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**Folder Title:**
Bosnia-Oval Address [2]

**Staff Office-Individual:**
Speechwriting-Blinken

**Original OA/ID Number:**
3382

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**COLLECTION:**
- Clinton Presidential Records
- National Security Council
- Anthony Blinken (Speechwriting)
- OA/Box Number: 3382

**FOLDER TITLE:**
- Bosnia-Oval Address [2]

**RESTRICITION CODES**
- Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]
- Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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- C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
- PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
- RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.
PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
RADIO ADDRESS ON BOSNIA

NOVEMBER 25, 1995
Good morning. All across our nation this weekend, American families are coming together to give thanks for the good things in our lives. Hillary and I wish all of you a happy and healthy Thanksgiving. As we rejoice in our blessings and the company of our loved ones, let us also give thanks for America’s blessings -- and for all we have achieved as a nation.
This week, after a tough debate on the federal budget, we made important strides toward what I hope will be common ground. Our government is open again. And the Republican leaders in Congress have agreed to find a process so we can establish our nation's priorities together. I hope we can balance the budget in a way that is true to our fundamental values -- providing opportunity but expecting responsibility; honoring our obligations to the oldest among us while making investments for the next generation; helping our families to be stronger and to stay together; and ensuring that America remains a global force for peace, democracy, and prosperity.
All around the world, we are seeing the results of America's willingness to lead for peace. We see it in the Middle East, where despite the tragic loss of Prime Minister Rabin, Arabs and Israelis continue to turn the page on past conflict. We see it in Northern Ireland, where bombs and bullets have given way to hope for the future... and where I will visit next week.

And in this week of Thanksgiving, we have seen the results of our leadership for peace again in Bosnia...
After four years of terrible conflict, we have helped
the people of Bosnia turn from the horror of war to
the promise of peace. America’s negotiating team,
backed by NATO’s resolve, brokered a cease-fire. We
got the parties to agree on the principles of a
settlement, and brought them to the peace table. And
now, the skill and dedication of our negotiators in
Dayton enabled them to reach a comprehensive peace
agreement.
Peace in Bosnia is important to America -- to our values and to our interests. The Bosnian people have suffered unspeakable atrocities -- mass executions... ethnic cleansing... campaigns of rape and terror. Two hundred and fifty thousand people have died and two million been driven from their homes. The violence done to those innocent civilians does violence to the principles on which America stands. The only way to end the killing for good is to secure the commitment to peace. Our conscience demands that we act.
Securing the peace will also prevent the war from reigniting, spreading, and sparking an even wider and more dangerous conflict right in the heart of Europe. In 1914, a gunshot in Bosnia’s capital, Sarajevo, launched the first of two World Wars that drew America in to make great sacrifices for freedom. We must not let the century close with gunfire ringing in Sarajevo.
The peace agreement preserves Bosnia as a single state, within its present borders and with international recognition. It settles the territorial disputes over which the war began. Refugees can return to their homes. People will be able to move freely throughout the country. The parties have accepted strong safeguards for human rights. They have pledged to cooperate fully with the International War Crimes Tribunal -- so that those responsible for crimes against humanity can be brought to justice.
Now that all the parties -- including the Bosnian Serbs -- have made a serious commitment to peace, America must help them make it work. All the parties have asked for a strong international force to give them the confidence and the breathing room they need to implement the peace agreement and begin the hard task of rebuilding. NATO, the alliance of democracies that has preserved our security since the end of World War II, is that force. America, as NATO’s leader, must participate...

lead
Without our support, the hard-won peace would be lost. The terrible slaughter would resume. And the conflict that has already claimed so many lives could spread like a cancer throughout the region.

In the days ahead, I will review the NATO implementation plan and continue to consult closely with Congress. As of now, we expect that about one-third of the NATO force will be American -- approximately 20,000 troops...
Our men and women will take their orders from the American general who commands NATO forces. They will have the authority to meet any threat to their safety or any violation of the peace agreement with immediate, decisive force. They will not be deployed until I am satisfied that the NATO mission is clear, limited, and achievable -- and until Congress has a chance to be heard.

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

But this Thanksgiving, I ask my fellow Americans to think about who we are as a people and what we are as a nation. Around the world, others look to us not just because of our economic and military might -- but because of what we stand for, and what we’re willing to stand against.
In Bosnia, our nation has led the way from horror to hope -- hope for no more Srebrenicas... no more shelling of children’s playgrounds... no more desperate winters... no more shattered lives. Now we have a responsibility to see this achievement through. Our values, our interests, and our leadership are at stake.

Let us give thanks for America’s role in bringing Bosnia’s nightmare to an end. And let us share the blessing of our nation’s strength to secure a lasting peace. May God bless the United States.
11/19/95 4 p.m.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
ADDRESS TO THE NATION ON BOSNIA
THE WHITE HOUSE
NOVEMBER XX, 1995

Good evening.

For nearly four years, a terrible war has torn apart Bosnia -- wasting thousands of lives and destroying countless futures. Images that we thought had been banished from Europe forever flooded our television screens and newspapers: sunken-eyed prisoners caged-in by barbed wire fences... defenseless men and boys forced to dig their own graves... endless lines of refugees marching toward a future of despair.

Yesterday, in Dayton, Ohio, this horror finally gave way to hope. There, with the help of America’s negotiating team, the parties to the war in Bosnia made a commitment to peace.

Tonight, I want to speak with you about why it must be America’s responsibility to help them make good on that commitment -- to turn a moment of hope into a lasting reality.

The American people should understand how we have come to this chance for peace -- and where we go from here.
At the end of the Cold War, Serbian nationalism forced the break-up of Yugoslavia. An ugly and dangerous war broke out in the heart of Europe. Bosnia -- where Muslims, Serbs and Croats had lived together peacefully for decades -- was torn apart.

When I took office, the war in Bosnia was already raging. A United Nations mission was in place whose purpose was not to fight the war, but to stop the slaughter of civilians and provide them with humanitarian relief.

I set three goals for America in the Bosnian conflict: to help lead the search for a peaceful settlement that preserves Bosnia as a single state; to prevent the war from spreading, and to ease the suffering of the Bosnian people. I also decided that while American ground troops should help secure a peace agreement if and when it was reached, they should not become combatants in Bosnia. It was clear that the United States could not force peace on the parties -- only they could make it.

For three years, our actions did meet some of these goals. By deployiing our troops in neighboring states, making clear the consequences of taking the fight beyond Bosnia, and leading an international campaign of economic sanctions against Serbia, we prevented the war from spreading. By using our air power to conduct the longest humanitarian air lift in history... to enforce a no-fly zone that took the war out of the skies... and to end the strangulation of Sarajevo, we eased the plight of the Bosnian people.
But the search for peace proved difficult, frustrating and elusive. It was not for want of trying. Our diplomats and their European counterparts brokered a Bosnian-Croat Federation that stopped the fighting between Croats and Muslims. They initiated cease-fires that temporarily ended the rain of shells on the safe areas. On the three occasions they proposed peace plans and negotiated their details for months with the parties. But each time the result was the same -- the Muslims and Croats would accept the plan, the Serbs would refuse
Good evening.

For nearly four years, a terrible war has torn apart Bosnia -- wasting thousands of lives and destroying countless futures. Images that we thought had been banished from Europe forever flooded our television screens and newspapers: sunken-eyed prisoners caged-in by barbed wire fences... defenseless men and boys forced to dig their own graves... endless lines of refugees marching toward a future of despair.

Last week, in Dayton, Ohio, this horror finally gave way to hope. There, with the help of America's negotiating team, the parties to the war in Bosnia made a commitment to peace.

Tonight, I want to speak with you about America's responsibility to help them make good on that commitment -- to turn a moment of hope into a lasting reality. If we do, we can put a final stop to the worst war in Europe since World War II. We can end the terrible suffering of the Bosnian people -- the mass executions... the ethnic cleansing... the campaigns of rape and terror. And we can prevent the war from reigniting, spreading to neighboring states and sparking a much wider conflict. [No guarantee -- global leadership - next century...]
The American people should understand how we have come to this chance for peace -- and where we go from here.

At the end of the Cold War, Serbian nationalism forced the break-up of Yugoslavia. An ugly and dangerous conflict broke out in the heart of Europe. Bosnia -- where Muslims, Serbs and Croats had lived together peacefully for decades -- became a killing field.

I set three goals for America in the Bosnian conflict: to help find a peaceful settlement that preserves Bosnia as a single state; to prevent the war from spreading; and to ease the suffering of the Bosnian people. I also decided that while American ground troops should help secure a peace agreement if and when it was reached, they should not become combatants in Bosnia. It was clear that the United States could not force peace on the parties -- only they themselves could make it.

For three years, we worked toward these goals. By sending our troops to neighboring states... and leading an international campaign of economic sanctions against Serbia, we prevented the war from spreading. By using our air power to conduct the longest humanitarian air lift in history... to enforce a no-fly zone that took the war out of the skies... and to end the strangulation of Sarajevo, we eased the plight of the Bosnian people. We also brokered a Bosnian-Croat Federation that stopped the fighting between Muslims and Croats. And we initiated cease-fires that temporarily ended the rain of shells on the Bosnian safe areas.
But the search for a comprehensive peace proved difficult, frustrating and elusive. On three occasions the international community proposed and negotiated detailed peace plans with the parties. Each time the result was the same -- the Muslims and Croats would accept the plan, the Bosnian Serbs would reject it.

This summer, the Bosnian Serbs stepped up their assaults on the safe areas. Sarajevo was once again under siege -- its brave citizens subject to vicious shelling and denied food, medicine, electricity and heat. The towns of Srebrenica and Zepa fell to Serb guns.

The United States pressed NATO and the United Nations to make good on their commitment to protect the safe areas -- to move beyond pin prick responses to Serb aggression. When a Bosnian Serb shell slaughtered 38 people in Sarajevo in August, we insisted that NATO take a stand. We demanded that the Serbs stop offensive actions against the safe areas, withdraw their heavy weapons from around Sarajevo and allow road and air access to the city. When they refused, NATO began heavy and continuous air strikes against Bosnian Serb military targets. The air strikes -- many of them flown by courageous American pilots -- convinced the Serbs to comply with our demands.

At the same time, I ordered our negotiating team to push the parties back to the peace table. Their intensive diplomacy got the Serbs for the first time to agree to the basic principles of an overall settlement... it forged a Bosnia-wide cease fire... and it brought the parties to Dayton to negotiate a peace agreement. Three devoted American diplomats -- Bob Frasure, Joe Kruzel and
Nelson Drew -- were killed in that noble effort. They gave their lives seeking for others the blessings of peace and freedom we Americans hold so dear -- and tonight, we remember their sacrifice.

In Dayton, the extraordinary skill and dedication of our negotiating team -- led by Secretary Christopher and Ambassador Holbrooke -- enabled the parties to reach an overall settlement that can end the war in Bosnia for good.

The peace plan would preserve Bosnia as a single state -- within its present borders and with international recognition. The state will be made up of two parts: the Bosnian-Croat Federation and the Bosnian Serb Republic, with a fair distribution of land between the two. The capital city of Sarajevo will remain united. There will be an effective central government -- including a national Parliament, a Presidency and a Constitutional Court -- with responsibility for foreign policy, foreign trade, monetary policy, citizenship, immigration and other important functions. The Presidency and Parliament will be chosen through free, democratic elections, held under international supervision. Refugees will be allowed to return to their homes... people will be able to move freely throughout Bosnia... and the human rights of every Bosnian citizen will be monitored by an independent commission and an internationally-trained civilian police. And the parties have pledged to cooperate with the International War Crimes Tribunal -- so that those responsible for crimes against humanity are brought to justice.
This agreement is a milestone on the road to a lasting peace, but it does not mark the end of the journey -- or the end of America's responsibility. The parties have made a commitment to peace. Now, we must help them make good on it so that peace takes hold and endures.

If we fail to live up to that responsibility, the hard won peace in Bosnia will be lost. The war would re-ignite. The slaughter of innocents would begin again. And a conflict that already has claimed so many victims could spread like poison throughout the region. Our values and our interests demand that we not let that happen. Our values and our interests demand that in the choice we now face between peace and war in Bosnia, we choose peace.

Choosing peace means doing our part to secure the peace so that it becomes self-sustaining. All the parties to the conflict want a strong international force on the ground in Bosnia to help them implement their agreement -- to oversee the separation of forces... to give them confidence that each side will live up to its word. That force is NATO -- the powerful military alliance of democracies that has guaranteed our security for half a century. The United States, as NATO's leader, must be an essential part of its mission.

Now that an agreement has been reached, NATO will quickly complete its planning for an implementation force of about 60,000 troops -- to be known as IFOR. Already, more than 20 nations around the world -- including all our NATO allies -- have pledged to take part. They will contribute about 2/3rds of IFOR's troops. The United States will contribute the rest -- about 20,000 soldiers.
Over the next few days, the final IFOR plan will be submitted to me for review and approval. Let me make clear what I expect it to include -- and what it must include for me to approve the participation of our armed forces:

The mission must be clear, limited and achievable: to maintain the cease-fire, to oversee the separation of forces and to give the people of Bosnia the confidence and breathing room they need to focus on rebuilding. Our troops will only take their orders from the American general who commands NATO -- and no one else. They will be heavily armed and thoroughly trained. By making an overwhelming show of force, they will minimize the need to use force. Our troops will have the authority to meet any threat to their safety or any violation of the peace agreement with immediate, decisive force. And there will be a reasonable timetable for their withdrawal -- which our military planners now estimate at about one year.

If the plan meets with my approval, I will immediately send it to Congress and request its support for committing U.S. troops to IFOR. Our foreign policy works best when we work together. I want the widest possible support for peace.

IFOR will create a climate of security in Bosnia. That will allow the international community to begin a parallel program of humanitarian relief, reconstruction assistance, refugee repatriation and election organization. This effort is absolutely essential to making peace endure. It will bring the people of Bosnia the food, shelter, clothing and medicine so many have been denied for so long.
It will help them rebuild their roads and their schools... their power plants and hospitals... their factories and their shops. It will reunite children with their parents and families with their homes. It will allow them to freely choose leaders devoted to reconciliation and rebuilding. In short, it will give all the people of Bosnia a much greater stake in peace than in war -- and create the conditions for a lasting peace that takes on a life and a logic of its own.

The international community will also oversee an arms build-down in Bosnia. By reducing the number of heavy weapons in the country... sharing information... giving the Bosnian Federation the means to defend itself... and working toward a balance of forces, we can take away any one side’s military advantage -- and make future hostilities much less likely.

After so much bloodshed and loss... after so many senseless violations of human dignity... it will take time -- and an extraordinary effort of will -- for the people of Bosnia to pull themselves from the past and start building the future. There is no guarantee that Muslims, Serbs and Croats will come together again -- and stay together -- as friends, neighbors and citizens of a shared state with a common destiny.

But now, with our help, they have the chance to choose their future peacefully -- and in peace. They have a chance to remind the world that, just a few years ago, the mosques, minarets and churches of Sarajevo were a shining symbol of multi-ethnic tolerance -- that Bosnia once found unity in its glorious diversity.
Now, we must continue to help the people of Bosnia find that same unity again in peace. This is our best chance -- and maybe the last chance for a long time -- to end their suffering for good. This is our best chance - and maybe the last chance for a long time -- to prevent a dangerous war from starting again and spreading throughout the region. American leadership has brought the people of Bosnia to this chance for peace. We must not turn our backs on them now.

The American people know that just causes are not lacking in this world. When terrible images of inhumanity dominate our television screens night after night, we want to do something to end peoples' suffering. We are a compassionate people -- and we should all be proud of that fact.

My duty as president is to match those causes to our interests. We cannot take on every fight. But where our interests and values demand it -- and where we can make a difference -- America should act. Bosnia is such a case. Our interests are plain. The cause is right. And the NATO mission to help the peace in Bosnia take hold is clear, limited and achievable. America is the world's only superpower. Let us act as one.

My fellow Americans, I ask you to think for a moment about the century that is drawing to a close -- and the new one that will soon begin.

The 20th century has been marked by so much progress... and too much bloodshed. It has been witness to humanity's capacity for the best... and its weakness for the worst. Throughout this century, America has stood for progress and human dignity. We have stood with the
peacemakers and all those who cherish liberty. We have done so because a world in which nations know peace and people live free will be a much better world for our own children to make the most of their God-given potential. And we have done so because it is the right thing to do.

The stands we have taken have not been without cost or risk. Through two world wars and a Cold War, previous generations paid the price for freedom. But because they did -- and because we continue to do so -- more people than ever before live in peace. More people than ever before are treated with dignity. More people than ever before can hope to build a better life than their parents had -- and expect to pass on an even better one to their children.

These are the blessings of freedom -- and America has always been their greatest champion. If we continue to do everything we can to share these blessings with people around the world -- if we continue to be leaders for peace -- then the sacrifices we have made this century will not have been in vain. And the next century can be the greatest our nation has yet known.

In Bosnia, where a terrible war has challenged our interests and outraged our conscience, we have been leaders for peace. Because we have, a century that began when a gunshot in Sarajevo sparked the first of two world wars does not have to end with the sound of gunfire in Sarajevo. But America's job is not yet done. We must help peace in Bosnia take hold and endure. We must remain leaders for peace. This is our responsibility as Americans. Let us go forward and meet it.
Good evening.

For nearly four years, a terrible war has torn apart Bosnia—wasting thousands of lives and destroying countless futures. Images that we thought had been banished from Europe forever flooded our television screens and newspapers: sunken-eyed prisoners caged-in by barbed wire fences... defenseless men and boys forced to dig their own graves... endless lines of refugees marching toward a future of despair.

Last week, in Dayton, Ohio, this horror finally gave way to hope. There, with the help of America’s negotiating team, the parties to the worst conflict in Europe since World War II made a commitment to peace. Tonight, I want to speak with you about America’s responsibility to help them make good on that commitment— to secure peace in Bosnia and to turn this moment of hope into an enduring reality.

There is no guaranty we will succeed. Our armed forces will be asked to shoulder a difficult and dangerous mission. But the goal of a lasting peace in Bosnia is achievable. The risks are manageable. And America’s values and interests— together with our standing in the world as a beacon of hope for all those striving for freedom— demand that we continue to be leaders for peace.
Securing peace in Bosnia can end the terrible suffering of the Bosnian people -- the mass executions... the ethnic cleansing... the campaigns of rape and terror. Nearly 250,000 men, women and children have been shelled, shot and beaten to death. Two million people -- half of Bosnia's pre-war population -- were forced from their homes and into a miserable life as refugees. Now, American leadership has created the chance to end the war -- and the suffering -- for good.

Securing peace in Bosnia will also prevent the war from reigniting and spreading throughout the region. Bosnia lies at the very heart of Europe -- next door to many of its fragile new democracies and just a few hundred miles from some of America's closest allies like Italy and Greece. If we don't stamp out the spark of this conflict now, it could light a much larger fire in Europe -- whose stability is vital to our own national security. That's why hundreds of thousands of Americans fought and died in Europe in two world wars. That's why successive generations of Americans sacrificed so much to win the Cold War. And that's why our generation must meet its responsibility to end the war in Bosnia now.

The American people should understand how we have come to this chance for peace -- and where we go from here.

At the end of the Cold War, Serbian nationalism forced the break-up of Yugoslavia and started an ugly and dangerous war. Bosnia -- where Muslims, Serbs and Croats had lived together peacefully for decades -- became a killing field.
When I took office, I set three goals for America in the Bosnian conflict: to help our European allies find a peaceful settlement that preserves Bosnia as a single state; to prevent the war from spreading; and to ease the suffering of the Bosnian people. I also decided that while American ground troops should help secure a peace agreement if and when it was reached, they should not become combatants in Bosnia. It was clear that the United States could not force peace on the parties -- only they themselves could make it.

For three years, we worked toward these goals. By sending our troops to neighboring states and imposing tough economic sanctions against Serbia, we prevented the war from spreading. By using our air power to conduct the longest humanitarian air lift in history... to enforce a no-fly zone that took the war out of the skies... and to end the strangulation of Sarajevo, we eased the plight of the Bosnian people. And our diplomats stopped the fighting between Muslims and Croats and brokered cease-fires that temporarily ended the rain of shells on Bosnia's safe areas.

But the search for a comprehensive peace proved frustrating and elusive. On three occasions the international community negotiated detailed peace plans with the parties. Each time the result was the same -- the Muslims and Croats would accept the plan, the Bosnian Serbs would reject it.

This summer, the Bosnian Serbs stepped up their assaults on the safe areas. Sarajevo once again came under siege -- its brave citizens subject to vicious shelling and denied food, medicine, electricity and heat. The towns of Srebrenica and Zepa fell to Serb guns.
When a Bosnian Serb shell slaughtered 38 people in Sarajevo in August, the United States insisted that NATO take a stand. We demanded that the Serbs stop offensive actions against the safe areas, withdraw their heavy weapons from around Sarajevo and allow road and air access to the city. When they refused, NATO began heavy and continuous air strikes against Bosnian Serb military targets. The air strikes -- many of them flown by courageous American pilots -- convinced the Serbs to comply with our demands.

At the same time, I instructed our negotiating team to push the parties back to the peace table. Their intensive diplomacy convinced the Serbs for the first time to agree to the basic principles of an overall settlement. They forged a Bosnia-wide cease fire. And they brought the parties to Dayton to negotiate a peace agreement. Three devoted American diplomats -- Bob Frasure, Joe Kruzel and Nelson Drew -- were killed in that effort. They gave their lives seeking for others the blessings of peace and freedom Americans hold so dear. Tonight, we remember their sacrifice.

In Dayton, the extraordinary skill and dedication of our negotiating team -- led by Secretary Christopher and Ambassador Holbrooke -- enabled the parties to reach an overall settlement that can end the war in Bosnia for good.

The peace plan preserves Bosnia as a single state -- within its present borders and with international recognition. The state will be made up of two parts: the Bosnian-Croat Federation and the Bosnian Serb Republic, with a fair distribution of land between the two. The capital city of Sarajevo will remain united. There will be an effective central government chosen through internationally supervised, democratic elections. Refugees will be allowed to return to their
homes... people will be able to move freely throughout Bosnia... and the human rights of every Bosnian citizen will be monitored by an independent commission and an internationally-trained civilian police. And the parties have pledged to cooperate with the International War Crimes Tribunal -- so that those responsible for crimes against humanity are brought to justice.

This agreement is a milestone on the road to a lasting peace, but it does not mark the end of the journey -- or the end of America's responsibility. The parties have made a commitment to peace. Now, we must help them make good on it so that peace takes hold and endures.

If we fail to live up to that responsibility, the hard won peace in Bosnia would be lost. The war would re-ignite. The slaughter of innocents would begin again. And a conflict that already has claimed so many victims could spread like poison throughout the region and eat away at Europe's stability. In the choice we now face between peace and war in Bosnia, we must choose peace.

Choosing peace means doing our part to secure the peace so that it becomes self-sustaining. All the parties to the conflict want a strong international force on the ground in Bosnia to help them implement their agreement -- to give them confidence that each side will live up to its word and breathing room so they can focus on rebuilding. That force is NATO -- the powerful military alliance of democracies that has guaranteed our security for half a century. The United States, as NATO's leader, must be an essential part of its mission.

NATO is now completing its planning for an implementation force of about 60,000 troops -- to be known as IFOR. Already, more than 20 nations around the world -- including all our NATO
allies—have pledged to take part. They will contribute about 2/3rds of IFOR’s troops. The United States would contribute the rest—about 20,000 soldiers.

Over the next few days, the final IFOR plan will be submitted to me for review and approval. Let me make clear what I expect it to include—and what it must include for me to approve the participation of our armed forces:

The mission must be clear and achievable: to oversee the separation of forces and to maintain the cease-fire. The risks to our troops must be minimized and their deployment limited in time. They will only take their orders from the American general who commands NATO—and no one else. They will be heavily armed and thoroughly trained. By making an overwhelming show of force, they will lessen the need to use force. But they will have the authority to respond immediately and decisively to any threat to their safety or any violation of the peace agreement. And there will be a reasonable timetable for their withdrawal—which our military planners now estimate at about one year.

If the NATO plan meets with my approval, I will immediately send it to Congress and request its support. I will also authorize the participation of about 1500 American troops in a NATO advance mission that will lay the groundwork for IFOR. This "enabling force" will repair the roads, build the runways and set up the sophisticated communications systems that must be in place before NATO can send its troops, tanks and trucks into Bosnia.
IFOR will create a climate of security in Bosnia. That will allow the international community to begin a separate program of humanitarian relief, reconstruction assistance, refugee repatriation and election organization. This effort is absolutely essential to making peace endure. It will bring the people of Bosnia the food, shelter, clothing and medicine so many have been denied for so long. It will help them rebuild their roads and their schools... their power plants and hospitals... their factories and their shops. It will reunite children with their parents and families with their homes. It will allow them to freely choose leaders devoted to reconciliation and rebuilding. In short, it will give all the people of Bosnia a much greater stake in peace than in war -- and create the conditions for a lasting peace that takes on a life and logic of its own.

The international community will also oversee an arms build-down in Bosnia -- while making sure that the Bosnian Federation has the means to defend itself. By reducing the number of heavy weapons in Bosnia and working toward a balance of forces, we can take away any one side's military advantage -- and make future hostilities much less likely.

After so much bloodshed and loss... after so many senseless violations of human dignity... it will take time -- and an extraordinary effort of will -- for the people of Bosnia to pull themselves from the past and start building the future. There is no guarantee that Muslims, Serbs and Croats will come together again -- and stay together -- as friends, neighbors and citizens of a shared state with a common destiny.

But thanks to our leadership, the people of Bosnia have the chance to decide their future peacefully -- and in peace. They have a chance to remind the world that, just a few years ago, the
mosques, minarets and churches of Sarajevo were a shining symbol of multi-ethnic tolerance -- that Bosnia once found unity in its glorious diversity.

Now, we must continue to help the people of Bosnia find that same unity again in peace. American leadership has brought the people of Bosnia to this chance for peace. We must not turn our backs on them now.

The American people know that just causes are not lacking in this world. When terrible images of inhumanity dominate our television screens night after night, we want to do something to end the suffering. We are a compassionate people -- and we should be proud of that fact.

But my duty as President is to match those causes to our interests. We cannot take on every fight. But where our interests and values demand it -- and where we can make a difference -- America should act. Bosnia is such a case. Our interests are plain. The cause is right. And the NATO mission to help the peace in Bosnia take hold is clear, limited and achievable. America is the world's only superpower. Let us act as one.

My fellow Americans, I ask you to think for a moment about the century that is drawing to a close -- and the new one that will soon begin.

The 20th century has been marked by so much progress... and too much bloodshed. It has been witness to humanity's capacity for the best... and its weakness for the worst. Throughout this century, America has stood for progress and human dignity. We have stood with the
peacemakers and all those who cherish liberty. We have done so because a world in which nations enjoy peace and people live free will be a much better world for our own children to make the most of their God-given potential. And we have done so because it is the right thing to do.

Through two world wars and a Cold War, previous generations of Americans paid the price for freedom. Because they did -- and because we continue to do so -- more people than ever before live in peace. More people than ever before are treated with dignity. More people than ever before can hope to build a better life than their parents had -- and expect to pass on an even better one to their children.

These are the blessings of freedom -- and America has always been their greatest champion. If we continue to do everything we can to share these blessings with people around the world -- if we continue to be leaders for peace -- then the sacrifices that the American people have made this century will be redeemed. And the next century can be the greatest our nation has yet known.

In Bosnia, a terrible war has challenged our interests and outraged our conscience. Now, because of American leadership, a century that began when a gunshot in Sarajevo sparked the first of two world wars need not end with the sound of gunfire in Sarajevo. But America's job is not yet done. We must help peace in Bosnia take hold and endure. We must remain leaders for peace. This is our responsibility as Americans. Let us go forward and meet it.
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**COLLECTION:**
- Clinton Presidential Records
- National Security Council
- Anthony Blinken (Speechwriting)
- OA/Box Number: 3382

**FOLDER TITLE:**
- Bosnia-Oval Address [2]

**RESTRICTION CODES**
- **Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]**
  - P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
  - P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
  - P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
  - P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
  - P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
  - P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]
  - C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
  - PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
  - RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

- **Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]**
  - b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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  - b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
  - b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
  - b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
  - b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]
Good evening.

For nearly four years, a terrible war has torn apart Bosnia -- thousands dead and destroying countless futures. Images that we thought had been banished from Europe forever flooded our television screens and newspapers: sunken-eyed prisoners caged-in by barbed wire fences... defenseless men and boys forced to dig their own graves... endless lines of refugees marching toward a future of despair.

Last week, in Dayton, Ohio, this horror finally gave way to hope. There, with the help of America's negotiating team, the parties to the worst conflict in Europe since World War II made a commitment to peace.

Tonight, I want to speak with you about America's responsibility to help them make good on that commitment -- to secure peace in Bosnia and to turn this moment of hope into an enduring reality.

There is no guaranty we will succeed. Our armed forces will be asked to shoulder a difficult and dangerous mission. But the goal of a lasting peace in Bosnia is achievable. The risks are manageable. And America's values and interests -- together with our standing in the world as a beacon of hope for all those striving for freedom -- demand that we continue to be leaders for peace.
Securing peace in Bosnia can end the terrible suffering of the Bosnian people -- the mass executions... the ethnic cleansing... the campaigns of rape and terror. Nearly 250,000 men, women and children have been shelled, shot and beaten to death. Two million people -- half of Bosnia's pre-war population -- were forced from their homes and into a miserable life as refugees. Now, American leadership has created the chance to end the war -- and the suffering for good.

Securing peace in Bosnia will also prevent the war from reigniting and spreading throughout the region. Bosnia lies at the very heart of Europe -- next door to many of its fragile new democracies and just a few hundred miles from some of America's closest allies like Italy and Greece. If we don't stamp out the spark of this conflict now, it could light a much larger fire in Europe -- whose stability is vital to our own national security. That's why hundreds of thousands of Americans fought and died in Europe in two world wars. That's why successive generations of Americans sacrificed so much to win the Cold War. And that's why our generation must meet its responsibility to end the war in Bosnia now.

The American people should understand how we have come to this chance for peace -- and where we go from here.

At the end of the Cold War, Serbian nationalism forced the break-up of Yugoslavia and started an ugly and dangerous war. Bosnia -- where Muslims, Serbs and Croats had lived together peacefully for decades -- became a killing field.
When I took office, I set three goals for America in the Bosnian conflict: to help our European allies find a peaceful settlement that preserves Bosnia as a single state; to prevent the war from spreading; and to ease the suffering of the Bosnian people. I also decided that while American ground troops should help secure a peace agreement if and when it was reached, they should not become combatants in Bosnia. It was clear that the United States could not force peace on the parties -- only they themselves could make it.

For three years, we worked toward these goals. By sending our troops to neighboring states and imposing tough economic sanctions against Serbia, we prevented the war from spreading. By using our air power to conduct the longest humanitarian air lift in history... to enforce a no-fly zone that took the war out of the skies... and to end the strangulation of Sarajevo, we eased the plight of the Bosnian people. And our diplomats stopped the fighting between Muslims and Croats and brokered cease-fires that temporarily ended the rain of shells on Bosnia's safe areas.

But the search for a comprehensive peace proved frustrating and elusive. On three occasions the international community negotiated detailed peace plans with the parties. Each time the result was the same -- the Muslims and Croats would accept the plan, the Bosnian Serbs would reject it.

This summer, the Bosnian Serbs stepped up their assaults on the safe areas. Sarajevo once again came under siege -- its brave citizens subject to vicious shelling and denied food, medicine, electricity and heat. The towns of Srebrenica and Zepa fell...
When a Bosnian Serb shell slaughtered 38 people in Sarajevo in August, the United States insisted that NATO take a stand. We demanded that the Serbs stop offensive actions against civilian areas, withdraw their heavy weapons from around Sarajevo and allow road and air access to the city. When they refused, NATO began heavy and continuous air strikes against Bosnian Serb military targets. The air strikes -- many of them flown by courageous American pilots -- convinced the Serbs to comply with our demands.

At the same time, I instructed our negotiating team to push the parties back to the peace table. Their intensive diplomacy convinced the Serbs for the first time to agree to the basic principles of an overall settlement. They forged a Bosnia-wide cease fire. And they brought the parties to Dayton to negotiate a peace agreement. Three devoted American diplomats -- Bob Frasure, Joe Kruzel and Nelson Drew -- were killed in that effort. They gave their lives seeking for others the blessings of peace and freedom Americans hold so dear. Tonight, we remember their sacrifice.

In Dayton, the extraordinary skill and dedication of our negotiating team -- led by Secretary Christopher and Ambassador Holbrooke -- enabled the parties to reach an overall settlement that can end the war in Bosnia for good.

The peace plan preserves Bosnia as a single state -- within its present borders and with international recognition. The state will be made up of two parts: the Bosnian-Croat Federation and the Bosnian Serb Republic, with a fair distribution of land between the two. The capital city of Sarajevo will remain united. There will be an effective central government chosen through internationally supervised, democratic elections. Refugees will be allowed to return to their
homes... people will be able to move freely throughout Bosnia... and the human rights of Bosnian citizens will be monitored by an independent commission and an internationally-trained civilian police. And the parties have pledged to cooperate with the International War Crimes Tribunal -- so that those responsible for crimes against humanity are brought to justice.

This agreement is a milestone on the road to a lasting peace, but it does not mark the end of the journey -- or the end of America's responsibility. The parties have made a commitment to peace. Now, we must help them make good on it so that peace takes hold and endures.

If we fail to live up to that responsibility, the hard won peace in Bosnia would be lost. The war would re-ignite. The slaughter of innocents would begin again. And a conflict that already has claimed so many victims could spread like poison throughout the region and eat away at Europe's stability. In the choice we now face between peace and war in Bosnia, we must choose peace.

Choosing peace means doing our part to secure the peace so that it becomes self-sustaining. All the parties to the conflict want a strong international force on the ground in Bosnia to help them implement their agreement -- to give them confidence that each side will live up to its word and breathing room so they can focus on rebuilding. That force is NATO -- the powerful military alliance of democracies that has guaranteed our security for half a century. The United States, as leader of NATO, the U.S. must be an essential part of NATO's leader, must be an essential part of its mission.

NATO is now completing its planning for an implementation force of about 60,000 troops -- to be known as IFOR. Already, more than 20 nations around the world -- including all our NATO
allies -- have pledged to take part. They will contribute about 2/3rds of IFOR's troops. The United States would contribute the rest -- about 20,000 soldiers.

Over the next few days, the final IFOR plan will be submitted to me for review and approval. Let me make clear what I expect it to include -- and what it must include for me to approve the participation of our armed forces:

The mission must be clear and achievable: to oversee the separation of forces and to maintain the cease-fire. The risks to our troops must be minimized and their deployment limited in time. They will only take their orders from the American general who commands NATO -- and no one else.

They will be heavily armed and thoroughly trained. By making an overwhelming show of force, they will lessen the need to use force. But they will have the authority to respond immediately and decisively to any threat to their safety or any violation of the peace agreement. And there will be a reasonable timetable for their withdrawal -- which our military planners now estimate at about one year.

If the NATO plan meets with my approval, I will immediately send it to Congress and request its support. I will also authorize the participation of about 1500 American troops in a NATO advance mission that will lay the groundwork for IFOR. This "enabling force" will repair the roads, build the runways and set up the sophisticated communications systems that must be in place before NATO can send its troops, tanks and trucks into Bosnia.
IFOR will create a climate of security in Bosnia. That will allow the international community to begin a separate program of humanitarian relief, reconstruction assistance, refugee repatriation and election organization. This effort is absolutely essential to making peace endure. It will bring the people of Bosnia the food, shelter, clothing and medicine so many have been denied for so long. It will help them rebuild their roads and their schools... their power plants and hospitals... their factories and their shops. It will reunite children with their parents and families with their homes. It will allow them to freely choose leaders devoted to reconciliation and rebuilding. In short, it will give all the people of Bosnia a much greater stake in peace than in war -- and create the conditions for a lasting peace that takes on a life and logic of its own.

The international community will also oversee an arms build-down in Bosnia -- while making sure that the Bosnian Federation has the means to defend itself. By reducing the number of heavy weapons in Bosnia and working toward a balance of forces, we can take away any one side's military advantage -- and make future hostilities much less likely. 

After so much bloodshed and loss... after so many senseless violations of human dignity... it will take time -- and an extraordinary effort of will -- for the people of Bosnia to pull themselves from the past and start building the future. There is no guarantee that Muslims, Serbs and Croats will come together again -- and stay together -- as friends, neighbors and citizens of a shared state with a common destiny. 

But thanks to our leadership, the people of Bosnia have the chance to decide their future peacefully -- and in peace. They have a chance to remind the world that, just a few years ago, the
mosques, minarets and churches of Sarajevo were a shining symbol of multi-ethnic tolerance -- that Bosnia once found unity in its glorious diversity.

Now, we must continue to help the people of Bosnia find that same unity again in peace. American leadership has brought the people of Bosnia to this chance for peace. We must not turn our backs on them now.

The American people know that just causes are not lacking in this world. When terrible images of inhumanity dominate our television screens night after night, we want to do something to end the suffering. We are a compassionate people -- and we should be proud of that fact.

My duty as President is to match those causes to our interests. We cannot take on every fight. But where our interests and values demand it -- and where we can make a difference -- America should act. Bosnia is such a case. Our interests are plain. The cause is right. And the NATO mission to help the peace in Bosnia take hold is clear, limited and achievable. America is the world's only superpower. Let us act as one.

My fellow Americans, I ask you to think for a moment about the century that is drawing to a close -- and the new one that will soon begin.

The 20th century has been marked by so much progress... and too much bloodshed. It has been witness to humanity's capacity for the best... and for the worst. Throughout this century, America has stood for progress and human dignity. We have stood with the
peacemakers and all those who cherish liberty. We have done so because a world in which
nations enjoy peace and people live free will be a much better world for our own children to make
the most of their God-given potential. And we have done so because it is the right thing to do.

Through two world wars and a Cold War, previous generations of Americans paid the price for
freedom. Because they did -- and because we continue to do so -- more people than ever before
live in peace. More people than ever before are treated with dignity. More people than ever
before can hope to build a better life than their parents had -- and expect to pass on an even better
one to their children.

These are the blessings of freedom -- and America has always been their greatest champion. If
we continue to do everything we can to share these blessings with people around the world -- if
we continue to be leaders for peace -- then the sacrifices that the American people have made this
century will be redeemed. And the next century can be the greatest our nation has yet known.

In Bosnia, a terrible war has challenged our interests and outraged our conscience. Now, because
of American leadership, a century that began when a gunshot in Sarajevo sparked the first of two
world wars need not end with the sound of gunfire in Sarajevo. But America's job is not yet
done. We must help peace in Bosnia take hold and endure. We must remain leaders for peace.
This is our responsibility as Americans. Let us go forward and meet it.
Tonight, I would like to speak with you about the situation we face in Bosnia.

After four years of bitter war, and a quarter of a million men, women and children dead, all of the parties to the Bosnian conflict have reached a peace agreement, after meeting under the auspices of the United States and NATO in Dayton, Ohio. The peace agreement provides that NATO will send a force of 60,000 troops to Bosnia to carry out the peace agreement, by separating the warring factions and making sure that everyone complies with the agreement. The plan calls for 20,000 of these troops to be from the United States, and the entire operation would be under the command of an American general. Helping to implement this peace agreement will be the logical extension of our policy to stop the killing in Bosnia and help bring peace and stability to the region.

Before we move to implement the peace agreement in Bosnia, I want to tell you why we should do it.
From the days of America's birth, we have always been more than just a country or a political entity. We have been an idea that has become an ideals for billions of people throughout the world. We all know the principles that are at the heart of that ideal just as surely as we know that we are Americans: Liberty, justice, democracy compassion and decency.
When the Cold War ended, some people had unrealistic expectations, hoping that all wars could be ended for all time. But it was clear that we were left with dozens of old wars, along with new violence which erupted out of ancient rivalries long suppressed by the Cold War. Many, then, threw up their hands and said we were entering an era of endless war and global chaos. In the face of these challenges, some people have argued that America should step back from our responsibility to lead the world on behalf of our values and our ideals.

We should all be proud that we have taken a different course: We have kept faith with America's special mission in the world. One by one, from Iraq to Haiti, from South Africa to Korea, from the Middle East to Northern Ireland, from Panama to the Persian Gulf: We have worked to end old and new wars and to promote a world at peace.
Page Two (after world's policeman).

We cannot stop all war for all time. But we can stop some wars. We cannot save all women and all children. But we can save many. We cannot do everything. But we must do what we can do.
[then pick up There are times and places . . . ]
the systematic rape of women and girls, as a tool of war
Top of page 4 (after democratic future)
The Muslims, the Croats and the Serbs came together through America's leadership on American soil, because of what America represents to the people of the world: A nation that puts the interests of justice, freedom and civilization ahead of self-interest. The Bosnian parties negotiated an agreement in America, and now look to America to help enforce their agreement, because they believe we are fair. Now they look to America to lead a force of honest brokers to help make this peace agreement work.
Page Six (add to mission statement)

They will protect refugees from attack as they take their long treks back to a home they were forced to leave. Using modern means, they will remove land mines so that children who play in the fields of Bosnia will not lose their arms and their legs.
In Bosnia, the goal of peace is achievable. Our troops are well-trained and ready. But no deployment of American troops is ever risk-free. This one will probably involve casualties. . .

.. as President in harms way, etc. [pick up from Blinken rewrite]

I appeal to Congress to support me in this effort. I ask them to give me and our military commanders the means and the flexibility to achieve success. I will carry out my duty as President to do all I can to insure the success of this mission and to minimize the casualties. But I also assume full personal responsibility for any harm that may come to any of our troops.

How long will this mission take? It will take as long as is necessary. My military commanders say that the job can be done in a year. I hope and believe they are right. But we are starting this job and we plan to get it done.

[pick up After so much bloodshed]

We in the 20th Century have been witness to humanity's capacity for the best . . . and its weakness for the worst. Through it all, America has stood for freedom and peace . . . because we know that creates a better world for our children to make the most of their God-given potential . . . and because it is the right thing to do.

Because generations of Americans have stood up for freedom, the American people are more secure and more prosperous. More people than ever before live in freedom. More people than ever before are treated with dignity. More people than ever before can hope to build a better life than their parents had -- and to pass an even better one on to their children.

These are the blessings of freedom and peace . . . these are the very reasons why Americans have fought and sacrificed and why America has led the world. If we continue to be leaders for peace, if we continue to do everything we can to share the blessings of freedom with people around the world, then the sacrifices that the American people have made in this American century will be renewed. And the new century -- the next American century -- can be the greatest our nation has yet known.

(then to the ending)
Good evening.

Tonight, I want to speak with you about bringing peace to Bosnia and why our values and our interests require that we help in that effort.

From its birth, America has always stood for the powerful idea that people have the right to live in peace and freedom -- to control their own lives and pursue their dreams. For two centuries, that American idea has been a source of inspiration and hope to people around the world.

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

When the Cold War ended, some people questioned that purpose. They believed that, much like after World War I, America could step back from -- instead of stepping up to -- our responsibility to lead. If we would just keep our military strong and our country safe, we could leave for others...
the hard work of leadership. But if America doesn't lead, too often the job won't get done. We
should all be proud that we have kept faith with America's special mission in the world. From
Iraq to Haiti, from South Africa to Korea, from the Middle East to Northern Ireland, we have
stood up for peace and freedom because that is in America's interest.

As the Cold War gives way to the global village, American leadership is needed more than ever
because problems that start beyond our borders can quickly become problems within them. We
are all vulnerable to the organized forces of intolerance and destruction: ethnic, religious and
regional rivalries... the spread of weapons of mass destruction... drug trafficking, organized crime
and terrorism. Just as surely as fascism and communism, these forces would spread chaos over
community. They too demand American leadership -- and the strength and values we wield along
with our weapons -- to fight and defeat them.

My duty as President is to match these demands for American leadership to our strategic interests.
America cannot and must not be the world's policeman. [We cannot stop all war for all time.
But we can stop some wars. We cannot save all women and all children. But we can save many.
We cannot do everything. But we must do what we can do.] There are times and places where
our leadership can mean the difference between peace and war... and where we can defend our
fundamental values as a people and serve our most basic strategic interests. My fellow
Americans, in this new era of peace and hope, there are times when America -- and America
alone -- can make a difference.

The terrible war in Bosnia is such a case. Nowhere are America's fundamental values and basic
interests more at stake -- or the need for American leadership more immediate -- than in Bosnia.
For nearly four years, a terrible war that began when Serbian nationalism forced the break-up of Yugoslavia has torn Bosnia apart. This war has wasted thousands of lives and destroyed countless futures. Horrors that we prayed had been banished from Europe forever have been seared into our minds: skeletal prisoners caged behind barbed wire fences... defenseless men and boys shot down into mass graves... the systematic rape of women and girls as a tool of war... endless lines of refugees marching toward a future of despair.

Some urged immediate intervention. I decided that the United States could not force peace on Bosnia’s warring ethnic groups -- the Serbs, Croats and Muslims -- and that American ground troops should not fight a war in Bosnia. Instead, America has supported our European allies in searching for peace... stopping the war from spreading... and easing the suffering of the Bosnian people. We imposed tough economic sanctions on Serbia. We used our air power to conduct the longest humanitarian air lift in history and to enforce a no-fly zone that took the war out of the skies. We made peace between two of the three warring parties in Bosnia -- the Muslims and the Croats.

But as months of a terrible conflict turned into years, it became clear that Europe alone could not end the war. This summer, Bosnian Serb shelling once again turned Bosnia’s playgrounds and marketplaces into killing fields. The United States led NATO’s heavy and continuous air strikes - - many of them flown by skilled American pilots. Those air strikes, together with the renewed determination of our European partners and the Croats gains on the battlefield, convinced the Serbs to start thinking about making peace.
At the same time, the United States initiated an intensive diplomatic effort that forged a Bosnia-wide cease fire and got the parties to agree to the basic principles of peace. Three dedicated American diplomats -- Bob Frasure, Joe Kruzel and Nelson Drew -- lost their lives in that effort. We remember their sacrifice and that of their families. And we will never forget their exceptional service to our country.

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

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

In Bosnia the mission is clear. The risks are manageable. Our troops are well prepared. But no deployment of American troops is risk free and this one may well involve casualties. There may be accidents in the field... or incidents with people who have not given up their hatred. We must be prepared for that possibility. As President, my most difficult duty is to put the men and women who volunteer to serve our nation in harm’s way when America’s interests and values demand it. I assume full responsibility for any harm that may come to them.
If the safety of some Americans is going to be put at risk, all Americans have the right to know what is at stake... what our troops will be asked to accomplish... and why we must carry out our responsibility to implement the peace agreement in Bosnia.

Implementing the peace agreement in Bosnia can end the terrible suffering of the Bosnian people - the warfare... the mass executions... the ethnic cleansing... the campaigns of rape and terror. Let us never forget: one quarter of a million men, women and children have been shelled, shot and tortured to death. Two million people -- half of Bosnia's population -- were forced from their homes and into a miserable life as refugees. These faceless numbers hide millions of personal tragedies. Each of the war's victims was a mother or a daughter, a father or a son, a brother or a sister. Now, American leadership has created the chance to implement the peace agreement -- and stop the suffering.

Securing peace in Bosnia will also help build a stable Europe -- which has been one of America’s most important interests for nearly a century. Bosnia lies at the very heart of Europe -- next door to many of its fragile new democracies and some of America’s closest allies. Generations of Americans have understood that Europe’s stability is vital to our own national security. That’s why we fought two world wars in Europe. That’s why we defended its hard won peace and freedom with NATO and the Marshall Plan. That’s why we must help the nations of Europe end their worst nightmare since World War II -- now.

The only force capable of getting the job done is NATO -- the powerful military alliance of democracies that has guaranteed our security for half a century. As NATO’s leader -- and as the
primary broker of the peace agreement -- the United States must be an essential part of its mission.

If we’re not there, NATO will not be there. The peace will collapse. The war will re-ignite. The slaughter of innocents will begin again. A conflict that already has claimed so many victims could spread like poison throughout the region and eat away at Europe’s stability and our partnership with our European allies. And America’s commitment to leadership will be questioned.

When America’s partnerships are weak and our leadership is in doubt, it undermines our ability to secure our interests and to convince others to work with us to tackle common problems like terrorism, organized crime, drug trafficking and nuclear proliferation. If we maintain our partnerships and our leadership, we need not act alone. As we saw in the Gulf War and in Haiti, others who share our goals will share our burdens. But if America does not lead, no one will lead. If America does not act, no one will act. That is one of the great lessons of this century -- and we must not forget it in Bosnia.

As I speak to you, NATO is completing its planning for IFOR, an International Force for peace in Bosnia of about 60,000 troops. Already, more than 25 nations -- including our major NATO allies -- have pledged to take part. They will contribute about 2/3rds of the implementation force -- some 40,000 troops. The United States would contribute the rest -- about 20,000 soldiers.

Later this week, the final NATO plan will be submitted to me for review and approval. Let me make clear what I expect it to include -- and what it must include for me to give final approval to the participation of our armed forces:
First, the mission will be precisely defined -- with clear, realistic goals that can be achieved in a finite period of time. Our troops will make sure each side withdraws its forces behind the front lines -- and keeps them there. They will maintain the cease fire to prevent the war from accidentally starting again. They will clear land mines so that young children playing in the fields of Bosnia do not lose their arms or their legs. They will create a secure environment in Bosnia so that its people can return to their homes and begin to rebuild their lives. Our Joint Chiefs of Staff have concluded that this mission should and will take about one year.

Second, the risks to our troops will be minimized. American troops will only take their orders from the American general who commands NATO -- and no one else. They will be heavily armed and thoroughly trained. By making an overwhelming show of force, they will lessen the need to use force. But they will have the authority to respond immediately -- and the training and equipment to respond with overwhelming force -- to any threat to their safety or any violation of the peace agreement. Anyone who takes on our troops will suffer the consequences. America protects its own.

If the NATO plan meets with my approval, I will immediately send it to Congress and request its support. I will also authorize the participation of a small number of American troops in a NATO advance mission that will lay the groundwork for IFOR, starting in [TK] weeks. They will repair the roads, build the runways and set up the sophisticated communications systems that must be in place before NATO can send its troops, tanks and trucks into Bosnia. The implementation force itself would begin deploying in Bosnia by [TK, TK] following the formal signing of the peace agreement in mid-December.
The climate of security NATO creates in Bosnia will allow the international community to oversee the removal of heavy weapons so that future hostilities are much less likely -- while the United States and others make sure the Bosnian Federation has the means to defend itself once IFOR withdraws.

Civilian agencies from around the world will begin a separate program of humanitarian relief and reconstruction. The lion's share will be paid for by our European allies and other interested countries. This effort is absolutely essential to making peace endure. It will bring the people of Bosnia the food, shelter, clothing and medicine so many have been denied for so long. It will help them rebuild their roads and their schools... their power plants and hospitals... their factories and their shops. It will reunite children with their parents and families with their homes. It will allow the Bosnians freely to choose leaders devoted to reconciliation. It will give all the people of Bosnia a much greater stake in peace than war -- so that peace takes on a life and logic of its own.

After so much bloodshed and loss... after so many outrageous acts of inhuman brutality... it will take time -- and an extraordinary effort of will -- for the people of Bosnia to pull themselves from the past and start building the future. There is no guarantee that Muslims, Serbs and Croats will come together again -- and stay together -- as citizens of a shared state with a common destiny.

But thanks to our leadership, and the commitment of our allies, the people of Bosnia have the chance to decide their future peacefully -- and in peace. They have a chance to remind the world that, just a few years ago, the mosques, minarets and churches of Sarajevo were a shining symbol of multi-ethnic tolerance -- that Bosnia once found unity in its diversity. We must not turn our backs on Bosnia now. In the choice between peace and war, America must choose peace.
My fellow Americans, I ask you to think for a moment about the century that is drawing to a
close -- and the new one that will soon begin.

The 20th century has been marked by so much progress... and too much bloodshed. It has been
witness to humanity's capacity for the best... and its weakness for the worst. Through two world
wars and a Cold War, America has stood for freedom and tolerance... and with all those who
cherish peace and liberty. We have done so because a world in which nations enjoy peace and
people live free will be a much better world for our own children to make the most of their God-
given potential. And we have done so because it is the right thing to do.

Because previous generations of Americans stood up for freedom -- and because we continue to
do so -- the American people are more secure and more prosperous. And more people than ever
before live in freedom. More people than ever before are treated with dignity. More people than
ever before can hope to build a better life than their parents had -- and expect to pass on an even
better one to their children.

These are the blessings of freedom -- and America has always been freedom's greatest champion.
If we continue to do everything we can to share these blessings with people around the world -- if
we continue to be leaders for peace -- then the sacrifices that the American people have made this
century will be renewed. And the next century can be the greatest our nation has yet known.

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

In Bosnia, a terrible war has challenged our interests and troubled our souls. Our interests are plain. The cause is right. Our mission will be clear, limited and achievable. The people of Bosnia, our NATO allies and people around the world are looking to America for leadership. Let us lead. That is our responsibility as Americans.

Goodnight. And God bless America.
Gingrich

- Power of our eg. is multi-ethnic society
curried by our ties to people of Balkans
every group

- Arms today have relation in every ethnic camp
  which connects to their roots.
  Roots here + then.

- Am her root amid mix of cell
  in Bonn. Olympic in Sarasota.
  And real! Olympic symbolic rib
  Gingrid.

- Converted wisdom; caused by blood hit
till this: Not true.

- B: -puh thi (cool)
  Support.
Good evening.

Tonight, I want to speak with you about bringing peace to Bosnia and why our values and our interests require that we help in that effort.

From its birth, America has always stood for the powerful idea that people have the right to live in peace and freedom -- to control their own lives and pursue their dreams. For two centuries, that American idea has been a source of inspiration and hope to people around the world.

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

When the Cold War ended, some people questioned that purpose. They believed that, much like after World War I, America could step back from -- instead of stepping up to -- our responsibility to lead. If we would just keep our military strong and our country safe, we could leave for others
the hard work of leadership. But if America doesn’t lead, too often the job won’t get done. We should all be proud that we have kept faith with America’s special mission in the world. From Iraq to Haiti, from South Africa to Korea, from the Middle East to Northern Ireland, we have stood up for peace and freedom because that is in America’s interest.

As the Cold War gives way to the global village, American leadership is needed more than ever because problems that start beyond our borders can quickly become problems within them. We are all vulnerable to the organized forces of intolerance and destruction: ethnic, religious and regional rivalries... the spread of weapons of mass destruction... drug trafficking, organized crime and terrorism. Just as surely as fascism and communism, these forces would spread chaos over community. They too demand American leadership -- and the strength and values we wield along with our weapons -- to fight and defeat them.

My duty as President is to match these demands for American leadership to our strategic interests. America cannot and must not be the world’s policeman. [We cannot stop all war for all time. But we can stop some wars. We cannot save all women and all children. But we can save many. We cannot do everything. But we must do what we can do.] There are times and places where our leadership can mean the difference between peace and war... and where we can defend our fundamental values as a people and serve our most basic strategic interests. My fellow Americans, in this new era of peace and hope, there are times when America -- and America alone -- can make a difference.

(today)

The terrible war in Bosnia is such a case. Nowhere are America’s fundamental values and basic interests more at stake -- or the need for American leadership more immediate -- than in Bosnia.
For nearly four years, a terrible war that began when Serbian nationalism forced the break-up of Yugoslavia has torn Bosnia apart. This war has wasted thousands of lives and destroyed countless futures. Horrors that we prayed had been banished from Europe forever have been seared into our minds: skeletal prisoners caged behind barbed wire fences... defenseless men and boys shot down into mass graves... the systematic rape of women and girls as a tool of war... endless lines of refugees marching toward a future of despair.

Some urged immediate intervention. I decided that the United States could not force peace on Bosnia's warring ethnic groups -- the Serbs, Croats and Muslims -- and that American ground troops should not fight a war in Bosnia. Instead, America has supported our European allies in searching for peace... stopping the war from spreading... and easing the suffering of the Bosnian people. We imposed tough economic sanctions on Serbia. We used our air power to conduct the longest humanitarian air lift in history and to enforce a no-fly zone that took the war out of the skies. We made peace between two of the three warring parties in Bosnia -- the Muslims and the Croats.

But as months of a terrible conflict turned into years, it became clear that Europe alone could not end the war. This summer, Bosnian Serb shelling once again turned Bosnia's playgrounds and marketplaces into killing fields. The United States led NATO's heavy and continuous air strikes - - many of them flown by skilled American pilots. Those air strikes, together with the renewed determination of our European partners and the Croats gains on the battlefield, convinced the Serbs to start thinking about making peace.
At the same time, the United States initiated an intensive diplomatic effort that forged a Bosnia-wide cease fire and got the parties to agree to the basic principles of peace. Three dedicated American diplomats -- Bob Frasure, Joe Kruzel and Nelson Drew -- lost their lives in that effort. We remember their sacrifice and that of their families. And we will never forget their exceptional service to our country.

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

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

In Bosnia the mission is clear. The risks are manageable. Our troops are well prepared. But no deployment of American troops is risk free and this one may well involve casualties. There may be accidents in the field... or incidents with people who have not given up their hatred. We must be prepared for that possibility. As President, my most difficult duty is to put the men and women who volunteer to serve our nation in harm’s way when America’s interests and values demand it. I assume full responsibility for any harm that may come to them.
If the safety of some Americans is going to be put at risk, all Americans have the right to know what is at stake... what our troops will be asked to accomplish... and why we must carry out our responsibility to implement the peace agreement in Bosnia.

Implementing the peace agreement in Bosnia can end the terrible suffering of the Bosnian people - the warfare... the mass executions... the ethnic cleansing... the campaigns of rape and terror. Let us never forget: one quarter of a million men, women and children have been shelled, shot and tortured to death. Two million people -- half of Bosnia's population -- were forced from their homes and into a miserable life as refugees. These faceless numbers hide millions of personal tragedies. Each of the war's victims was a mother or a daughter, a father or a son, a brother or a sister. Now, American leadership has created the chance to implement the peace agreement -- and stop the suffering.

Securing peace in Bosnia will also help build a stable Europe -- which has been one of America's most important interests for nearly a century. Bosnia lies at the very heart of Europe -- next door to many of its fragile new democracies and some of America's closest allies. Generations of Americans have understood that Europe's stability is vital to our own national security. That's why we fought two world wars in Europe. That's why we defended its hard won peace and freedom with NATO and the Marshall Plan. That's why we must help the nations of Europe end their worst nightmare since World War II -- now.

The only force capable of getting the job done is NATO -- the powerful military alliance of democracies that has guaranteed our security for half a century. As NATO's leader -- and as the
primary broker of the peace agreement -- the United States must be an essential part of its mission.

If we're not there, NATO will not be there. The peace will collapse. The war will re-ignite. The slaughter of innocents will begin again. A conflict that already has claimed so many victims could spread like poison throughout the region and eat away at Europe's stability and our partnership with our European allies. And America's commitment to leadership will be questioned.

When America's partnerships are weak and our leadership is in doubt, it undermines our ability to secure our interests and to convince others to work with us to tackle common problems like terrorism, organized crime, drug trafficking and nuclear proliferation. If we maintain our partnerships and our leadership, we need not act alone. As we saw in the Gulf War and in Haiti, others who share our goals will share our burdens. But if America does not lead, no one will lead. If America does not act, no one will act. That is one of the great lessons of this century -- and we must not forget it in Bosnia.

As I speak to you, NATO is completing its planning for IFOR, an International Force for peace in Bosnia of about 60,000 troops. Already, more than 25 nations -- including our major NATO allies -- have pledged to take part. They will contribute about 2/3rds of the implementation force -- some 40,000 troops. The United States would contribute the rest -- about 20,000 soldiers.

(I expect) Later this week, the final NATO plan will be submitted to me for review and approval. Let me make clear what I expect it to include -- and what it must include for me to give final approval to the participation of our armed forces:
First, the mission will be precisely defined -- with clear, realistic goals that can be achieved in a
finite period of time. Our troops will make sure each side withdraws its forces behind the front
lines -- and keeps them there. They will maintain the cease fire to prevent the war from
accidentally starting again. They will clear land mines so that young children playing in the fields
of Bosnia do not lose their arms or their legs. They will create a secure environment in Bosnia so
that its people can return to their homes and begin to rebuild their lives. Our Joint Chiefs of Staff
have concluded that this mission should and will take about one year.

Second, the risks to our troops will be minimized. American troops will only take their orders
from the American general who commands NATO -- and no one else. They will be heavily armed
and thoroughly trained. By making an overwhelming show of force, they will lessen the need to
use force. But they will have the authority to respond immediately -- and the training and
equipment to respond with overwhelming force -- to any threat to their safety [or any violation of
the peace agreement]. Anyone who takes on our troops will suffer the consequences. America
protects its own.

If the NATO plan meets with my approval, I will immediately send it to Congress and request its
support. I will also authorize the participation of a small number of American troops in a NATO
advance mission that will lay the groundwork for IFOR, starting in [TK] weeks. They will
establish the roads, build the runways and set up the sophisticated communications systems that must be in
place before NATO can send its troops, tanks and trucks into Bosnia. The implementation force
itself would begin deploying in Bosnia by [TK, TK].

[signature]
[Following the formal signature of the peace agreement in mid-December.]
The climate of security NATO creates in Bosnia will allow the international community to oversee the removal of heavy weapons so that future hostilities are much less likely -- while the United States and others make sure the Bosnian Federation has the means to defend itself once IFOR withdraws.

Civilian agencies from around the world will begin a separate program of humanitarian relief and reconstruction. The lion’s share will be paid for by our European allies and other interested countries. This effort is absolutely essential to making peace endure. It will bring the people of Bosnia the food, shelter, clothing and medicine so many have been denied for so long. It will help them rebuild their roads and their schools... their power plants and hospitals... their factories and their shops. It will reunite children with their parents and families with their homes. It will allow the Bosnians freely to choose leaders devoted to reconciliation. It will give all the people of Bosnia a much greater stake in peace than war -- so that peace takes on a life and logic of its own.

After so much bloodshed and loss... after so many outrageous acts of inhuman brutality... it will take time -- and an extraordinary effort of will -- for the people of Bosnia to pull themselves from the past and start building the future. There is no guarantee that Muslims, Serbs and Croats will come together again -- and stay together -- as citizens of a shared state with a common destiny.

But thanks to our leadership, and the commitment of our allies, the people of Bosnia have the chance to decide their future peacefully -- and in peace. They have a chance to remind the world that, just a few years ago, the mosques, minarets and churches of Sarajevo were a shining symbol of multi-ethnic tolerance -- that Bosnia once found unity in its diversity. We must not turn our backs on Bosnia now. In the choice between peace and war, America must choose peace.
Good evening.

Last week, the warring factions in Bosnia reached a peace agreement, as a result of our efforts in Dayton, Ohio.
Tonight, I want to speak with you about implementing the Bosnian peace agreement and why our values and interests as Americans require that we do so.

Let me say at the outset: America’s role will not be about fighting a war. It will be about helping the people of Bosnia to secure their own peace. Our mission will be limited, focused and under the command of an American general. In fulfilling this mission, we will have the chance to help stop the killing of innocent civilians, and especially children, and, at the same time, bring stability to central
Europe, a region of the world that is vital to our national interests.

And given our responsibility as Americans, it is the right thing to do.

From its birth, America has always been more than just a place. America has embodied an idea that has become the ideal for billions of people throughout the world. Our Founders said it best: America's ideal is life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.
In this century especially, America has done more than simply stand for these ideals -- we have acted on them... and sacrificed for them. Our people fought two world wars so that freedom could triumph over tyranny. After World War I, we pulled back from the world -- leaving a vacuum that was filled by the forces of hatred. After World War II, we continued to lead. We made the commitments that kept the peace and secured our interests... that helped spread democracy... that created unparalleled prosperity... and that brought victory in the Cold War.
Today, because of our dedication, America’s ideals -- liberty, democracy and peace -- are, more and more, the ideals of humanity. It is the power of these ideas, far more than our size, wealth, and military might, that makes America a special nation and a uniquely trusted nation.

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

I strongly disagree.

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

As a practical matter, if America does not lead, too often the job will not get done. But if America does lead, we have an unprecedented opportunity to move from war to peace, from oppression to freedom, acting not alone, but with strong partners throughout the world. We see the benefits of our leadership and our partnerships in reducing the threat of dangerous weapons of mass destruction, and in combating terrorism, organized crime and drug trafficking.
But nowhere has the argument for our leadership been more clearly justified than in the struggle to stop or prevent war and ethnic violence, from Iraq to Haiti, from South Africa to Korea, from the Middle East to Northern Ireland. We have stood up for peace and freedom because it is in our interest to do so and because it is the right thing to do.

That does not mean we can solve every problem. My duty as President is to match the demands for American leadership to our strategic interests and to our ability to make a difference. America cannot and must not be the world’s policeman. We cannot stop all
war for all time. But we can stop some wars. We
cannot save all women and all children. But we can
save many. We cannot do everything. But we must do
what we can do.] There are times and places where
our leadership can mean the difference between peace
and war... and where we can defend our fundamental
values as a people and serve our most basic strategic
interests. My fellow Americans, in this new era, of
peace and hope, there are times when America -- and
America alone -- can and should make a difference.
for peace.
The terrible war in Bosnia is such a case. Nowhere today is the need for American leadership more stark - - or more immediate -- than in Bosnia.

For nearly four years, a terrible war has torn Bosnia apart. This war has wasted thousands of lives and destroyed countless futures. Horrors that we prayed had been banished from Europe forever have been seared into our minds: skeletal prisoners caged behind barbed wire fences... defenseless men and boys shot down into mass graves, evoking vision of World War II concentration camps... endless lines of refugees marching toward a future of despair.
When I took office, some were urging immediate intervention in the conflict. I decided that the United States could not force peace on Bosnia's warring ethnic groups -- the Serbs, Croats and Muslims -- and that American ground troops should not fight a war in Bosnia. Instead, America has worked with our European allies in searching for peace... stopping the war from spreading... and easing the suffering of the Bosnia people. We imposed tough economic sanctions on Serbia. We used our air power to conduct the longest humanitarian air lift in history and to enforce a no-fly zone that took the war out of the skies. We
helped to make peace between two of the three warring parties in Bosnia -- the Muslims and the Croats.

But as months of a terrible conflict turned into years, it became clear that Europe alone could not end the war. This summer, Bosnian Serb shelling once again turned Bosnia’s playgrounds and marketplaces into killing fields. The United States led NATO’s heavy and continuous air strikes -- many of them flown by skilled American pilots. Those air strikes, together with the renewed determination of our European partners and the Bosnian and Croat gains on the
battlefield, convinced the Serbs to start thinking about making peace.

At the same time, the United States initiated an intensive diplomatic effort that forged a Bosnia-wide cease fire and got the parties to agree to the basic principles of peace. Three dedicated American diplomats -- Bob Frasure, Joe Kruzel and Nelson Drew -- lost their lives in that effort. We remember their sacrifice and that of their families. And we will never forget their exceptional service to our country.
Finally, just three weeks ago, the Muslims, Croats and Serbs came to Dayton, Ohio -- in America's heartland -- to negotiate a settlement. There, exhausted by war, they made a commitment to peace. They agreed to put down their guns... to preserve Bosnia as a single state... to investigate and prosecute war criminals... to protect the human rights of its citizens... to try to build a peaceful, democratic future. And they asked for America's help as they implement their agreement.

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

I want you to know what is at stake, exactly what our troops will be asked to accomplish, and why we must carry out our responsibility to implement the peace agreement in Bosnia.

Implementing the peace agreement in Bosnia can end the terrible suffering of the Bosnian people -- the
warfare... the mass executions... the ethnic cleansing... the campaigns of rape and terror. Let us never forget:
one quarter of a million men, women and children have been shelled, shot and tortured to death. Two million people -- half of Bosnia’s population -- were forced from their homes and into a miserable life as refugees. These faceless numbers hide millions of personal tragedies. Each of the war’s victims was a mother or a daughter, a father or a son, a brother or a sister. Now, American leadership has created the chance to implement the peace agreement -- and stop the suffering.
Securing peace in Bosnia will also help build a free and stable Europe -- which has been one of America's most vital interests for nearly a century. Bosnia lies at the very heart of Europe -- next door to many of its fragile new democracies and some of America’s closest allies. Generations of Americans have understood that Europe's freedom and stability is vital to our own national security. That's why we fought two world wars in Europe. That's why we launched the Marshall Plan to restore Europe. That’s why we created NATO and waged the Cold War. That’s why we must help the nations of Europe end their worst nightmare since World War II -- now.
The only force capable of getting the job done is NATO -- the powerful military alliance of democracies that has guaranteed our security for half a century. As NATO’s leader -- and as the primary broker of the peace agreement -- the United States must be an essential part of its mission.

If we’re not there, NATO will not be there. The peace will collapse. The war will re-ignite. The slaughter of innocents will begin again. A conflict that already has claimed so many victims could spread like poison throughout the region and eat away at Europe’s
stability and erode our partnership with our European allies. And America's commitment to leadership will be questioned if we refuse to participate in implementing a peace agreement we brokered in the United States -- especially since the presidents of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia asked us to participate and pledged their best efforts to secure the security of our troops.

When America's partnerships are weak and our leadership is in doubt, it undermines our ability to secure our interests and to convince others to work with us to turn back aggressors, to hunt down
terrorists and to combat organized crime, drug trafficking and the proliferation of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons. If we maintain our partnerships and our leadership, we need not act alone. As we saw in the Gulf War and in Haiti, many other nations who share our goals will share our burdens. But when America does not lead, the consequences can be very grave, not only for others, but eventually for us as well.

As I speak to you, NATO is completing its planning for IFOR, an International Force for peace in Bosnia of about 60,000 troops. Already, more than 25 nations --
including our major NATO allies -- have pledged to take part. They will contribute about 2/3rds of the implementation force -- some 40,000 troops. The United States would contribute the rest -- about 20,000 soldiers.

Later this week, the final NATO plan will be submitted to me for review and approval. Let me make clear what I expect it to include -- and what it must include for me to give final approval to the participation of our armed forces:
First, the mission will be precisely defined -- with clear, realistic goals that can be achieved in a finite period of time. Our troops will make sure each side withdraws its forces behind the front lines -- and keeps them there. They will maintain the cease fire to prevent the war from accidentally starting again. These efforts will help create a secure environment in Bosnia so that its people can return to their homes and begin to rebuild their lives. Our Joint Chiefs of Staff have concluded that this mission should and will take about one year.
Second, the risks to our troops will be minimized. American troops will take their orders from the American general who commands NATO. They will be heavily armed and thoroughly trained. By making an overwhelming show of force, they will lessen the need to use force. They will have the authority to respond immediately -- and the training and equipment to respond with overwhelming force -- to any threat to their safety or violations of the military provisions of the peace agreement.

If the NATO plan meets with my approval, I will immediately send it to Congress and request its
support. I will also authorize the participation of a small number of American troops in a NATO advance mission that will lay the groundwork for IFOR, starting sometime next week. They will establish headquarters and set up the sophisticated communications systems that must be in place before NATO can send its troops, tanks and trucks into Bosnia. The implementation force itself would begin deploying in Bosnia in the days following the formal signature of the peace agreement in mid-December.

The international community will help implement arms control provisions of the agreement so that
future hostilities are less likely and armaments limited
-- while we and others make sure the Bosnian
Federation has the means to defend itself once IFOR
withdraws. IFOR will not be a part of this effort.

Civilian agencies from around the world will begin a
separate program of humanitarian relief and
reconstruction. The lion's share will be paid for by
our European allies and other interested countries.
This effort is absolutely essential to making peace
endure. It will bring the people of Bosnia the food,
shelter, clothing and medicine so many have been
denied for so long. It will help them rebuild their
roads and their schools... their power plants and hospitals... their factories and their shops. It will reunite children with their parents and families with their homes. It will allow the Bosnians freely to choose leaders devoted to reconciliation. It will give all the people of Bosnia a much greater stake in peace than war -- so that peace takes on a life and logic of its own.

In Bosnia, we can succeed because the mission is clear and limited. Our troops are strong and very well prepared. But no deployment of American troops is risk free and this one may well involve casualties.

There may be accidents in the field... or incidents with
people who have not given up their hatred. I will take
every measure possible to minimize the risks. But we
must be prepared for that possibility. As President,
my most difficult duty is to put the men and women
who volunteer to serve our nation in harm’s way when
America’s interests and values demand it. I assume
full responsibility for any harm that may come to
them. But anyone contemplating any action that
would endanger our troops should know this:
America protects its own. Anyone who takes on our
troops will suffer the consequences. We will fight fire
with fire -- and then some.
people who have not given up their hatred. I will take every measure possible to minimize the risks. But we must be prepared for that possibility. As President, my most difficult duty is to put the men and women who volunteer to serve our nation in harm’s way when America’s interests and values demand it. I assume full responsibility for any harm that may come to them. But anyone contemplating any action that would endanger our troops should know this: America protects its own. Anyone who takes on our troops will suffer the consequences. We will fight fire with fire -- and then some.
After so much bloodshed and loss... after so many outrageous acts of inhuman brutality... it will take time and an extraordinary effort -- for the people of Bosnia to pull themselves from the past and start building the future. There is no guarantee that Muslims, Serbs and Croats will stay together as citizens of a shared state with a common destiny.

But to our leadership, and the commitment of our allies, the people of Bosnia have the chance to decide their future peacefully -- and in peace. They have a chance to remind the world that, just a few years ago, the mosques, minarets and churches of
Sarajevo were a shining symbol of multi-ethnic tolerance -- that Bosnia once found unity in its diversity. We must not turn our backs on Bosnia now. So I ask all Americans -- and I ask every member of Congress, Democrats and Republicans alike, to make the choice for peace. In the choice between peace and war, America must choose peace.

My fellow Americans, I ask you to think for a moment about the century that is drawing to a close -- and the new one that will soon begin.
The 20th century has been marked by so much progress... and too much bloodshed. It has been witness to humanity's capacity for the best... and its weakness for the worst. Through two world wars and a Cold War, America has stood for freedom and tolerance... and with all those who cherish peace and liberty. We have done so because a world in which nations enjoy peace and people live free will be a much better world for our own children to make the most of their God-given potential. And we have done so because it is the right thing to do.
continue to be leaders for peace -- then the sacrifices that the American people have made this century will be renewed. And the next century can be the greatest our nation has yet known.

A few weeks ago, I was privileged to spend time with His Holiness Pope John Paul II when he came to America. At the end of our meeting, the Pope said: "I have lived through most of this century. I remember that it began with a war in Sarajevo. Mr. President, you must not let it end with a war in Sarajevo."
In Bosnia, a terrible war has challenged our interests and troubled our souls. Our interests are plain. The cause is right. Our mission will be clear, limited and achievable. The people of Bosnia, our NATO allies and people around the world are looking to America for leadership. Let us lead. That is our responsibility as Americans.

Goodnight. And God bless America.