let the 20th century end with a war in Sarajevo.” All of us must work to make good on the Pope’s plea. Our conscience as a nation devoted to freedom and tolerance demands it. Our enduring interests in stability and security in Europe demand it. That is our challenge in the days and weeks ahead. I am determined that America will meet it.
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But many, many difficult issues must still be resolved. These include the internal boundary between the Bosnian-Croat Federation and the Serb Republic; the status of Sarajevo; the practical steps that need to be taken to separate hostile forces; and the procedures for free elections -- to name only a few. I urge the parties to negotiate in good faith -- and for the good of their people. So much is riding on their success in Dayton. And the world is watching.

If and when the parties reach a settlement, NATO must help secure it. And the United States, as NATO's leader, must participate in such an operation. There is no substitute.
After so many years of violence and bloodshed, peace will be fragile. Only a credible, international military presence in Bosnia can give the parties confidence to implement their agreement and time to begin the long, hard work of rebuilding.

NATO -- a proven, strong, effective force -- is that presence. And, as I have said many times now, the United States must participate in a NATO operation. If we do not, our NATO partners understandably would reconsider their own commitments and peace in Bosnia could be shattered. We would undermine American leadership of the alliance. And we would weaken the alliance itself.

So for the sake of the people of Bosnia, for the sake of NATO, and for our own sake we must continue to lead. If there is a good agreement, we must help to implement it.

American troops would not set foot in Bosnia unless and until the parties reach a real peace agreement. A limited number would operate under NATO command, with robust rules of engagement and a clear exit strategy. They would not be asked to keep a peace that cannot be kept. But they would be asked to make sure we do our part in securing peace in Bosnia.

As the peace process moves forward, I will continue to consult closely with Congress. And I will request an expression of support by Congress for committing U.S. troops to a NATO
implementation force. Our foreign policy works best when we work together. I want the widest support possible for peace.

Right now, it would be premature to request an expression of support from Congress. We cannot decide many of the details of implementation until a peace agreement is clearly shaped and defined. Let me stress again: we are not there yet. The obstacles to a settlement are real and difficult. The focus must be on Dayton and the effort to make peace. Without peace in Bosnia, there will be nothing to secure.

Earlier this month, in New Jersey, I had the privilege of spending time with Pope John Paul II. We talked about many of the world's problems. At the end of our meeting, the Pope said: "You know, I am not a young man. I have lived through most of this century. The 20th Century began with a war in Sarajevo. Mr. President, you must not let the 20th century end with a war in Sarajevo." All of us must work to make good on the Pope's plea. That is our challenge in the days and weeks ahead. I am determined that America will meet it.
In a few hours, Secretary Christopher and our Bosnia negotiating team, led by Ambassador Holbrooke, leave for Dayton, Ohio. There, the presidents of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia will start direct negotiations which we hope will [END THE CONFLICT IN BOSNIA AND BRING LASTING (OR REAL) PEACE].

As I told Bosnian President Izetbegovic and Croatian President Tudjman last week [WHEN I MET WITH THEM] in New York, this is the best chance we have had for peace since the war began. It may be the last chance we have for a [VERY] long time. All of us have an obligation to seize it and stand up for what’s right -- for the people of the Balkans, for Europe and for the United States.

Only the parties to this terrible conflict can end it. But the United States and our partners -- Russia, the United Kingdom, France and Germany -- must continue to do everything in our power to support them in their search for peace. And that is what I have just instructed Secretary Christopher and our team to do [DURING THESE NEXT DAYS IN DAYTON].
I believe we ONLY WILL succeed if America continues to lead. Already, our military strength through NATO and our diplomatic determination and that of our European and Russian partners have made peace possible in Bosnia. We must not stop now. The responsibilities of leadership are real -- but the benefits are even greater. We see the [FRUITS OF THEM] all around the world: in our efforts to reduce the nuclear threat... to give the people of Haiti another [REAL] chance at democracy... to help former enemies make peace in the Middle East and Northern Ireland. If the United States doesn't lead IN BOSNIA, AS ELSEWHERE, the job OF PEACE won't get done.

WE, AS AMERICANS, must understand why making peace in Bosnia is so important.

Making peace will stop the awful waste of this war -- the innocent lives lost, the futures destroyed. For four years, the people of Bosnia have suffered the worst atrocities in Europe since World War II: mass executions... ethnic cleansing... concentration camps... systematic rape and terror... starvation and disease. The best way -- the only way -- to stop these horrors for good is to make peace.

Making peace will prevent the war from DANGEROUSLY spreading. So far, we've been able to contain the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. But Bosnia borders several of our key NATO allies and some of the new European democracies that America has done so much to promote and defend. Many of these countries have ethnic problems of their own. If the conflict in Bosnia continues, it could spread and ignite a much larger conflict -- which might demand a far different
and more costly American intervention. To prevent that possibility, we must end the war in Bosnia -- now.

Making peace will advance our goal of a peaceful, democratic, AND UNDIVIDED Europe. The American people--OUR GRANDFATHERS AND GRANDMOTHERS, OUR MOTHERS AND FATHERS-- fought two world wars and the Cold War to make that vision real. We know that a prosperous, secure Europe will bring extraordinary benefits for our own long term security and prosperity. And we need strong partners to meet the challenges of a new century -- TRANS-NATIONAL challenges THAT AFFECT US HERE AT HOME, like terrorism, organized crime and drug trafficking AND the spread of weapons of mass destruction. A EUROPE--UNDIVIDED, peaceful and democratic--- CAN BE--will be-- such a partner.

In Dayton, our diplomats face tremendous challenges -- and the American people MUST know there is no guarantee they will succeed. In recent weeks, thanks to our mediation efforts, the parties to this war have made real progress toward ending it. They have agreed to the basic principles of a JUST settlement. Bosnia will remain a single state. The Bosnian Muslims and Croats will get 51 percent of the land, with 49 percent going to the Serbs. There will be free elections and democratic institutions of government at the national and regional levels. And the parties have put into effect a Bosnia-wide cease-fire.

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If and when the parties reach a settlement, NATO must help secure it. And the United States, as NATO's leader, must be part in such an operation. THERE IS NO SUBSTITUTE.

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American troops will not set foot in Bosnia unless and until the parties reach a real peace agreement. They will operate under NATO command, with robust rules of engagement and a clear exit strategy. They will not be asked to keep a peace that cannot be kept OR ONE TO
WHICH ALL THE PARTIES ARE NOT FULLY COMMITTED. But they will be asked to make sure WE DO OUR part in securing peace in Bosnia.

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CLEARLY, without peace in Bosnia, there will be nothing to secure.

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that a prosperous, secure Europe will bring extraordinary benefits for our own long term security and prosperity. And we need strong partners to meet the challenges of a new century -- challenges that affect us here at home like terrorism, organized crime and drug trafficking, the spread of weapons of mass destruction. An undivided, peaceful and democratic Europe will be such a partner.

In Dayton, our diplomats face a tremendous challenge -- and the American people should know there is no guarantee they will succeed. In recent weeks, thanks to our mediation efforts, the parties to the war have made real progress toward ending it. They have agreed to the basic principles of a settlement. Bosnia will remain a single state. The Bosnian Muslims and Croats will get 51 percent of the land, with 49 percent going to the Serbs. There will be free elections and democratic institutions of government at the national and regional levels. And the parties have put into effect a Bosnia-wide cease-fire.

But many, many difficult issues must still be resolved. These include the internal boundary between the Bosnian-Croat Federation and the Serb Republic; the status of Sarajevo; the practical steps that need to be taken to separate hostile forces; and the procedures for free elections -- to name just a few. I urge the parties to negotiate in good faith -- and for the good of their people. So much is riding on their success in Dayton. And the world is watching.

If and when the parties reach a settlement, NATO must help secure it. And the United States, as NATO's leader, must be part in such an operation.
After so many years of violence and bloodshed, peace will be fragile. Only a credible, international military presence in Bosnia can give the parties confidence to implement their agreement and time to begin the long, hard work of rebuilding.

NATO -- a proven, strong, effective force -- is that presence. And, as I have said many times now, the United States must participate in a NATO operation. If we do not, our NATO partners would reconsider their own commitments and peace in Bosnia could be shattered. We would undermine American leadership of the alliance. And we would weaken the alliance itself -- at a time when NATO has a vital role to play in combating the spread of instability in Europe that has become one of the most serious threats to our security.

For the sake of the people of Bosnia, for the sake of NATO, and for our own sake, if we must continue to lead, if there is a good world

American troops will not set foot in Bosnia unless and until the parties reach a real peace agreement. They will operate under NATO command, with robust rules of engagement and a clear exit strategy. They will not be asked to keep a peace that cannot be kept. But they will be asked to make sure America does its part in securing peace in Bosnia.

As the peace process moves forward, I will continue to consult closely with Congress. And promptly after a peace agreement is reached, I will request an expression of support by Congress for committing U.S. troops to a NATO implementation force. Our foreign policy works best when we work together. I want the widest support possible for peace.

agreement, we must help to implement it.
Right now, it would be premature to request an expression of support from Congress. We cannot decide many of the details of implementation until a peace agreement is clearly shaped and defined. Let me stress again: we are not there yet. The obstacles to a settlement are real and difficult. The focus must be on Dayton and the effort to make peace — without peace in Bosnia, there will be nothing to secure.

Earlier this month, in New Jersey, I had the privilege of spending time with Pope John Paul II. We talked about many of the world’s problems. At the end of our meeting, the Pope said: “You know, I am not a young man. I have lived through most of this century. The 20th Century began with a war in Sarajevo. Mr. President, you must not let the 20th century end with a war in Sarajevo.” All of us must work to make good on the Pope’s plea. That is our challenge in the days and weeks ahead. I am determined that America will meet it.
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As I told Bosnian President Izetbegovic and Croatian President Tudjman last week in New York, this is the best chance we have had for peace since the war began. It may be the last chance we have for a long time. All of us have an obligation to seize it and stand up for what's right -- for the people of the Balkans, for Europe and for the United States.

Only the parties to this terrible conflict can end it. But the United States and our partners -- Russia, the United Kingdom, France and Germany -- must continue to do everything in our power to support them in their search for peace. And that is what I have just instructed Secretary Christopher and our team to do.

I believe we will only succeed if America continues to lead. Already, our military strength through NATO and our diplomatic determination and that of our European and Russian partners have made peace possible in Bosnia. We must not stop now. The responsibilities of leadership are real -- but the benefits are even greater. We see them all around the world: in our efforts to
reduce the nuclear threat... to give the people of Haiti another chance at democracy... to help former enemies make peace in the Middle East and Northern Ireland. In Bosnia, as elsewhere, if the United States doesn’t lead, the job won’t get done.

The American people must understand why making peace in Bosnia is so important.

Making peace will stop the awful waste of this war -- the innocent lives lost, the futures destroyed. For four years, the people of Bosnia have suffered the worst atrocities in Europe since World War II: ethnic cleansing... concentration camps... mass executions... systematic rape and terror... starving women and children. The best way -- the only way -- to stop these horrors for good is to make peace.

Making peace will prevent the war from spreading. So far, we’ve been able to contain the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. But Bosnia borders several of our key NATO allies and some of the new European democracies that America has done so much to promote and defend. Many of these countries have ethnic problems of their own. If the conflict in Bosnia continues, it could spread and ignite a much larger conflict -- which might demand a far different and more costly American intervention. To prevent that possibility, we must end the war in Bosnia -- now.

Making peace will advance our goal of an undivided, peaceful and democratic Europe. The American people fought two world wars and the Cold War to make that vision real. We know that a prosperous, secure Europe will bring extraordinary benefits for our own long term security
and prosperity. And we need strong partners to meet the challenges of a new century -- challenges that affect us here at home like terrorism, organized crime and drug trafficking, the spread of weapons of mass destruction. An undivided, peaceful and democratic Europe will be such a partner.

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Holbrooke wants to downplay the prospects for immediate peace. Please fax the next version to him and Kornblum (647-0967) and to others at State -- e.g. Donilon -- for comment.
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As the peace process moves forward and we get closer to implementation, I will continue to consult closely with Congress. And, promptly after a peace agreement is reached, I will request an expression of support by Congress for committing U.S. troops to a NATO implementation force.

Right now, such a request is premature. We cannot decide many of the details of implementation until a peace agreement is clearly shaped and defined. We are not there yet. The focus must be on Dayton and the effort to make peace -- without it, there will be nothing to secure.

Earlier this month, in New Jersey, I had the privilege of spending time with Pope John Paul II. We talked about many of the world's problems. At the end of our meeting, the Pope said: "You know, I am not a young man. I have lived through most of this century. The 20th Century began with a war in Sarajevo. Mr. President, you must not let the 20th century end with a war in Sarajevo." All of us must work to make good on the Pope's plea. That is our challenge in the days and weeks ahead. I am determined that America will meet it.
Good morning.

In a few hours, Secretary Christopher and our Bosnia negotiating team, led by Ambassador Holbrooke, leave for Dayton, Ohio. There, the presidents of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia will start direct negotiations to end the war in Bosnia. Only the parties to this terrible conflict can end it. But the United States and our Contact Group partners -- Russia, the United Kingdom, France and Germany -- must continue to do everything in our power to support them in their search for peace. And that is what I have just instructed Secretary Christopher and our team to do.

As I told President Izetbegovic of Bosnia and President Tudjman of Croatia last week in New York, this is the best chance we have had for peace since the war began. It may be the last chance we have for a long time. All of us have an obligation to seize it and stand up for what’s right -- for the people of the Balkans, for Europe and for the United States.

The American people must understand what’s at stake.

Making peace will stop the waste of this war -- the innocent lives lost, the futures destroyed. For four years, the American people have been moved by awful images of destruction: ethnic
cleansing... concentration camps... mass executions... campaigns of systematic rape and terror... starving women and children. The best way -- the only way -- to stop these horrors for good is to make peace.

Making peace will prevent the war from spreading and drawing America in. Twice this century, the American people paid a heavy price when we turned our backs on conflict in Europe until it was too late. So far, we've been able to contain the war in the former Yugoslavia. But if it continues, it could spread to neighboring nations and ignite an even larger conflict -- one that might involve our sons and daughters. If we want to avoid the possibility of Americans fighting another war in Europe, we must help end this war in Bosnia -- now.

Making peace will advance our goal of an undivided, peaceful and democratic Europe. The American people fought two world wars and the Cold War to make that vision real. We know that a prosperous, secure Europe will bring extraordinary benefits for our own long term security and well-being. America needs strong partners for the trade that supports good jobs. We need strong partners to meet the new challenges that affect us here at home -- terrorism, organized crime and drug trafficking, the spread of weapons of mass destruction. An undivided, peaceful and democratic Europe will be such a partner. We must not let the war in Bosnia end that dream.

Making peace will also strengthen NATO -- which America needs as much as ever to protect our security and preserve our freedom. For nearly half a century, NATO kept peace in Europe by deterring direct aggression against its members. Now that the Cold War is over, so is the threat
of direct aggression. But NATO has a vital role to play in combatting the spread of instability that has become one of the most serious challenges to our security. The war in Bosnia is the most dangerous conflict in Europe since World War II. NATO must help stop it before it spreads to Europe's new democracies... and to NATO's members themselves. If it succeeds, NATO will demonstrate its central role in preserving our security for the next fifty years and beyond.

Each of these goals -- ending the suffering in Bosnia... stopping the war from spreading... building a peaceful Europe... strengthening NATO -- is important to the American people. And I believe each can only be achieved if America continues to lead. Already, our military strength through NATO and our diplomatic determination through the Contact Group has made peace possible in Bosnia. We cannot stop now. The burdens of leadership are real -- but the benefits are even greater. We see them all around the world: in our efforts to reduce the nuclear threat... to give the people of Haiti another chance at democracy... to help former enemies make peace in the Middle East and Northern Ireland. In Bosnia, as elsewhere, if the United States doesn't lead, the job won't get done.

In Dayton, our diplomats and their Contact Group partners face a tremendous challenge -- and the American people should know there is no guarantee they will succeed. In recent weeks, thanks to our mediation efforts, the parties to the war have made real progress toward ending it. They have agreed to the basic principles of a settlement. Bosnia will remain a single state. The Bosnian Muslims and Croats will get 51 percent of the land, with 49 percent going to the Serbs. There will be democratic elections. And the parties put a Bosnia-wide cease-fire into effect.
But many difficult issues must still be resolved. These include the internal boundary between the Bosnian-Croat Federation and the Serb Republic; the status of Sarajevo; the practical steps that need to be taken to separate hostile forces; and the procedures for free elections. I urge the parties to negotiate in good faith -- and for the good of their people. So much is riding on their success in Dayton. And the world is watching.

If and when the parties reach a settlement, NATO must help secure it. After so many years of violence and bloodshed, peace will be fragile. A credible, international military presence in Bosnia is needed to give the parties confidence to stick to the agreement they reach, and to help them implement it.

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As the peace process moves forward and we get closer to implementation, I will continue to consult closely with Congress. [Insert on Byrd letter].
Of course, we cannot decide many of the details of an implementation force until a peace agreement is clearly shaped and defined. We are not there yet. Right now, the focus must be on Dayton and the effort to make peace -- without it, there will be nothing to secure.

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