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Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 10136
Folder ID:

Folder Title: Bosnia [1]

Stack: S
Row: 90
Section: 2
Shelf: 6
Position: 3
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE</th>
<th>SUBJECT/TITLE</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>RESTRICTION</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>001a. letter</td>
<td>Panetta to Rice; RE: Home address (partial) (1 page)</td>
<td>12/15/1995</td>
<td>P6/b(6)</td>
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<tr>
<td>001b. letter</td>
<td>Rice to POTUS; RE: Home address and telephone number (partial) (1 page)</td>
<td>11/23/1995</td>
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**COLLECTION:**
Clinton Presidential Records
Communications
Don Baer
OA/Box Number: 10136

**FOLDER TITLE:**
Bosnia [1]

**RESTRICION 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).
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- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(5) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(5) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose geological or geophysical Information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]
THE BOSNIAN ELECTIONS

MATERIALS

A. Talking Points -- The Bosnian Elections
Talking Points -- Points on the Bosnian Elections (for internal use only)
Statement by the White House Press Secretary

B. Bosnia: The Difference a Year Makes (for internal use only)
Bosnia’s Perspective on the Elections: Recent USIA Poll
Survey of Voters’ Intention to Travel
Inter-Entity Boundary Line Crossings in the U.S. Sector: August 24-30, 1996
Bosnia Votes: Perspectives on Transition Elections (for internal use only)

C. Questions and Answers on the Bosnian Elections
Statement and Q & A by the State Department Spokesman

D. IFOR Role in the Peace Process -- Summary
IFOR Role in the Peace Process -- Detailed Version

E. Fact Sheet -- Bosnia Chronology: July 1995 - August 1996
Fact Sheet -- Implementing the Dayton Peace Agreement: Elections
Fact Sheet -- Elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Basic Statistics
U.S. and International Community Support for the Bosnian Elections
Beyond IFOR: The U.S. Commitment to Bosnia
USIA Initiatives Supporting Civil Implementation in Bosnia


G. Selected Articles

(Please note: This packet includes both public and internal use only documents.)
Elections Are an Essential Next Step. The September 14 elections are an essential next step along the path to lasting peace in Bosnia. They will not be perfect. But they will create the structures of a multi-ethnic state: a Constitution, Parliament, Presidency, Constitutional Court, and key government agencies. These structures will require practical, day-in day-out interaction among Bosnia’s Muslims, Croats and Serbs. That’s the best way to break the status quo of separation and to defeat the forces of extremism. But elections are just one part of the hard work required to build a unified, peaceful and democratic Bosnia -- and the Bosnian people still have a long way to go. The structures themselves must be nurtured and strengthened. A military balance of power must be put in place. A civilian police force trained. More refugees returned. Economic reconstruction and growth fostered. These are the building blocks of a lasting peace in Bosnia -- and it will take time, effort and will to put them in place.

One Year Ago, War Raged in Bosnia. Today there is Peace. It’s important to put these elections in context: the change from war to peace in Bosnia. That’s the single most important fact of life for the people of Bosnia. Now, killing fields are once again playgrounds. Marketplaces are full of life, not death. Running an errand does not mean running a death race against snipers and shells. Women are no longer prey to campaigns of rape and terror. Refugees are slowly starting to come home. Basic infrastructure -- running water, electricity, shelter -- is beginning to come back on line. Children can go to school and their parents can go to work. Peace means all these very basic things. As we work to help peace endure -- and overcome the hard problems it presents -- we must not lose sight of this reality. And we must remember that American leadership has brought Bosnia to this point. Diplomacy backed with force forged the Dayton Agreement. The U.S.-led IFOR mission maintained the cease-fire and a secure environment, compelled the parties to pull back their forces, took control of the heavy weapons, and oversaw a massive demobilization. Economic and infrastructure reconstruction has begun. And now, elections. Slowly, Bosnia is returning to normalcy.

The Bosnian People Must Decide their Future for Themselves. In sending our troops to Bosnia, President Clinton made clear the point of this extraordinary international effort: to give the people of Bosnia breathing room to begin to rebuild their lives and their land -- and to give peace a chance to take on a life and logic of its own. He made equally clear what the point is not: it is not to take on responsibilities that are not our own and to create in Bosnia an unsustainable dependency. The United States is not in the business of building other nations -- but we can help nations build themselves, and give them time to make a start of it. And Dayton built in strong incentives for the parties to make peace work: financial and reconstruction assistance will only keep flowing if the peace holds; reintegration into the European economic and political system will only be possible if the parties fully implement the peace accord. After so much bloodshed and loss, there is no guarantee that Muslims, Croats and Serbs will come together -- and stay together -- as citizens of a shared state with a common destiny. But the whole point of Dayton was to give them a chance to try. That’s what we’ve done and we should be proud of it.

September 6, 1996
POINTS ON BOSNIA ELECTIONS

• Nine months after Dayton was signed, the Bosnian people have a chance to participate in elections that will lay the foundation for legitimate national institutions and the creation of a multi-ethnic state -- a critical event in their peaceful transition from 4 years of war.

Creating Conditions For Holding Elections

• The United States and the international community have labored hard these past months to help create an environment conducive to holding elections. The war has ended: killing fields are once again playgrounds; marketplaces are full of life, not death; and running an errand does not mean running a deadly gauntlet of snipers and shells.

• Conditions for elections are not perfect -- they cannot be after 40 years of dictatorship and four years of war. There may be some disruptions.

• But conditions are improving. A wide range of media outlets have been opened so more voices are heard, including more than one hundred independent newspapers, dozens of radio stations, and a nationwide independent television network. Thirteen major parties representing all political views are contesting the elections nationally, dozens more are taking part in individual races. Freedom of movement has improved; last week, more than 100,000 people crossed in the U.S. sector alone, bringing the six-month total to over 1.3 million crossings.

• Today, conditions are sufficient to hold elections that are as free and fair as possible — all Bosnians (whether Muslim, Croat or Serb) should be able to travel to one of 4400 polling stations to cast their ballots and to make a choice about their future.

• The OSCE will enforce rules designed to help provide for the integrity of the elections. IFOR is prepared to help provide a secure environment in coordination with the IPTF and local police. Twelve hundred international supervisors and hundreds of election monitors will help ensure early detection of any malfeasance. If rules are broken or fraud occurs, we expect the OSCE to act swiftly and decisively.

• The Bosnian people want the national and entity elections to go forward on schedule. Polls indicate that the overwhelming majority of the Bosnian people views national elections as important, wants them to go forward, and intends to vote. The high voter turnout among refugees — over 70 percent — portends widespread participation on September 14.

NOT FOR RELEASE
OR ATTRIBUTION
In Elections, the People Decide

- We have tried to provide the Bosnian people with an opportunity to vote in a climate free of fear and intimidation. Our involvement does not extend to determining who they should vote for. Some assert that elections risk cementing the hold of nationalists on Bosnia and, in effect, partitioning the country. But those who support democracy around the world should not fear its possible outcome so long as the process is as free and fair as possible.

- The sooner elections are held, the sooner people of different backgrounds will begin to work together and bridge some of the differences that divide them. We should provide Bosnians the opportunity to vote and choose a future. We should not determine their choice and the outcome.

A Transition to New National Institutions

- National elections represent a beginning, not an end. They will lay the foundation of a multi-ethnic Bosnia, a state with its own legitimate Constitution, Parliament, Presidency, Constitutional Court and other key government agencies. These institutions are not just faceless bureaucratic bodies -- they can be the vital organs and sinews of the new Bosnia.

- Our commitment to Bosnia does not end with these elections. Starting on September 15 and for the succeeding months and years to come, we will remain very much involved, working with the newly elected national and entity leadership to turn the promise of Dayton -- a new national government of a multi-ethnic Bosnian state -- into political reality.
STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

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

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

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

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

Conditions for free and fair elections -- including freedom of movement and access to the media -- are far from perfect. They cannot be after 40 years of dictatorship and four years of the most brutal war in Europe since World War II. So the elections are likely to be uneven; there may be some violent incidents.
But the international community, led by the OSCE and IFOR, has worked tirelessly to deal with these challenges and to create the conditions for successful elections. We have seen significant improvements in recent weeks. Last week, in the U.S. sector alone, more than 100,000 people crossed the boundary between the Serb Republic and the Bosnian Croat Federation — bringing the six-month total to more than 1.3 million crossings. Thirteen major parties representing all political views are contesting the elections nationally, and dozens more are taking part in individual races. They have access to a wide range of electronic and print media, including a Swiss-funded independent radio network, the major independent television Open Broadcast Network (which went on the air September 7 and reaches 50% of the Bosnian population), and dozens of independent newspapers.

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

After so much bloodshed and loss, there is no guaranty that Muslims, Croats and Serbs will come together — and stay together — as citizens of a shared state with a common destiny. But the point of the Dayton Agreement was to give them a chance to try — by ending the war, creating a secure environment, promoting economic reconstruction and growth and establishing the institutions of a single Bosnian state. We should now take the next step and let the Bosnian people vote for their leaders and their future.
**BOSNIA: THE DIFFERENCE A YEAR MAKES**
**U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN RECONSTRUCTION AND RECOVERY 1995-1996**

### 1995

- Television images of the shattered Sarajevo Olympic compound, home of the 1984 Winter Games, symbolized the war's devastation. The city's library, once a centerpiece of Bosnia's rich multi-ethnic culture, was destroyed. Sarajevo came to represent the very worst potential of a nation disintegrating.

- Childhood in Bosnia was put on hold. Schools were destroyed and playgrounds were used for sniper practice. Children lived as hostages in their homes or refugee encampments. Impromptu classes with scarce supplies were held in candlelit basements or wherever space could be found.

- The few buses and trams still operating in Sarajevo were constant targets of snipers. The main route across town was known as the notorious "sniper alley." Public transportation was a life and death affair.

- The Bosnian economy was devastated by war and years of central planning; commercial and industrial enterprises were disabled; and financial and banking systems were idle. Unemployment stood at 80 percent. Some 200,000 soldiers were preparing to return home without jobs or other productive activity.

- Last summer, scores of people were killed and wounded as they picked through the meager offerings at the Sarajevo Central Market. Lines for bread and water were targets for snipers. Businesses closed early because they had nothing to sell. Eighty percent of Bosnians relied on humanitarian assistance.

- Foreign investment was non-existent. Previously existing joint ventures with American and European firms were suspended. The only business to be found in Bosnia was for arms dealers and relief workers.

### 1996

- Track and field stars of the 1996 Atlanta Olympic Games are competing in Sarajevo's Kosevo Stadium in the city's first post-war major sports event. Work is set to begin to rebuild the Sarajevo library. The Sarajevo Film Festival is bringing Disney’s *Hunchback of Notre Dame* to Bosnian children.

- Schools are reopening across Bosnia this September, many for the first time in several years. School buildings and playgrounds have been restored with American funds. USIA has initiated an ambitious civics education program, including texts and training, to reach teachers and children across Bosnia’s communities.

- New and repaired trams, crowded with school children, the elderly and commuters, are moving faster than Sarajevo’s rush-hour traffic. Busses covered with advertisements now run through the city.

- Commercial activity has been revitalized. There is an influx of imports. Bosnian banks are actively participating in USAID's $65 million loan program, providing new business and employment-generating opportunities. Thousands of jobs are also being created by U.S. funded infrastructure repair projects.

- Fresh produce and other foods are readily available. Hundreds of new businesses have opened in the last few months serving Sarajevans venturing outside without fear for the first time in four years.

- Successful trade missions sponsored by the U.S. Department of Commerce have demonstrated the U.S. private sector’s eagerness to be engaged. Business liaison offices have opened in the U.S. and Bosnia.

*NOT FOR RELEASE OR ATTRIBUTION*
By the end of the war, 60 percent of Bosnia's housing stock was severely damaged or destroyed. Heavily damaged but fully occupied dwellings received makeshift repairs. Plastic sheeting replaced blown-out windows, walls and roofs.

U.S.-funded and other private voluntary organizations were running triage operations, constructing temporary shelters, distributing food, basic hygiene and water purification kits, conducting emergency sanitation repairs to prevent epidemic, and sponsoring child immunization clinics.

The cruel Bosnian winters took their toll. Unstable gas connections caused almost as many residential deaths as sniper fire. Park benches and trees were chopped up and burned to provide residential heat. Electricity, water and telephone services were cut off.

The Sarajevo Airport was closed throughout the war to all but military and relief flights -- the runway served as a border line during the city's long siege. No other air service was available into or out of the country.

Rail service was halted and railways were damaged during the war, stopping transport of passengers and goods into and around the country.

Roads and bridges were mined and destroyed, cutting off communities from each other and disrupting civilian travel and delivery of humanitarian goods. Many citizens found themselves literally trapped in their own communities.

USAID's Emergency Shelter Repair Program is providing basic repair to homes in 44 villages and creating thousands of temporary jobs. Windows in Sarajevo and elsewhere are being replaced by U.S. nongovernmental organizations and private donations.

Relief efforts have been replaced by recovery activities. Nongovernmental organizations are now resplenishing livestock, making permanent repairs to shelters, assisting in micro-lending projects, and providing technical expertise for reestablishing district heating plants.

With expertise provided by U.S. businesses, nongovernmental organizations and American military personnel, gas lines are being repaired, electrical grids are being fixed and water treatment areas are being built. For example, an IFOR-sponsored team is inspecting the source of 80 percent of Sarajevo's drinking water. Also, nearly 10,000 apartments now have safe, odorized gas connections.

Secretary Christopher participated the August ceremony to reopen the Sarajevo Airport.

Air traffic controllers are being trained under a U.S. financed program.

Rail links between key Bosnian cities are being reestablished with U.S. military and civilian assistance. A key north-south railway from Sarajevo to Ploce on the Adriatic Coast reopened in July, allowing for transport of critical imports and exports.

U.S. military personnel are integrally involved in road and bridge reconstruction. Additional municipal infrastructure projects, including school and hospital repair, are being undertaken with U.S. funds. Telephone links are being restored.

September 5, 1996
**ATTENTION: U.S. REPORTERS\BOSNIA ELECTIONS**

**BOSNIA'S PERSPECTIVE ON THE ELECTIONS**
Recent Poll Suggests Strong Support for September National Elections

### ON VOTING

**How likely is it you will vote in the upcoming election?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bosnian</th>
<th>Bosnian</th>
<th>Bosnian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very Likely/Somewhat Likely</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>92%</td>
<td>95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Unlikely/Somewhat Unlikely</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**How important do you think it is that you vote in the upcoming election?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bosnian</th>
<th>Bosnian</th>
<th>Bosnian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very Important/Somewhat Important</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>96%</td>
<td>97%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Unimportant/Somewhat Unimportant</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### ON TIMING OF ELECTIONS

Some say that because of the tensions and divisions in the country, we should wait for better conditions in which to hold the elections. Others say conditions will never be perfect and a delay risks widening tensions and divisions that continue to exist. Which view is closer to your own.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bosnian</th>
<th>Bosnian</th>
<th>Bosnian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;To Delay Is A Risk&quot;</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Wait For Better Conditions&quot;</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### ON THE FREEDOM TO VOTE

"I believe I will be able to go to the polling place to vote in the elections without being intimidated."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bosnian</th>
<th>Bosnian</th>
<th>Bosnian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree/Somewhat Agree</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>94%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree/Somewhat Disagree</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### ON FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS

Are you very concerned, somewhat concerned, not very concerned or not at all concerned about free and fair elections in September?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bosnian</th>
<th>Bosnian</th>
<th>Bosnian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very Concerned/Somewhat Concerned</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Concerned</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: The United States Information Agency. Data based on 3,085 face-to-face interviews with adults 18 and older conducted from 10 July to 2 August. Margin of error is +/- 4 points.
Survey of Voters' Intention to Travel

At the request of the State Department, USIA commissioned a nonrepresentative survey of 7698 residents in Bosnia Hercegovina to gauge their intention to travel to another community to vote. Local interviewers talked with 888 residents of the Bosnian Serb Republic (RS) between August 24 and 27 and 6810 people in the Muslim-Croat Federation between August 27 and September 2. In addition, 121 residents of Serbia were interviewed. This informal survey was conducted on street corners or in people's homes in 18 communities throughout the Federation, five communities in the Republic and two communities in Serbia (See Table 1A in the Appendix for list of communities). According to these data:

- **Long lines can be expected at the polls.** Virtually all of those interviewed in the Federation (93%) plan to vote and an equally high percentage of RS residents (96%) say they will cast their ballots on September 14.

- **More in Federation than RS will travel.** A quarter (24%) of likely Federation voters say they intend to travel to another community to vote. Substantially fewer of those surveyed in the Republic (4%) and Serbia (4%) say they intend to travel to another community to vote.

- **Cancellation of local elections has no noticeable effect in Federation.** In the Federation, the cancellation of the municipal elections apparently has not dampened the desire of those surveyed to travel in order to vote. As Table 1 shows, as many people in the Federation at the beginning of the survey period as at the end voiced an intention to travel. (These data are not available for the Republic.)

- **Travel with others in household is likely.** Seven in ten of the travelers in the Federation and 64 percent in the RS/Serbia say they will be accompanied by at least one member of their household. Table 2 gives a breakdown by number of household members who will travel with respondent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interview date</th>
<th>% of respondents traveling outside community to vote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>August 27</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 28</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 29</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 30</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 31</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 1</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 2</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>0 members</th>
<th>Federation</th>
<th>RS/Serbia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 or more</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
• **Buses will be primary means of transport.** Roughly two in three plan to travel by bus to their voting location while another 30 percent in the Federation and 20 percent in the RS/Serbia say they will get to the polls by car (Table 3). In the Federation, just one percent expects to take a train and three percent will walk.

• **Peak travel is likely on Saturday.** Eight in ten in the Federation and half in the RS/Serbia say they will begin their travel on election day (Saturday) (Table 4). Two in ten in the Federation and a third in the RS/Serbia will leave on Friday. Only two percent in the Federation and one in ten in the RS/Serbia will start their journey earlier. The majority in the Federation (73%) and in the Republic (56%) plan to return home on Saturday.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3. % Traveling By Different Modes of Transportation</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Federation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Train</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Residents of the Republic/Serbia were only given the options of bus, car or other

• **Confusion reigns over registration forms.** Our pollsters strongly caution against relying on the data collected about the registration forms because people seemed very confused by the whole process. With this caveat, 20 percent of the travelers in the Federation and seven in ten (72%) in the Republic/Serbia say they have filled out a registration form. Table 5 shows that about half the travelers in the Federation (46%) say they have filled out a form to vote in person in any municipality where they plan to live in the future, and three in ten have filled out a form for absentee voting. In the RS/Serbia, a majority (62%) have filled out a form to vote in person where they currently reside.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4. % Beginning Travel and Returning on Various Days</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>%Beginning Travel on ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
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<tr>
<td>Earlier</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5. % Who Have Filled Out Registration Forms To Vote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Federation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Which Forms?</th>
<th>Federation</th>
<th>RS/Serbia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absentee ballot</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In person where voter currently resides</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In person where voter plans to live in future</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>26%</td>
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</table>
Travelers resemble general population demographically. Demographically, travelers reflect the overall make-up of the country. These data suggest that there may be slightly more men than women and a somewhat older population (50 plus) on the road, but these are only marginal differences (See Table 2A in the Appendix).

Most will come from larger cities. Of the 18 communities surveyed in the Federation, a disproportionately large percentage of travelers will be departing from west Mostar, Sarajevo, Tuzla and Zenica. In the Republic, more will be traveling from Brcko and Zvornik than other cities, while substantial percentages of those interviewed in Serbia will be traveling from both Belgrade and Loznica. See Table 6 for complete list.

One in three Federation travelers will cross the IEBL to vote. Residents of the 18 communities surveyed in the Federation plan to travel to over 100 communities to cast their vote. One in three will be crossing the IEBL to vote. A complete list of travel locations for respondents in the Federation and a map are given in List 1 and Map 1A and 1B in the Appendix. Residents of the communities surveyed in the RS/Serbia plan to travel to over 20 communities to cast their vote. Fewer than in the Federation will be crossing the IEBL to vote. A complete list of travel locations for those in the RS/Serbia and a map are given in List 2 and Map 2 in the Appendix.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6. % Traveling From Cities To Vote in Another City</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Federation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sarajevo-Ildiza</td>
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<tr>
<td>west Mostar</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tuzla</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zenica</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bihac</td>
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<tr>
<td>Novi Travnik</td>
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<td>Travnik</td>
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<td>Maglaj</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zeljezno Polje</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zavidovici</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kakanj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>east Mostar</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sanski Most</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kalesija</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gracanica</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vogosca</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vares</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bosanska Krupa</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bosnian Serb Republic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zvornik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brcko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banja Luka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doboj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prijedor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgrade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loznica</td>
</tr>
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## IEBL CROSSINGS

### 24- 30 AUG 1996

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>RS TO FED</th>
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<th>FED TO RS</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CIVILIAN</td>
<td>UN/NGO/GO</td>
<td>CIVILIAN</td>
<td>UN/NGO/GO</td>
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<td></td>
<td>VEH</td>
<td>PAX</td>
<td>VEH</td>
<td>PAX</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 BDE (5 CPs)</td>
<td>17,566</td>
<td>35,476</td>
<td>406</td>
<td>491</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21,005</td>
<td>47,134</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>729</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 BDE (4 CPs)</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>745</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>42</td>
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<td></td>
<td>166</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>39</td>
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<tr>
<td>NP BDE (8 CPs)</td>
<td>3279</td>
<td>9,579</td>
<td>418</td>
<td>886</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2,987</td>
<td>9,111</td>
<td>502</td>
<td>944</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RUS BDE (5 CPs)</td>
<td>492</td>
<td>1,453</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>543</td>
<td>1,812</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>21,570</td>
<td>47,253</td>
<td>942</td>
<td>1900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24,601</td>
<td>58,262</td>
<td>828</td>
<td>1,996</td>
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<tr>
<td>CMLTV TOTAL</td>
<td>228,502</td>
<td>630,568</td>
<td>7,874</td>
<td>47,160</td>
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<tr>
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<td>233,572</td>
<td>583,763</td>
<td>20,646</td>
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BOSNIA VOTES: PERSPECTIVES ON TRANSITION ELECTIONS

It is not unusual for countries in turmoil to experience difficult run-ups to transitional elections. Bosnia's current experience is a case in point. The international community has often had to be supportive of upcoming elections in dubious environments where there are woefully weak institutions and difficult security situations. Elections have received worldwide acceptance after having survived critical administrative impediments: registration crises, inability for critical groups to register, logistical obstacles, transportation deficiencies, as well as hindrances to open campaigning, reluctant and irresolute opposition parties, lack of access to media, violence and other security issues. The international community has faced these issues and more and pressed on with acceptance and support of elections which later have proved critical to a country's political development and emergence from chaos.

With a target goal of perfection, none of the transition elections outlined below would have been accepted if examined under a microscope. But the balloting made a contribution to peace and greater stability in all of these countries. Each controversial election laid the foundation for some measure of political openness, some space for political institutions to establish themselves or mature a little. Few of these elections ushered in a pure democracy, but all of them brought an atmosphere where democracy could start to grow and the seeds of political and civic life could germinate.

Haiti

Haiti's transitional legislative elections in June 1995, suffered from numerous problems including the late opening of polling places, poorly trained poll workers and extremely chaotic vote-counting operations. Of greater concern; candidates and party symbols were left off ballots or included incorrectly, citizens in several municipalities were unable to vote, and elections were cancelled in seven communities. Sporadic violence (far less than in the 1987 elections) coupled with poor turnout further marred the elections. Through November 1995, the cancelled elections were re-run and then run-offs were held for those. Due to the problems, the main opposition parties chose not to participate in the subsequent rounds of voting. The leading opposition candidate, however, did participate in the December 1995 Presidential election, concluding that the boycotts were not serving the opposition well and that the election administration had improved substantially over the last four rounds of balloting. The electoral commission (CEP) had by then made major improvements in the mechanics of the election by adopting many of the changes strongly suggested by the opposition and the international observers.

The U.N. command and the Haitian National Police force contributed to the generally positive security environment. Dire predictions of how the Haitian elections would lead to chaos have not come to pass. The entire 1995 electoral contest was a healing process for Haiti. The Haitians and the international community benefitted from a policy of GO FORWARD THEN CORRECT in which the process of figuring out what to correct proved to be a stimulus for resolution.

South Africa

Four months prior to the April 1994 elections in South Africa, the electoral commission (IEP) met for the first time and noted overwhelming constraints to a successful election in April: lack of time, political instability, a lack of legitimacy, intimidation, violence, and a deteriorating security situation.
- While political violence diminished somewhat before the elections, just two days before voting began, white supremacists planted a bomb near an ANC office that killed nine and injured 92.
- One of the main opposition parties, Buthelezi’s Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) refused to register the party; and was finally brought in through mediation four days before the election and accommodated by the IEP.
- In order to promote inclusiveness, the entire balloting system was changed eight weeks before the election and new polling sites were established within four weeks of the election. There were irregularities involved with the distribution of the ballots that after the elections were investigated with no attribution of fraud.

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Despite the obstacles, the IEC chose to go forward with the balloting and correct what they could prior to the elections. The IEC's final certification of the voting process as substantially free and fair corresponded to the sentiments of the electorate at large and was ultimately accepted by all major political parties. With approximately 88% voter turnout, the victorious ANC received 62.9% of the vote, followed by the National Party (20.4%) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (10.4%). Despite fears of election-day violence, the elections were characterized by peace and order. The IEC acknowledged that administratively the elections were flawed, but that politically they were a substantial success. (The ANC won and shared power in the Cabinet with the National Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party as set forth in the interim constitution.)

Cambodia

The upcoming elections in December 1997, and in 1998, will really be the first post-crisis elections in Cambodia. The May 23-28, 1993, elections were a chaotic, superimposed international effort that in the end served the only aim they really had: to lay a foundation for a peaceful, politically-organized, post-war society in Cambodia.

Despite signing the 1991 Paris Peace Accords, the Khmer Rouge refused to disarm and boycotted the election. While some Cambodians in Khmer Rouge controlled areas, up to 10-15% of the population, were unable to participate, the UN was able to declare the election free and fair, with a surprisingly high turnout of approximately 90%. The election was violent and marred by intimidation of both candidates and voters, but these problems proved to be manageable.

In the end, the process produced a democratic constitution. FUNCINPEC won 45.5% (58 seats), the communist CPP won 38.3% (51) and the Buddhist Liberal Democratic Party won 3% (10). The communists were brought into the coalition government in an effort to keep the country from returning to civil war. As may happen in Bosnia, non-democrats won the elections and were involved in post-election arrangements that led to gridlock, but a multiparty liberal democracy under a constitutional monarchy was actually established in September 1993. The coalition government has worked surprisingly well although tensions have risen between the two major parties in the run-up to the elections. Cambodian relations with the world are improving. They are on track to join ASEAN next year.

The UNTAC elections left behind an atmosphere where fledgling NGOs have developed and political competition replaces armed confrontation. Cambodia's democratic transition is far from complete, but the process is underway.

Nicaragua

International pressure, led by Central America, Latin America, and the United States, was needed to bring the Sandinistas to the table and to have the elections. The Sandinistas used all the possible prerogatives of incumbency to influence the outcome of the election, including massive patronage and a sticky long-term registration process in which political parties threw up obstacles to the opening of registration events.

All polls showed that the Sandinista's FSLN would win the elections, but UNO and Mrs. Chamorro won by a 54% - 41% margin. People's extreme pessimism about the Sandinista's ability to manipulate the process proved unfounded by the results... popular will won the day. There was a peaceful - if not smooth - transition of power, even though the FSLN pillaged all government coffers and left UNO with nothing. Intense international attention on the elections guaranteed that the Sandinistas peacefully surrendered power. The elections helped lead to a cessation of armed insurrection, a massive demobilization, civilianization of society, civilianization of the police force and a participatory political process for Nicaragua.

9/11/96

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QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON THE BOSNIAN ELECTIONS

Importance of the Elections

Q: Why are the elections so important?

--The Bosnian elections are a benchmark in a year long process set out in the Dayton Peace Agreement.

--They will establish new democratic structures at a swift pace, creating an alternative to the forces of division and confrontation which nearly destroyed the country.

--Elections will create essential legislative and judicial bodies to provide the framework for inter-ethnic cooperation and enable Bosnia to function as a unified civil society.

--The change from war to peace is the single most important fact of life for the people of Bosnia. A year after the brutal shelling of the marketplace in Sarajevo, it is filled with produce and people shop without fear. Children will return to regular schools this fall, the trams are running with no danger of being shelled.

--However, a lasting peace and reestablishment of normal civic life must rest on the foundation of a legitimately elected government and the rule of law.

--The elections will remove those with basic disregard for human rights and democratic principles from political office: the Peace Agreement bars those indicted or convicted by the International Criminal Tribunal in the Hague from running, or holding political office.

--The Parties cannot depend on international referees indefinitely; they need to start governing themselves. The elections are key to that transition.

--The elections will create Bosnian government agencies to interact with international financial institutions and development agencies to carry out assistance projects and encourage foreign investment.

NOT FOR RELEASE
OR ATTRIBUTION
Purpose of the Elections.

Q: What do you hope to accomplish by holding elections?

--The elections provide an opportunity for the Bosnian people to solve their problems through the ballot box rather than on the battlefield. The elections give them an opportunity to shape their future and to create the institutions which will rebuild Bosnia.

--The elections will allow the Bosnian people to choose leaders so they can begin the process of self-government.

--It will also put into place the structures of government and the societal institutions needed to consolidate the peace and move the country toward prosperity.

--Specifically, the elections will establish the key legislative and executive branch institutions that will enable the two entities in Bosnia and Herzegovina to function as a unified, democratic state.

--Elections will be held for cantonal governments, both entity legislatures, the Presidency of Republika Srpska, the national House of Representatives, and the three-member Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

--This is an extraordinary opportunity for the Bosnian people. It is their chance to chart a course for a peaceful future and reinvent their country.

--As Secretary Christopher noted on August 15 in his address to the Bosnian people, this is their chance move proudly forward to an era of self-government in which they resolve differences through political give-and-take rather than armed confrontation.
Q. How can you guarantee that elections will be free and fair?

A. We cannot make any guarantees. But we have worked hard to create conditions in which elections can be held that are as free and fair as possible.

- Some 1200 international supervisors and hundreds of observers will be present at the polls to supervise and monitor the voting;
- IFOR will work with the local police and the International Police Task Force to provide a safe and secure environment for voters traveling to one of 4400 polling stations;
- Voters face a wide choice of candidates and parties representing all political points of view;
- A wide range of media outlets have been opened so more voices are heard, including more than one hundred independent newspapers, dozens of radio stations, and a nationwide independent television network;
- Freedom of movement has improved. In the last week of August more than 100,000 people crossed in the U.S. sector alone, bringing the six-month total to over 1.3 million crossings.

The United States and the international community has worked hard to help provide the Bosnian people with an opportunity to vote in a climate free of fear and intimidation. But let's be clear: our involvement does not extend to determining who they should vote for. We will respect the wishes of the Bosnian people.
Conditions for Elections

Q: Isn't it true that the conditions in Bosnia are such that holding "free and fair" elections is impossible?

--No.

--Conditions in Bosnia have changed dramatically for the better in the last year. After three and a half years of bloodshed, the people of Bosnia are turning from the horrors of war to the promise of peace.

--IFOR stopped the widespread killing of civilians, compelled the Parties to withdraw all forces behind a zone of separation and forced substantial compliance in withdrawing all heavy weapons and forces to cantonments. The parties have agreed to military confidence building measures and a verifiable arms control regime.

--We have no illusions that the conditions for elections will be perfect but they continue to improve, although not as quickly as we would like. For instance, some 10,000 people per day cross over the Inter-entity boundary line. Access by opposition parties to state-controlled broadcast media has improved. Registration by refugees and displaced persons has been high.

--Although the conditions on election day will not be pristine, we expect that the elections will be successful.

--The international community is making every effort to ensure that the elections are as free and fair as possible. We have confidence that the OSCE under the leadership of Ambassador Frowick will organize credible elections.

--The recent OSCE decision to postpone municipal elections shows how seriously the international community is taking the electoral process in Bosnia.

--The United States is doing its part: we have donated 15 million dollars to the election effort, in both direct contributions to the OSCE and support for media development and voter education programs.

--We continue to press the parties on the highest diplomatic levels to improve conditions for the elections and to create an environment in which all citizens can exercise their basic democratic rights without hindrance.
Q. Why have refugees not been able to return to their homes?

A. We are working with the UN High Commissioner on Refugees, IFOR, the High Representative and others to promote refugee return and resettlement. We have seen encouraging signs including the return of about 100,000 refugees.

A climate of reconciliation is necessary for full return of refugees and it will take time before the deep wounds of ethnic division are fully healed. It has only been a matter of months since the end of this horrific four year conflict. Elections and the building of national institutions are a critical early step in this reconciliation process.

All refugees will be able to participate in the elections. Over 640,000 have registered to vote by absentee ballot in their current home country. Of these, well over 70 percent decided to participate. Many additional refugees have decided to travel back home to participate directly in the elections.
Q. What steps are you taking to stop electoral intimidation tactics?

We will not tolerate intimidation tactics. The OSCE is vigorously enforcing the election rules and will strongly penalize those who employ intimidation tactics. The OSCE has the right to act decisively in case of abuses of election procedures, including fining or disqualifying candidates or parties involved in all types of electoral malfeasance.

Previously, the OSCE acted swiftly in response to election abuses, fining candidates and parties involved in irregular activities and banning seven SDA candidates from the elections in response to an attack on Bosnian opposition leader Haris Siladzic.

The OSCE will investigate allegations of fraud, abuse or intimidation on election day and can take steps if it determines such malfeasance has occurred, including invalidating the election of candidates involved in these activities.

Local police, the IPTF and IFOR are also working together to ensure the elections can be conducted in a secure environment. IFOR will not guard candidates, but is authorized to intervene in the event of violence.
Q. How can we proceed with elections when there is no freedom of movement between the Muslim-Croat Federation and the Bosnian Serb Republic?

A. Over the past few months, there has been a noticeable improvement in freedom of movement for individual Bosnians traveling across the inter-entity boundary line. For example, in the U.S. sector during the last week of August, an average of 15,600 Bosnians traveled between the Federation and Srpska per day -- over 100,000 in all. A total of 1.3 million people have made crossings in the U.S. sector since IFOR began tabulating crossings earlier this year.

Freedom of movement for voters on election day will be facilitated under a plan developed by the Bosnian Serb and Federation Interior Ministers and endorsed by IFOR, the IPTF and OSCE. Nineteen preferred voter routes for voters traveling in vehicles carrying eight or more passengers have been identified. These vehicles will be inspected and certified to travel to polling stations along routes that will be patrolled by IFOR. Demonstrations and gatherings along the routes are banned on election day.
Role of IFOR

Why won't IFOR guarantee security for voters?

--In fact IFOR will play a major role in ensuring that election day proceeds as smoothly as possible.

--IFOR's mission is to create an over-all environment of security in which the local authorities, working with the IPTF, can enforce the laws and regulate the voting. IFOR will therefore patrol, observe and respond to any threats which require major force. During the elections, IFOR will increase its presence along major roads and in areas of possible tension.

--In addition, IFOR, OSCE, and the IPTF have worked tirelessly since Dayton to make democratic elections possible in Bosnia.

--IFOR has provided essential logistical help to the OSCE to prepare for the elections and to provide important information to eligible voters about the registration and voting process. On election day, IFOR will help deliver blank ballots, collect completed ballots and transport them to counting-houses.

--Over three million people are eligible to vote either by absentee ballot or at one of the 4400 polling stations around the country. Voters are automatically registered in their place of residence in 1991 but may opt to re-register to vote in their current or desired place of residence. As a result, many thousands will travel to cast their ballots.

--IFOR has the authority to use force if people's lives are threatened.

--Some problems are bound to occur, given the hatred, violence and political turmoil that prevailed only a few months ago. But we are determined to help make the elections as free and fair as possible.
Refugee Voting

Q: What is the status with refugee voting? Do problems with refugees mean that the majority of the population will be effectively disenfranchised?

--There has been a very impressive interest among Bosnian refugees in voting. 641,000 refugees registered to vote, indicating the importance of the elections for the Bosnian people and their intention to participate fully in the process.

--This high number of voters registered in spite of some initial fears about maintaining refugee status due to the stipulation of the Peace Agreement that registration to vote indicates an intent to return home.

--Given the importance of the elections, a great deal of emphasis has been placed on refugee voting, which is taking place in 55 countries.

--Refugees are automatically registered to vote where they lived in 1991 but can re-register in their current or desired place of residence.

--The decision by the OSCE to postpone the municipal elections because of manipulation of refugee voting shows the determination of the OSCE to preserve the integrity of the electoral process.

--Since legitimate municipal governments will be essential for normalization of relations, including the return of refugees, it is essential that this vote be conducted effectively.

--A strong IFOR presence and good organization of voting outside of Bosnia promises that refugees will be able to make their voice heard in the national elections, which will proceed as scheduled.

--In general, however, we are disappointed with the rate of refugee return.

--Stumbling blocks to refugee return include the lack of housing and job opportunities. In spite of tremendous efforts by the international community, including UNHCR and the United States, reconstruction of housing and revitalization of local economies is not moving fast enough to accommodate the tremendous number of refugees waiting to return home.

--The parties committed themselves at Dayton to allow the return of refugees but UNHCR reports that it has been extremely difficult for people to return to areas in which they are ethnic minorities due to the hostility of the majority population and local officials.

--This is an indication of the deep animosity which still exists between the former warring parties and emphasizes the importance of the elections which will create the multi-ethnic government structures which will necessitate greater cooperation between the parties.
Q: So once you’ve legitimized nationalist forces through the elections, won’t that mean the end of the peace process?

--It has always been our expectation that we will continue to have to work hard to achieve the formation of governmental structures. However, the peace agreement contains levers and powers to keep the process going, for example:

- international financial and reconstruction assistance is predicated on cooperation with the peace agreement;
- relations with the five Contact Group countries and reintegration into the European economic and political system are tied to full implementation of the peace agreement; and
- IFOR will remain until the end of the year to reinforce the importance of acceptable implementation of the peace process, demonstrating the intent of the international community to secure stability in Bosnia.
Elections and Ethnic Cleansing

Q: Even if you manage to pull off the election, won’t it just legitimize the partition of the country along ethnic lines?

--The international community is working ceaselessly to produce elections which will be as free and fair as possible.

--Efforts to manipulate voter registration procedures on the municipal level in order to use the elections as a means of legitimizing ethnic cleansing have failed.

--By postponing municipal elections, the OSCE has demonstrated that it will not tolerate irregularities with the voting process.

--In the OSCE’s judgment, these irregularities do not affect the ability to move forward with effective elections at the national, entity and cantonal levels.

--We cannot second guess the election results. National elections provide the basis for setting up a single, democratically elected national government which reflects the people’s will. The elections were not designed to install anyone’s ideal candidate.

--The elections were not designed to transform Bosnian society overnight. We realize that some politicians with nationalist leanings may well be elected. We have to accept that to a considerable extent they probably represent the popular opinion in the entities.

--It would be worse to send an anti-democratic message that elections can be postponed arbitrarily if foreign powers or people of influence fear the results.
War Criminals

Why are Karadzic and Mladic still in power? Didn't the Administration promise that they would be gone by the elections?

--Through our intensive diplomatic effort we have removed Karadzic from his positions of political power. He has stepped down as President of Republika Srpska, resigned as leader of the Serbian Democratic Party, and has withdrawn from public life.

--The Peace Agreement stipulates that no one indicted or convicted by the International Tribunal in the Hague may run or hold elected office. Therefore the elections will help remove all war criminals from political life.

--The signatories to the Peace Agreement have the principal responsibility to enforce compliance with the Agreement and with the arrest warrants issued by the Tribunal. We regularly make clear to the parties their obligations to ensure compliance, including the requirement to hand over war criminals, as an essential part of the peace process.

--We will not be satisfied until all those indicted for war crimes, including Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic, are delivered to the Hague and we have no doubt that they will eventually end up before the Tribunal.

--In the meantime, we will continue firmly to insist that Karadzic abide fully by his agreement to refrain from any and all political activity.
Next Steps

Q: What are the next steps after the election?

--The hard work to build a unified, peaceful and democratic Bosnia will continue after the election. Our task now will be to fully put the structures of government in place and to continue to consolidate civilian reconstruction.

--The U.S.-led train and equip program will provide the Federation with the force structure necessary to create a military balance of power in the region. The International Police Task Force will continue to work with local authorities to train local civilian police forces. We will continue to support the work of the UNHCR to facilitate the return of refugees to their homes. Finally, we will continue to pressure the parties until all those indicted by the Tribunal in the Hague stand trial.

--In order to build the momentum for peace, we will continue to promote economic revitalization efforts in five principle areas:

- emergency shelter repair
- municipal infrastructure reconstruction
- business loans
- technical assistance to reform the economic system
- democratic reform, including support for political party building, civic education, and independent media.

--These are the building blocks of a lasting peace in Bosnia, and it will take time, effort and will to put them in place.
Success of the Peace Process

Q: Can you guarantee that the peace process will work?

--The engagement of the international community in Bosnia has been tremendous. Countries have contributed troops to IFOR, personnel to staff the Office of the High Representative, OSCE, and the International Police Task Force. At the Donors' Conference in Brussels, 1.8 billion dollars was pledged in reconstruction assistance for this year alone.

--In the end, however, it is the parties and the Bosnian people who must opt for peace. President Clinton made clear the point of this extraordinary international effort: to give the people of Bosnia breathing room to rebuild their lives and their land and to give peace a chance to take on a life and logic of its own.

--After so much bloodshed and loss, there is no guarantee that Muslims, Croats and Serbs will come together--and stay together--as citizens of a shared state with a common destiny. But the goal of the peace process was to give them a chance to try.
MR. BURNS: Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen. Welcome to the State Department briefing. Good afternoon, welcome to the briefing. I would like to congratulate Barry Schweid and David Ensor. I think they're the only two individuals of the 14 who travelled with us who made it in today. Oh, Charlie, I'm sorry. I'm sorry, Charlie -- and Charles Wolfson of the Colombia Broadcasting System. Good to see you all.

I have a couple of announcements of events here this week, and I have a word to say on Bosnia. Then I'll be glad to go to your questions.

I would like to welcome to the briefing today 12 of our Foreign Service Nationals who are all Information Specialists at USIA posts around the world. They are in the United States for three weeks of information and media training. They're from India, Tunisia, Algeria, Zambia, the Philippines, Estonia, Ethiopia, Yemen, Japan, the Dominican Republic, and Mongolia. I just want to welcome you because there are Foreign Service Nationals around the world who are the backbone of all our Embassy and Consulate operations and we could not have diplomatic missions around the world without you. All of you are working in an area that's of interest to all of these people here as well. So I want to welcome you and hope that this is an interesting session for you. I'm sure the journalists will make it an interesting session.

I also want to let you know about the Secretary's schedule today. The Secretary, as three of your colleagues who are here know, returned yesterday afternoon from a five-day trip to Europe. He feels it was a very successful trip. He feels that it demonstrated the fundamental importance that our alliance relationships have for the United States -- with Britain, France and Germany. That was true as we discussed NATO adaptation and the NATO enlargement issue.
Now, just a word on Bosnia. We are five days away from very important elections in Bosnia. Despite some conventional wisdom on the op-ed pages and even in some of the press coverage that somehow these elections are going to be the standard by which to judge the success or failure of the Dayton Accords, I would just like to say the following.

These elections are important because they will lead the way to the creation of the new institutions that will be the foundation of the new state that emerges from this Dayton process. But these elections were never designed to be the final examination for the Dayton Accords. They were never designed to be the end of the process. In fact, in a very real sense, they're the beginning of the process.

Everything that we've done up to now, over the last 12 months -- stopping the war, negotiating the peace agreement, introducing the more than 50,000 NATO troops, separating the military forces, trying to effect the return of refugees, trying to rebuild the country -- everything that we've done is to lead to the point where new institutions are created -- a new presidency, a new legislature, a new bank, a new court -- so that the Bosnian people, together, can run the country again after five years of division and warfare.

The elections are the first step in the transition to that new process. They are not the final step. But to raise some of the criticism of the elections over the weekend and last week, you would think that they were the final step. I'd just like to, with all due respect to those putting that line forward -- former Secretaries of State and others -- I'd like to respectfully disagree.

I think it's a fundamental truism that there needs to be a first election before there can be a second election.

The peace negotiations -- the process of peace -- cannot go forward without these first elections. It is also true, and we have said this -- the Secretary said it on his trip to Sarajevo and he said it again last week -- that these elections will not look like elections in northern Europe or in the United States. They occur after a terrible war and with terrible social and economic dislocations. They will be imperfect, but we believe they can be effective as a first step in this transitional process towards a new state. We believe that they can be democratic.

They will also be the first time in five years that the various ethnic groups -- the Muslims, the Croats, and the Serbs -- together participate in a national event; the very first time that has happened in five years.
As Foreign Minister Prlic said the other day, "No elections, no Bosnia." So our question to those who are calling for the postponement of the elections is the following. What is your alternative? When would you propose to have these elections? Would you propose that they be held next month, 1997, three years from now? There's no better place to begin than now.

The final point I would make is, I think, the most fundamental. In a democracy -- and no one is saying that Bosnia is a perfect democracy, but the Bosnians have aspirations to build a democracy -- the people ultimately have to decide questions. People have to decide. Let's let the people of Bosnia, among the various ethnic groups, decide what kind of a state they're going to have and what kind of people will represent them in the national institutions of that state.

Let's not let former public officials, bureaucrats and outsiders decide this question. Let's let the Bosnian people decide. That is fundamentally why we should go forward with this election.

There's been some recent polling done by USIA. In fact, they did a poll of 3,085 people among the various ethnic groups. This poll conducted between the 10th of July and the 2nd of August. One question was, "How likely is it that you'll vote in the upcoming election?" Ninety-five percent of the Bosnian Serbs said they would vote; 92 percent of the Bosnian Croats; 95 percent of the Bosnian Muslims.

"How important is it, do you think, that you vote in the upcoming election?" All of the various groups responded. Ninety percent for the Bosnian Serbs; 97 percent for the Bosnian Muslims. All political parties favor these elections. All members of the Contact Group favor these elections. So we think we ought to go forward with these elections.

I would just respectfully submit that despite all the criticism on the op-ed pages, this is the right decision for the Bosnian people and the right decision for the United States.

Two more notes and then we'll go to questions, Barry. Just two more things, and then we'll go to Bosnia.

The State Department is hosting a Minority Business Conference on September 11th. Secretary Christopher, Secretary of Commerce, Mickey Kantor, and Charlene Barshefsky, the Acting U.S. Trade Representative, will all participate in this conference. There are public aspects to
this that you might be interested in. I'm posting a press statement on this.

Last, tomorrow, our professional school -- our School of Professional and Area Studies over at the National Foreign Affairs Training Center in Virginia -- is sponsoring a seminar on environmental issues which is open to the press. This seminar will feature a keynote speech by Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott on the importance of environmental issues in our foreign policy.

Tim Wirth will lead a panel discussion on global climate change. Assistant Secretary Eileen Claussen will moderate a panel discussion on international trade and the environment.

As you know, since Secretary Christopher's Stanford speech of a couple months back, we've tried to accentuate the discussion of the environment in our foreign policy issues. All of these panel discussions and Deputy Secretary Talbott's speech are open to the press tomorrow. If you're interested in going over there, just see somebody in the press office. I will post a statement on this.

Barry.

Q I was wondering about Bosnia. I was listening very closely but I don't know that you said that the elections will be free and fair. What is the current outlook?

MR. BURNS: No, I did not use those words.

Q You've been describing them as not a Jeffersonian model, but will they be relatively free and fair elections, do you suppose?

MR. BURNS: I think rational expectations for this election would be that they would be effective and democratic. Given the fact that they do not occur in Charlottesville, Virginia, or Manchester, England -- they occur in Bosnia which has seen war and division and economic and social dislocation.

Something I meant to say and forgot to, it's very important. There's been a lot of talk during the recent campaign there, mainly from Bosnian Serbs, about secession as an option for the Bosnian Serbs should they not like the results of the coming elections. I would just like to remind those people, among the Bosnian Serb leadership who are putting this forward, that under the Dayton agreement the elections were explicitly designed to protect the continuity of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
The Dayton Accords do not allow secession by entities or any party or any constituent peoples in this country. On the contrary, the Dayton Accords talk about committing the parties to the sovereignty, the territorial integrity, and the independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

So no matter what they're saying during the campaign, any candidate who has chosen to run for office in this campaign is explicitly committing himself or herself to living in the state and working within the state in the future and not to secession.

I think that if any party came forward and tried to promote secession after the elections, it would be met by a very stiff rebuff not only from inside the country but from outside, and led by the United States.

Q The ICRC and others are estimating that there may be as many as two million Bosnians who have yet to be able to return to their homes. How are these people going to vote in absentia in anything that would represent a free and fair election?

MR. BURNS: As you know, thousands of them have already voted as refugees by absentee ballot, including many thousands who live currently in the United States. In addition to that, those refugees who are on the territory of the country now can elect to vote either where they are -- to the point to which they've been dislocated -- or they can go back to their hometown or where they were during the census of 1991.

IFOR has committed that it will provide protection for those who hope to return. There will be over 4,500 polling places next Saturday for the voting. It's not going to be possible, obviously, to have a soldier protect each person, each refugee, who wishes to return. But I think in terms of general security, IFOR is going to select its concentration of forces at those places where we think it is most likely that there will be problems, much as IFOR did during the elections in Mostar during the summer.

This has been worked out on a very careful basis by IFOR and the OSCE. We are confident that these conditions will be present for secure elections and for people to feel that they can return to their place of origin should they wish to do so.

Q Can you tell us more about the post-election period; that transition period? You said that Bosnia is a sovereign country, united and everything. I assume that it
is not a new country; it is Bosnia from 1992, recognized by
the United Nations, even after elections.

MR. BURNS: The process for the post-election -- it’s
a very important process. The people who are elected to the
presidency and the legislature, the court and the bank are
going to have to get together and agree on the formation of
these institutions so that the new state can effectively
take the place of much of the governing authority that
currently exists. That is a process in which the United
States, Carl Bildt, other countries, will be centrally
involved in the latter part of September and October and
November of this year.

Q It’s a new country or just following something
after elections? Is it new Bosnia, completely new?

MR. BURNS: The institutions are those which were
agreed upon during the Dayton process, and the country here,
obviously, is the country that existed in 1992, yes.

Still on Bosnia?

Q Yes.

MR. BURNS: Yes, David.

Q You addressed all the editorials in a broad
sense, but I’d like to come back to you with some of the
points -- well, one of the points that some of them made in
a more specific sense.

You say let the people decide, but can the people
really decide in a situation where many have argued there is
not freedom of movement, there is not freedom of the press
in the true sense, there is not freedom of speech, where
there is intimidation of voters, and where there are parties
which stand for partition which have not been questioned and
have been allowed to run candidates by the OSCE, even though
the Dayton accords specify that the OSCE can eliminate these
parties, if they wish to, if they publicly stand for things
like partition.

Can there be a choice by the people under these
circumstances?

MR. BURNS: We believe there can be. We’ve been the
first to point out that the conditions here are highly
imperfect for elections. As outsiders, we can’t determine
that we ought to postpone the elections now and pick some
date in the future when conditions will be demonstrably
better for these elections. We might have to wait for four
or five years if you want to have a Jeffersonian standard
for these elections. We may have to wait for 25 years before those standards exist.

But in the meantime, we’ve got business to do here, and the business is that the representatives of these people -- the Serbs, the Croats and the Moslems, got together in Dayton, Ohio, last autumn, and they agreed there should be elections and a new set of institutions.

We have got to get to that point and then move beyond that point in this process, because elections are not the final step, as some of the Op-Ed writers would have us believe, to judge the success or failure of this peace effort.

The OSCE has been active in making sure that indicted war criminals do not participate in the elections, do not run for office -- and none of them are currently running for office -- and, as you know, Secretary Christopher asked Dick Holbrooke to broker an accord back on July 19th which prohibits the Bosnian Serbs from having Mr. Karadzic play a central role in this campaign. Despite the fact that some people bring posters of him to election rallies, he hasn’t been involved in the campaign. He hasn’t been on the radio. He hasn’t been on the television, and he hasn’t been out barnstorming. I think that’s a positive thing.

David, you talk about people running for office who stand for partition -- this has to be a free vote. People running for office have a variety of different viewpoints, and we cannot simply say those of you who believe in this are not eligible to participate.

We have to respect not only the views of the people running for the elections, but we’ve got to respect the results of the election, once the election is held, and we’re prepared to do that.

Q Follow up on Bosnia. Are you yet -- have you yet been authorized to state publicly that the Administration favors the formation of a follow-on force to replace IFOR once it withdraws and that American troops are going to have to be in Bosnia well after the turn of the year?

MR. BURNS: The United States believes it is not possible to even address that question in any kind of rational way right now until we see what happens this weekend during the elections and we see what happens in the aftermath -- the immediate aftermath of the elections. We’ve said that at some point this autumn, probably in October or November, we will get together with our NATO allies and the others participating in IFOR and discuss what
is logical; what makes sense in terms of ensuring the continuation of the movement -- the general movement forward during the last 11 or 12 months in Bosnian itself.

But we can't possibly make any decisions now until we see what the landscape looks like following the elections. The key event following the elections will be the establishment of the Presidency and the legislature and the court and the bank, and that's where we're going to place most of our, I think, political efforts following the elections for the rest of September and into October.

Q Isn't the Defense Ministerial at the end of September the moment when this decision has to be made and announced?

MR. BURNS: I don't know that that issue is formally on the agenda yet, but it wouldn't surprise me in the least if they discussed that issue. There are variety of other places where we can talk to the Europeans and to the others -- by phone, in meetings, by letter -- and I'm sure we'll do that.

You got the very specific question: What is our policy? We can't decide what the policy is going to be until we see what the landscape looks like following these elections, and at that point we will, of course, engage in discussions with our allies about this question.

Henry.

Q Just a variation on the same question, since you raised the issue of former Secretary of State's Op-Ed activities. In that article, critical of the decision for American troops to leave in December, the allies, or many of them, are suggesting that there is a whispering campaign going on that suggests that if the Administration is re-elected, the Americans may stay on.

First of all, is the decision final that American troops will leave, just for the record? And, secondly, is that up for negotiation with the allies?

MR. BURNS: The President's decision to keep American forces in Bosnia for roughly a year has not changed. There's been no change in the U.S. position. And I also just told David what Secretary Christopher and Secretary Perry have been saying for four to six weeks, and that is that at some point after these elections, and probably sooner rather than later, we will be open to discussing the particular issue of what should happen with our allies.
Q Does that hold out the hope that the Americans may extend their stay in Bosnia?

MR. BURNS: You probably think that I'm dodging the question, but I'm really not. What I'm trying to say here, maybe unsuccessfully -- let me try one more time -- is that we don't believe it is intellectually possible or conceptually possible to make this decision of whether or not IFOR should stay, whether or not there should be a follow-on to IFOR. It's not possible to have a discussion about that until these elections are held this weekend, we see what the results are, and we see how the parties react as they begin to build and actually start the new institutions that will run the country.

At that point we'll have a much better idea. That point is not too far away. But that's been our position all along. As for policy decisions, our policy decisions, therefore, on IFOR have not changed. The President said roughly a year, and that is still the position of the United States.

Q Just a quick follow-up on that. Does the State Department understand, believe or accept that the other nations will leave if the Americans will leave?

MR. BURNS: We've had a variety of discussions, and I think different countries have different positions on that issue.

Q Just to follow up on the same point, really. Other people closely involved in the process, such as Carl Bildt, think it's not only possible but necessary to begin talking very directly about this issue. He was quoted in an interview this weekend, saying he thought troops, including American ground troops, should be in Bosnia at least until the beginning of 1998. Why is it the United States is unable to even start thinking, as you put it, about this until after the elections?

MR. BURNS: Mr. Bildt is free to have his own views. I'm simply expressing the clearly held views of our leadership, and again I think you know what those views are. It's not a question of being unwilling to talk to you about this. We are unable to talk about it until we see the results of the elections, and that's a very important substantive difference, whether some people are out there saying the troops ought to stay for one year or two years or ten years.

Q Well, the decision has got to be made before, say, the first week of November?
MR. BURNS: We'll just have to see how the situation proceeds. I can't foresee when a decision is made.

Q Well, forgive me, but can you tell us --

MR. BURNS: And I have no idea why you chose that date.

Q Can you tell us what it is -- can you put on record just what is so important about these elections that affect that decision?

MR. BURNS: Because the elections -- if you will, everything that has happened since November 21 has led to this coming Saturday. There's been a logical sequence of events, and I named those at the beginning of the briefing -- I won't go through them again -- that have led to this point.

After the elections are held, the key event will be the establishment of the institutions produced by the elections and the people who will occupy the national offices. That is in effect a fundamental turning point for the Bosnian people, and it is the first step -- these elections are the first step in a new stage of this drama that has unfolded over the last five years, from war to peace.

Until we see what transpires with the elections -- the conditions in which they are held, how the voting is carried out, who wins the election, what those people say and what they do in establishing the institutions -- we cannot answer the question, "Is there a need for a follow-on force."

Q What if there is an invitation to stay from a subsequent government?

MR. BURNS: That would be one factor to look at but by no means the only factor. We will do what's in our national interest.

Final question on Bosnia to Mr. Lambros.

Q Do you have any comment on Henry Kissinger's opinion, who is suggesting the use of massive force instead of elections?

MR. BURNS: We think it's better to let people decide on a democratic basis their future, and I think that's a pretty clear way of responding to that assertion.

Okay, next issue.
IFOR ROLE IN THE PEACE PROCESS

THE MISSION:
The Implementation Force (IFOR) mission is to monitor and enforce compliance with the military aspects of the Peace Agreement. UNSCR 1031 provides the mandate for a one-year IFOR mission as described in the agreement. The North Atlantic Council has authorized IFOR for this period. The military tasks include:

- to ensure self defense and freedom of movement.
- to supervise selective marking of boundaries and Zone of Separation (ZOS) between the parties.
- to monitor and — if needed — enforce the withdrawal of forces to their respective territories, and the establishment of Zones of Separation.
- to assume control of the airspace over Bosnia-Herzegovina and of the movement of military traffic over key ground routes.
- to establish Joint Military Commissions, to serve as the central bodies for all Parties to the Peace Agreement.
- to assist with the withdrawal of UN forces not transferred to IFOR.

The deployment of the IFOR has also created a more secure environment which facilitates the work of humanitarian organizations and the accomplishment of the non-military aspects of the settlement. Within its capabilities and resources, and the limits imposed by carrying out its key military tasks, the IFOR may also:

- help to create secure conditions for the conduct by others of non-military tasks associated with the Peace Agreement, including free and fair elections;
- assist UNHCR and other international organizations in their humanitarian missions and assist the movement of these organizations;
- assist in the observation and prevention of interference with the movement of civilian populations, refugees and displaced persons, and respond appropriately to deliberate violence to life and person;
- assist in the monitoring of the clearance of minefields and obstacles.

IFOR's primary mission continues. IFOR will pursue its tasks of ensuring respect for the cessation of hostilities and the Zone of Separation. It will strictly hold the Parties to compliance with cantonment and demobilization of forces and will take appropriate action to prevent any new threats to the peace. It will continue to remove impediments to freedom of movement and to project a sense of security throughout the country. As before, all these tasks will be carried out in an even-handed manner. It will remain ready to support the UN Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia.

As the Peace Agreement states, other organizations are responsible for tasks related to nation building. These include conducting humanitarian missions; granting election security; police force duties; moving refugees; and implementing arms control and regional stability measures.
**ACHIEVEMENTS:**
The IFOR mission has been successful since its very early stages with substantial compliance with the Peace Agreement by all parties. In particular:

- IFOR's authority is unchallenged. IFOR has complete freedom of movement.
- No significant military activity has been conducted by the Parties throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- Air defense radar's are shut down.
- Negotiations — under the auspices of the OSCE — discussing confidence-building and arms reductions issues occurred.
- Parties complied with IFOR instructions to vacate selected positions along the confrontation line in the Sarajevo area.
- Within 30 days from the Transfer of Authority (on 20 Dec. 95) from UNPF to IFOR, forces were withdrawn from the zones of separation, despite some local problems of shortage of fuel and mechanical difficulties. Some weapons and ammunition which it had not been possible to remove have been destroyed by IFOR.
- Within 45 days from the Transfer of Authority, forces were withdrawn from areas designated by the Peace Agreement for transfer to another Party.
- Within 120 days from the Transfer of Authority, most of the heavy weapons and of the non-demobilized forces were moved to cantonment/barracks or designated areas.
- IFOR works with other organizations, i.e. IPTF, UNHCR, OSCE, and the ICTY, to promote the civil aspects of the Peace Agreement which are essential to the long term consolidation of peace in Bosnia Herzegovina.
- IFOR will continue to assist efforts, such as: the conduct of elections, the return of refugees and displaced persons, the maintenance of law and order and the investigation of war crimes.

**BROADER CONTRIBUTIONS:**
- The NATO-led operation in Bosnia Joint Endeavor is NATO's first-ever ground force operation, its first-ever deployment "out of area".
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- NATO's own military capabilities and its adaptability to include forces of non-NATO countries are decisive factors in the Alliance's role in implementing the military aspects of the Bosnian Peace Agreement.
- This operation shows that the Alliance remains vital, relevant and prepared to deal with the new, multifaceted security risks facing Europe with the end of the Cold War.

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as of 9/4/96
IFOR ROLE IN THE PEACE PROCESS
DETAILED VERSION

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BACKGROUND AND HIGHLIGHTS:
In the light of the peace agreement initiated in Dayton November 21, 1995, the North Atlantic Council gave provisional approval to the overall military plan and authorized on December 1, 1995, the Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR) to deploy Enabling Forces into Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Additionally, SACEUR tasked the Commander-in-Chief Southern Europe to assume control of assigned NATO land, air and maritime forces as the Commander IFOR. Movement of these forces began on December 2, 1995.

On December 5, 1995, NATO Foreign and Defense Ministers endorsed the military planning for IFOR. On the same day the Acting Secretary General announced that fourteen non-NATO countries which had expressed interest in participating would be invited to contribute to the IFOR: Austria, Czech Republic, Estonia, Finland, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Russia, Slovakia, Sweden and Ukraine. Fifteen NATO nations (Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom and United States) pledge to contribute armed forces to IFOR. Iceland is providing medical personnel to IFOR.
The Peace Agreement, also known as the General Framework Agreement for Peace (GFAP) in Bosnia and Herzegovina, was formally signed in Paris on December 14, 1995.

On December 15, 1995 the United Nation Security Council — acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations — adopted the resolution 1031, which authorized the Member States to establish a multinational military Implementation Force (IFOR), under unified command and control and composed of ground, air and maritime units from NATO and non-NATO nations, to ensure compliance with the relevant provisions of the Peace Agreement.

On December 16, 1995, the North Atlantic Council approved the overall plan for the Implementation Force and directed that NATO commence operation "Joint Endeavor" and begin deploying the main Implementation Force into Bosnia that same day.

The Force has a unified command and is NATO-led, under the political direction and control of the North Atlantic Council and under the overall military authority of NATO's Supreme Allied Commander Europe, General George Joulwan; the responsibility as Commander-in-Theater was assigned to Admiral Leighton W. Smith, Commander-in-Chief Allied Forces Southern Europe, who assumed command of IFOR. The IFOR operates under clear NATO Rules of Engagement, which provide for robust use of force if necessary.

The transfer of authority from the Commander of UN Peace Forces to the Commander of IFOR took place on December, 20, 1995. Over 17,000 troops were available to IFOR.

On December 21, 1995, the first meeting of the Joint Military Commission (JMC), a consultative body for COMIFOR, took place in Sarajevo. Based on the terms of the Peace Agreement, the JMC is a multi-level central body to which the signatories may bring any military complaints, questions or problems.

On January 19, 1996, withdrawal of the forces of all parties behind the Zones of Separation, which included Sarajevo and Gorazde, was completed.

On February 3, 1996, the parties fulfilled their obligations to withdraw from areas to be transferred. Some reported violations were attributed mainly to ignorance and lack of leadership rather than deliberate non-compliance.

On February 18, 1996, the Parties reaffirmed in Rome their commitment to the Peace Agreement. Additionally, SACEUR reported to the Secretary General of NATO the completion of the initial deployment of IFOR. Thirty-two nations participated in the deployment; 50,000 troops provided by NATO nations and 10,000 from non-NATO contributors.

The following non-NATO countries contribute to the deployment of IFOR: Austria, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Egypt, Estonia, Finland, Hungary, Jordan, Latvia, Lithuania, Malaysia,
Morocco, Poland, Romania, the Russian Federation, Sweden and the Ukraine. Slovakia, is contributing civilian personnel.

On February 26, 1996, the Secretary General of NATO transmitted a progress report to the UN Secretary General which affirmed that Bosnian Serb forces had withdrawn from the zones of separation established in the Peace Agreement. Consequently, the UN Security Council announced on February 27, 1996 that the economic sanctions imposed on the Bosnian Serb party were suspended indefinitely.

On March 14, 1996, pursuant to resolution 724 (1991), the UN Security Council Committee established issued a statement confirming the termination of the embargo on delivery of weapons and military equipment to the former Yugoslavia.

On March 20, 1996, 91 days after TRANSFER OF AUTHORITY, COMARRC completed his assessment of compliance with the military aspects of the GFAP.

On March 30, 1996, Muslim and Croat partners in the Bosnian Federation signed an agreement aimed at strengthening the new institution. The agreement marked progress on critical aspects necessary to establish a functioning Federation, including the merging of customs, a joint military command, and amendments to the constitutions.

On April 18, 1996, D+120 (the last deadline in the military annex of the Peace Agreement), it was assessed that the parties were on their way toward compliance with the requirements for cantonment of heavy weapons and forces and their mobilization. Full compliance was not yet achieved, but it seemed to reflect practical difficulties, rather than an absence of intent.

On April 29, 1996, the North Atlantic Council issued a declaration on IFOR’s role in the transition to peace.

On June 3, 1996, the North Atlantic Council stated that IFOR would be maintained at approximately its current force levels until after the elections and would retain its overall capability until December, when its mandate ends.

On June 18, 1996, the UN Security Council lifted the heavy weapons embargo on the Former Yugoslavia. As a consequence, the NATO/WEU embargo enforcement operation Sharp Guard was suspended.

On July 1, 1996, Bosnia’s first free elections since the end of the war were held in Mostar.

On July 31, 1996, Adm. T. Joseph Lopez relieved Adm. Leighton Smith as COMIFOR.

as of 8/4/96
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- NATO's own military capabilities and its adaptability to include forces of non-NATO countries are decisive factors in the Alliance's role in implementing the military aspects of the Bosnian Peace Agreement.
- This operation shows that the Alliance remains vital, relevant and prepared to deal with the new, multifaceted security risks facing Europe with the end of the Cold War.
Fact Sheet

Bosnia Chronology
July 1995-August 1996

Fact sheet prepared by the Bureau of European and Canadian Affairs.

1995

• July 1995. After the tragic fall of Srebrenica and Zepa, President Clinton insisted that NATO and the UN make good on their commitment to protect the safe areas.
  • Late July. At a Ministerial-level conference of key Allies in London, the Allies agreed to the U.S. position, threatening decisive air strikes if UN safe areas were attacked.
  • August 28. Mortar shells killed 37 people and wounded 85 in Sarajevo's Central Market. NATO issued an ultimatum to the Serbs:
    —Stop shelling Sarajevo;
    —Stop offensive action around the remaining safe areas;
    —Withdraw your heavy weapons from around Sarajevo; and
    —Allow road and air access to Sarajevo.
  • August 30. After the Serbs refused ultimatum, NATO began heavy and continuous air strikes against the Bosnian Serb military—with many missions flown by American pilots. The Serbs then complied with the NATO demands.
  • Mid-August. U.S. negotiators, supported by Contact Group partners, began engaging in intensive shuttle diplomacy with the parties to the conflict.
  • September 8 (Geneva) and September 26 (New York). At meetings of the Foreign Ministers of Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia, the Contact Group convinced the Serbs to agree to basic principles:
    —Preservation of Bosnia as a single state;
    —51/49 division of territory between the Muslim/Croat Federation and a Serb Republic as the basis for a territorial solution;
    —Constitutional structures; and
    —Democratic elections.
  • October 12. The warring factions agreed to a cease-fire.

1996

• November 1. The United States and other Contact Group countries convened the parties to Dayton, Ohio to begin "Proximity Peace Talks."
• November 21. The participants in the Dayton Talks initialled a peace accord, the Dayton Peace Agreement.
• December 14. With President Clinton and the other Contact Group leaders present, the Presidents of Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia signed the Dayton Peace Agreement in Paris.
• December 16. The North Atlantic Council approved deployment of the IFOR main force and General George Joulwan formally ordered NATO forces to deploy to Bosnia.
• December 20. The transfer of authority from UNPROFOR to IFOR took place.

• January 19, 1996. As called for in the Dayton Peace Agreement, the Parties completed the withdrawal of their forces behind the Zones of Separation patrolled by IFOR.
• February 1. International Police Task Force (IPTF) Commissioner Fitzpatrick arrived in Sarajevo to head what would become a force of 1,700 police monitors—including 160 Americans.
• March 25. The First Lady traveled to Bosnia. During her trip she announced a $29 million Emergency Shelter Repair Program to be implemented by USAID.
• April 3. The Federation Forum was inaugurated—the Forum brought Muslim and Croat leaders together to help cement the institutions of the Federation, one of the two entities of the Bosnian state.
• April 14. At a donors' conference in Brussels, pledges by the international community reached $1.8 billion for the reconstruction of Bosnia. The United States pledged $282 million.
• April 18. The Parties largely completed the withdrawal of heavy weapons and forces to cantonment/barracks areas and demobilized their forces.
• April 25. The Provisional Election Commission (PEC) published the election rules.
• May 14. At a Blair House plenary of the Federation Forum, the President and Vice-President met with Federation leaders and key defense issues were decided.
• June 14. The Parties signed the Agreement on Sub-regional Arms Control of the Former Yugoslavia at the mid-term review conference in Florence, the first verifiable arms control pact in the history of the region.
• June 17. The arms embargo on Bosnia was ended.
• June 25. OSCE Chairman Flavio Cotti certified that Bosnian elections would take place on September 14.
• June 26. The President certified to the Congress that all foreign forces had left Bosnia.
• July 8. The Federation passed the Defense Law, clearing the final barrier for the "Train and Equip" program. This will provide military support to the Federation in order to reestablish the military balance in the region.
• July 9. Special Envoy Richard Holbrooke negotiated an agreement under which Radovan Karadzic withdrew from public life and all positions of influence.
• August 15. Secretary of State Christopher traveled to Sarajevo and reopened the international airport.
• August 23. Croatia and the Former Yugoslavia signed a treaty normalizing relations.
• August 27. The OSCE announced that, due to voter manipulation, municipal elections scheduled for September 14 would be postponed. However, elections at the national, entity, and cantonal levels are to go forward on September 14 as scheduled and refugee voting by absentee ballot began as scheduled.
• August 31. The administrative structure "Herceg-Bosna" was legally dissolved and its functions turned over to the Federation.

U.S. Department of State
Bureau of Public Affairs
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http://www.state.gov

September 3, 1996
Fact Sheet

Implementing the Dayton Peace Agreement: Elections

Fact sheet prepared by the Bureau of European and Canadian Affairs.

• In accordance with the Peace Agreement, elections will take place within nine months after the agreement entered into force, that is, on September 14.
• The parties agreed to this ambitious timetable since the elections will bring into being the multi-ethnic government structure outlined in the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Elections pave the way for a long-term peace.
• Officials will be elected to fill the offices of a unified Bosnian state. These elections will lead to the creation of institutions at the national and entity levels, thereby turning the promise of Dayton into a reality. Elections will also further diminish the political influence of anyone accused of war crimes, since those indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal in The Hague are forbidden from running in the elections or holding office.
• The Dayton Peace Agreement gives the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) overall responsibility for supervising the preparation and conduct of elections. OSCE Mission Head Robert Frowick and his staff have worked tirelessly to make arrangements which will enhance the integrity of the electoral process.
• The Provisional Election Commission (PEC), composed of Bosnian Muslim, Serb, and Croat members, as well as international representatives and elections experts, is charged with promulgating the election regulations under the auspices of the OSCE. Through participation in the PEC, the parties have a voice in the conduct of the elections. Opposition parties meet with the PEC in an advisory capacity.
• In the last months, the PEC has established voter rolls and registration rules for parties, candidates, and voters; determined where people can vote; arranged for an absentee voting system; determined media rules for the campaign; and set up an effective system for monitoring the elections.
• The voter registration rules provide for universal suffrage based on the 1991 census but make provisions for people to apply to the OSCE to vote in the municipality of their current residence if they desire. Registration began on June 8. Forty-nine parties and 33 independent candidates have registered to participate in the elections.
• The United States has ensured that a steady flow of American technical and financial support has reached both the PEC and the OSCE Mission.
• IFOR is currently providing 46 CIMIC (Civil-Military Information Center) officers to the OSCE specifically to assist with the planning for the elections. Additionally, IFOR is printing and distributing voter lists, voter registration, and educational material. IFOR is providing access to its flights for OSCE members and is providing communications support, mine awareness training, and emergency medical support to the OSCE. IFOR is using its information campaign to educate voters. Specifically, within the U.S.-led Multinational Division North, troops have surveyed some 1,557 polling stations.
• IFOR will provide military security, while other agencies enforce laws and regulate voting. Specifically, IFOR troops will patrol, observe, and respond to threats that require major force. They will monitor major highways, intersections, and bridges. IFOR will also help deliver ballots and transport them to counting houses.
• The difficulties of knitting together a society devastated by war make perfect elections unlikely. Nevertheless, the OSCE has certified that the elections will take place under the timetable set by the Peace Agreement, since they represent such a crucial step in the long road toward a lasting peace in Bosnia. The United States and other members of the international community supported the OSCE’s determination to hold elections according to schedule and are confident they will be conducted in an effective manner.

U.S. Department of State
Bureau of Public Affairs
Office of Public Communication

September 3, 1996
Elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Basic Statistics

Fact sheet prepared by the Bureau of European and Canadian Affairs.

- The September 14, 1996, elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina will establish the new government institutions for both the national government and for the two entities, the Federation and the Republika Srpska. The elections will make it possible to fulfill the Dayton Peace Agreement's goal of a unified, democratic state.

- Voters will elect the three-member presidency and the 42-member House of Representatives of the central government. They will also elect the cantonal assemblies in the Federation, the legislatures of the Federation and of Republika Srpska, and the presidency of Republika Srpska. Municipal elections will be held at a later date. A total of 49 parties have been certified.

- Nearly 4,400 polling stations will be established by 130 Local Election Commissions. Polls will be open from 7:00 a.m. to 7:00 p.m. Any voter in line at the closing time will be permitted to vote.

- The OSCE has established 30 field offices to oversee the election and will deploy over 1,200 supervisors to assist with logistics and to ensure the secrecy of the vote and the accuracy of the vote count. The OSCE is also responsible for assuring security for the elections and is working closely with IFOR and the UN force of police monitors.

- The OSCE is coordinating the work of over 700 international elections observers, who will provide independent verification of the election.

- The United States will send a Presidential delegation of about 15 members from the private sector and government.

- Any Bosnian may vote in the election in the place of residence given in the 1991 census. Over a million persons have re-registered to vote by absentee ballot or to change their voting residence. Among these are over 640,000 refugees and other Bosnians resident in 55 countries and territories.

- In the United States, 13,016 Bosnians have registered to vote. Registration was handled by the League of Women Voters under a grant from the U.S. Department of State.

- The vast majority of Bosnian citizens believe it is important to vote and intend to do so. A poll commissioned by the U.S. Information Agency indicated that 95% of Bosnian Serbs, 92% of Bosnian Croats, and 95% of Bosnian Muslims say that it is likely that they will vote. In addition, the vast majority of all three ethnic groups believe that the elections should be held as scheduled in September and that to delay the elections would risk widening ethnic divisions.
U.S. and International Community Support for Bosnian Elections

The United States has worked closely with the Office of the High Representative (OHR), the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the NATO-led IFOR, the International Police Task Force (IPTF) and other organizations to ensure the Bosnian elections on September 14 are as free and fair as possible.

- **The OSCE, with strong U.S. support, has organized the national, entity and cantonal elections and will supervise voting on election day.**
  
  ⇒ **A Massive Logistics Effort:** OSCE organized from the ground up a democratic process enabling over 3 million people to vote at one of 4400 polling stations around the country or by absentee ballot.

  ⇒ **Ballots, Registration, Voter Rolls:** OSCE conducted a massive registration effort of voters and printed and organized the distribution of millions of ballots and thousands of voter rolls.

  ⇒ **Observers and Monitors:** The presence of 1,200 international election supervisors and hundreds of international election monitors on election day will help safeguard positive changes throughout Bosnia.

  ⇒ **Funding:** The international community provided $47 million to the OSCE for the Bosnian elections; the U.S. share of this is $11 million.

- **The NATO-led IFOR and the International Police Task Force (IPTF) are helping to create as safe and secure an environment as possible throughout Bosnia and are providing critical logistical support to the elections effort.**

  ⇒ **Creating a Secure Environment:** IFOR will work with the local police and IPTF to provide a secure environment for the elections through a visible presence near polling places, in potential “hot spots” and other key locations. IFOR will have standing orders to intervene if people’s lives are threatened.

  ⇒ **Working with Local Police:** The IPTF is monitoring, coordinating and training local police in their preparations for the elections. Effective coordination and cooperation with local authorities will help to minimize violence and disturbances on election day.

  ⇒ **Preempting Violence:** IFOR and IPTF have enhanced their coordination efforts in order to preempt violence or confrontations before they become serious.
Establishing Safe Voter Routes: Interior ministries of the parties have agreed to a plan for 19 voter routes accessible to Federation and Bosnian Serb public transportation only. Local police, IPTF and IFOR will patrol the routes to ensure the safety and security of all voters.

Logistics Support: IFOR assisted in establishing 4400 polling stations, is helping to distribute voter education materials and voter registration lists and transport 25 million ballot papers and other election day material.

- The international community has worked vigorously to create democratic conditions in Bosnia.

Building Political Parties. NGO seminars, technical training and other programs are building expertise, infrastructure, and funding for political parties in Bosnia. Thirteen major parties are contesting the elections nationally and more than two dozen more are fielding candidates in local races.

Voter/Civic Education. The U.S. and others sponsor NGO run civic-oriented discussion groups, voter education campaigns, and campaign involvement programs.

Independent Media. The international effort, with U.S. support, has opened a wide range of media outlets so more voices are heard. These include over one hundred independent newspapers, dozens of radio stations, and a nationwide independent television network that reaches 50 percent of the Bosnian people.
Beyond IFOR: The U.S. Commitment to Bosnia

Bosnia will take many years to recover from four years of war. Beyond our central role in the NATO-led Implementation Force, whose mission ends this year, the United States is participating in every aspect of Bosnia's recovery — economic, social, political and security.

Helping Bosnia to achieve long-lasting peace and prosperity is in our national interest:

- Peace in Bosnia and the Balkans removes a significant threat to European stability, including to key NATO allies and emerging democracies in Central and Eastern Europe;

- A peaceful settlement of the Bosnian conflict reinforces our values, including our efforts to expand democracy, the rule of law, respect for human rights and ethnic and religious tolerance in the former communist countries of Europe.

- Peace in Bosnia brings an end to the cycle of violence, mounting civilian casualties and flagrant abuses of human rights.

A substantial international presence in Bosnia will remain after the NATO-led Implementation Force completes its mission this year. This presence will include such entities as the OSCE, International Police Task Force, UNHCR, and a variety of civilian reconstruction agencies. The United States will remain engaged in Bosnia — along with our allies and international organizations — in broad array of political, security, economic and social activities. Specifically, the United States will continue to:

- Help to preserve the unity of Bosnia-Herzegovina within its existing, internationally recognized borders;

- Provide the technical expertise and diplomatic support needed to ensure that national government institutions are created as a result of the elections and that they become fully operational as quickly as possible;

- Help to establish a civil society in Bosnia in which independent media (such as the Open Broadcasting Network) are operating; the rule of law is generally accepted; and democratically-elected institutions are operating at every level;

- Help the UNHCR establish opportunities for the orderly return of refugees and displaced persons to their homes and a process for compensating those who choose not to return or whose property cannot be restored to them;

- Push for full cooperation by the parties with the War Crimes Tribunal and for compliance with its decisions, including transfer of indicted war criminals to The Hague;
• Support implementation of the Erdut Agreement which enables the peaceful reintegration of the Eastern Slavonia region into Croatia.

• Support the U.S.-led Train and Equip program, which complements wide-ranging arms reductions in the region, to help establish a stable balance of military forces at the lowest possible level.

• Follow-up on President Clinton's pledge of $600 million toward economic reconstruction activities over the next three years. Our reconstruction activity is closely coordinated with the World Bank's $5.1 billion reconstruction program and focuses on rebuilding the municipal infrastructure, providing emergency shelter and housing repair, and providing loans to small business in order to stimulate economic activity and employment within a free market setting.

• Expand efforts to open up Bosnia for private investment and create new opportunities for U.S. businesses through a variety of programs sponsored by the Department of Commerce, USAID and other agencies.
USIA has developed a number of programs to aid in the development of a democratic society in Bosnia.

1. ELECTION SUPPORT AND MEDIA TRAINING
In Bosnia, American journalists are working with the OSCE Media Development Office in Sarajevo to provide training in public opinion research and survey techniques. Print and broadcast journalists are working with local newspapers, television and radio stations and conducting in-country workshops.

In the U.S., Representatives of the Provisional Election Commission (PEC) observed primary elections in California and met with counterparts on election commissions, Communications/Media Directors representing 13 political parties from throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina participated in a program focusing on the role of the media in a campaign and relations between the candidates, the media and the public; Bosnian broadcast and print professionals participated in workshops focusing on the American political system and process and then worked with journalists covering primary elections.

USIA, in support of the Open Broadcast Network, provided equipment to upgrade five independent television stations in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The upgrades will enable the independent stations to improve television coverage of the pre-election campaign period in Bosnia and Herzegovina, allowing more objective exposure of the candidates and their platforms and increasing multi-party access to the airwaves.

The Voice of America (VOA) network has broadcast a Bosnian language voter registration information announcement and independent radio stations in Bosnia currently rebroadcast live, daily VOA programming.

2. DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE - USIA is providing opportunities for individuals and groups from Bosnia to participate in programs that support democratic reform. The programs focus on health care, customs management, parliamentary training, and the function and administration of the state system.

3. CIVICS EDUCATION - USIA has initiated a four-phase civic education action plan, working closely with U.S. and Bosnian educators. The plan provides training for local teachers in civics instruction, as well help for local curriculum developers in adapting U.S. materials for use in Bosnian schools. As a result of this concerted six-month effort, on September 3, the first day of school, many Bosnian students will receive the fully-adapted text of "Project Citizen," translated into both Bosnian and Croatian. USIA plans to provide all 500 schools in the Bosnian Federation with these texts by the end of the school year.

4. OPINION RESEARCH POLLING - USIA has conducted surveys in Bosnia, neighboring countries, and in Western Europe intended to measure attitudes over a period of time towards the Dayton Agreement and its implementation, the role of Western nations and IFOR in Bosnia, on cross-ethnic attitudes, on the elections, and regarding the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

5. PUBLIC DIPLOMACY - USIA has conducted a variety of public diplomacy activities which include: Foreign Press Center Briefings by senior USG officials, WORLDNET interactive dialogues with European and Balkan press, and by-liners for senior USG personnel, such as Ambassador Holbrooke and Ambassador Albright, which ran in a variety of European newspapers.

6. INTERNET RESOURCES - USIA's World Wide Web Home Page on Bosnia is:  http://198.67.73.126
Not Perfect, but Right

By Anthony Lake

WASHINGTON — This Saturday, the people of Bosnia will go to the polls to elect their national representatives. These elections are an essential step in bringing democracy to Bosnia. They are what the people want, and what Bosnia needs, to help its hard-won peace endure.

We should not, and we do not, expect the election to be perfect. Bosnia is only beginning to recover from four years of devastating war. But Bosnians, with the help of the international community and the NATO-led military force, have made important progress in creating the conditions for successful elections.

Freedom of movement is improving. Last week in the American sector alone — the area around Tuzla in the north — more than 100,000 people crossed the internal boundary between the Serb Republic and the Muslim-Croat federation, bringing the six-month total to more than 1.3 million crossings. And to allow more voices to be heard, a wide range of media outlets are operating, including more than 100 independent newspapers, dozens of radio stations and a nationwide independent television network.

Thirteen major parties representing all views are running slates of national candidates, and dozens more are taking part in individual races. Local election committees have been established to oversee voter registration. Some 70 percent of Bosnian refugees living outside the country have cast absentee ballots.

The overwhelming majority of Bosnians, whether Serb, Croat or Muslim, believe the elections are important. In a recent United States Information Agency poll based on nearly 4,000 face-to-face interviews throughout the country, more than 90 percent of respondents in each ethnic group said they intend to vote. Some 96 percent in each group said they believed they could vote for the party of their choice without fear of intimidation. And 83 percent of Muslims, 85 percent of Croats and 89 percent of Serbs said they believed it was better to vote now than to wait for improved conditions, because delay would only strengthen the forces of separatism.

These people know that the elections will allow the structure of a unified Bosnian state to come to life — a parliament, a presidency and a constitutional court that will represent the interests of all Bosnians, including the hundreds of thousands of refugees and displaced people.

The elections will enable government agencies to operate again, hastening the day when Bosnia will function as a normal, stable nation. These institutions will require practical, daily interaction among Bosnia’s Muslims, Croats and Serbs. That is the best way to break the status quo of division, weaken the forces of extremism and bring Bosnians together to rebuild their land.

Those who argue that elections would hasten partition fail to explain how delaying elections could make things better. Besides, those of us who wave democracy’s banner around the world cannot say that if you fear the results of an election, you should not hold it.

Of course, the elections are just one part of the hard work needed to create a unified, peaceful, democratic Bosnia, and the Bosnians still have a long way to go.

Democratic institutions like the parliament and courts must be nurtured with the help of international advisers. A military balance of power must be achieved through the American-led program to equip and train the armed forces of the Muslim-Croat federation. A civilian police force must be trained. Refugees who fear returning to their homes, or who have no means to get back, must be helped, and economic reconstruction must be fostered.

The United States is committed to these efforts. As we continue to do our part to help realize the promise of the Dayton accords and to overcome the remaining serious challenges, we should not undervalue how far we have come. One year ago, war was raging in Bosnia, the worst bloodshed in Europe since World War II. Today, there is peace. Marketplaces are full of life, not death. Playgrounds belong to children, not to snipers. Women are no longer prey to mass rape and terror. Once-divided families are being reunited, and some refugees are slowly making their way back. Basic services — running water, electricity and shelter — are steadily being restored.

But just as voters in a democracy are free to make their own choices, so must the people of Bosnia choose their future for themselves. In sending American troops to Bosnia, President Clinton made clear the point of this extraordinary international effort: to give the Bosnians breathing room to rebuild their lives and their land — and to give peace a life and logic of its own. He made equally clear what is not the point: to take on responsibilities that are not ours or to create in Bosnia an unsustainable dependence on the United States or other outsiders.

After so much bloodshed and loss, there can be no guarantee that Bosnia’s Muslims, Croats and Serbs will join together, and stay together, as citizens of a shared state with a common destiny. The whole point of the Dayton accord was to give them a chance to try. This weekend, the Bosnian people are putting their faith in the ballot over the bullet.

The case for holding elections in Bosnia right now.

Anthony Lake is President Clinton’s national security adviser.

Note to Readers

The Op-Ed page welcomes unsolicited manuscripts. Because of the volume of submissions, however, we regret that we cannot acknowledge an article or return it. If manuscripts are accepted for publication, authors will be notified within two weeks.
ZAGREB, Croatia - Don't expect a duty-free shop or a cocktail lounge quite yet, but Sarajevo's war-ravaged international airport reopens to civilian commercial air traffic Thursday, a milestone in the peace-time recovery of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Croatia Airlines and a Turkish company will be the first carriers to venture into skies that just months ago rang with artillery fire. Mines that once bordered the runway have been cleared, while shattered walls and windows have been patched.

Opening the airport after more than four years was a herculean task involving at least as much political and military wrangling as aeronautical logistics, say U.S. officials overseeing the project.

U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher will fly in for Thursday's inaugural; the first regularly scheduled passenger flights begin Monday. Bosnia also has signed air agreements with Iran and Germany, Ismet Secic, the head of its new civil aviation authority, told reporters Wednesday.

The airport was closed shortly after the war began in April 1992, as neighborhoods surrounding it bore some of the fiercest fighting of the conflict. The Bosnian Serb army that was attacking Sarajevo eventually agreed to let the United Nations take control of the airport for 43-month siege, said Richard Sklar, President Clinton's special representative for reconstruction in Bosnia.

The opening of Sarajevo International Airport will provide an important psychological, cultural and economic boost to the isolated capital, which endured a crippling 43-month siege, said Sklar. He cautioned that the airport, for now, is still "primitive."

The only new equipment purchased so far were three X-ray screening machines, he said. Passengers will not yet be able to walk up to the airport; they will be bused from downtown in groups to make processing easier. And the terminal remains heavily damaged. But a few basic amenities have been added, Sklar said, noting: "I told them, no bathrooms, no airport."

The airport must use visual landings until sophisticated, precision instruments are brought in as part of a second, $28 million phase of airport reconstruction. Because Sarajevo is notorious for fog and bad weather, "You can expect a lot of cancellations and disruptions," Croatia Airlines executive Roman Gebaur said.

But officials said they had to be met by French peacekeepers, for example, will continue to handle air-traffic control.

A U.S.-financed program is scheduled to begin training a new batch.

As for the Bosnians, they will be responsible for immigration, customs and security screening of passengers and baggage.

One of Bosnia's other major airports is at Banja Luka, the largest city in Serb hands. It was barely damaged in the war and could have reopened in tandem with Sarajevo, Western officials said, but the separatist-minded Bosnian Serb refused to recognize a single civil aviation authority for the whole country.

Similar disputes have held up the reconnecting of national train service, electrical grids and water - projects that involve piecing together this country of ethnic fragments.

Meanwhile, Croatia Airlines officials in Zagreb, from where Monday's first flight will depart, said they are confident travel to Sarajevo will be safe. "The air routes, they pointed out, do not fly over Serb-held territory."

But officials said they would let commercial air traffic begin before North Atlantic Treaty Organization commanders would let commercial air traffic begin. NATO will continue to have the right to close the airport at any time for security reasons. The Bosnian government and the airlines had to agree to rules that included no overnight stays by aircraft, limits on luggage and strict management of passengers.
U.S. LOANS HELP CIVILIAN BOSNIA GO BACK TO WORK

By Aida Cerkez
Associated Press Writer

FOJNICA, Bosnia-Herzegovina (AP) Hilmo Omanovic knows who he'd vote for in Bosnia's upcoming elections: President Bill Clinton.

"If only his name would be on the ballot, I'd choose him. The Americans are the only ones who care about us," said Omanovic, 61, a Muslim refugee in this central Bosnian town.

His family is benefiting from a U.S. program designed to revive businesses and employ workers from all sides of the war. Omanovic's wife and two daughters-in-law soon will be knitting sweaters for a local company.

If they knit twelve to fifteen sweaters a month, they will earn $400. The sweaters will be sold in Western Europe for $100 each. That sounds good to the eleven members of the Omanovic family, who squeeze into three rooms of donated furniture and have lived on handouts for five years.

Daughter-in-law Rasema, 32, is planning how to spend the money. "Schoolbooks for the children, shoes, food and maybe one day a dress for myself," she said Tuesday.

The four companies are getting $2.1 million in loans and will provide 771 jobs. The cost of the five-year program is estimated at $278 million.

Overall, the United States has committed $550 million in 1996 to civilian recovery activities in Bosnia, including humanitarian aid, reconstruction, mine removal, police training and support for elections and the war crimes tribunal in the Hague.

Sportform in Fojnica employs 1,500 people - half Muslims, half Croats - before it shut down during the war.

Manager Hamza Salihagic said the company has been in touch with its former Croat employees, many of who moved to nearby Kisevnik in the year of Muslim-Croat fighting during the Bosnian war. All, Salihagic said, are ready to go back to work even though the plant is in town run by Muslims.

"Probably nothing is more important than getting people back to work. Social differences, political differences and religious differences will subside when people have common economic interests." - Richard Sklar, Special Representative to the President for Economic Recovery.

Business revitalization is a project of Richard Sklar, who was dispatched by Clinton to oversee American efforts to rebuild Bosnia. He is also working on projects to reopen the Sarajevo airport to civilian flights, which he expects this month, and rebuild railroads and bridges.

"Probably nothing is more important than getting people back to work," Sklar said Wednesday in Sarajevo. "Social differences, political differences and religious differences will subside when people have common economic interests."
SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina (AP) -- A passenger train reopened a key north-south railway from Sarajevo to the Adriatic Coast on Tuesday for the first time since the outbreak of the war in 1992.

The railroad will provide a major boost to the economy by allowing better, faster, and cheaper transportation of goods and passengers through the war-battered country.

Passengers on the five-coach train from the Adriatic port of Ploce, Croatia, included Bosnian officials and foreign diplomats. The spruced-up red coaches were pulled by a locomotive with a new sign: Bosnia-Herzegovina Railroads.

"This today is the second opening of the city," said Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic at a ceremony.

The Bosnian capital was under siege throughout the war and reopened this spring when Bosnian Serbs handed over five suburbs to the Muslim-Croat federation to meet the Dayton peace accords.

Rail service throughout Bosnia and other part of Croatia was halted and railways were damaged during the 43-month war. Some shorter lines have since reopened in Bosnia.

A number of countries and aid organizations gave 10 million dollars in donations and equipment for the reconstruction of the 193-kilometer (119-mile) Sarajevo-Ploce railway. NATO is financing the reconstruction of the east-west rail route.

In the southern town of Mostar, the train's arrival was greeted by a cheering crowd of several thousand. The occasion also marked the reopening of a train station that was repaired by the European Union, which has been administering this still divided city.

"The time of those who were working on separation has passed and now it's the time for those who unite," said Safet Orucevic, mayor of the Muslim-controlled east Mostar.

Hours later the train pulled into Ploce, where it stayed for about an hour before leaving to begin the return leg of the trip to Sarajevo.

"The reopening of the railway with the port of Ploce will open up Bosnia's economy to the world has great economic and strategic significance in establishing the Bosnian federation and its links with Croatia," said Zeljko Luzacic, Croatia's transport minister.

Richard Sklar, President Clinton's special representative for economic reconstruction in Bosnia, has made transportation his priority and he's involved in the project along with the European Union.

Officials say they must speed up the Sarajevo-Ploce train to make it viable. It currently takes nine hours, traveling at 20 kph (12 mph), instead of the 2 1/2 hours it took before the war.

Until the last moment Tuesday, it was uncertain where the train was going. The Bosnian railroad company announced last week that only 100 kilometers (60 miles) of the line to Mostar would reopen on Tuesday. Bosnian and Croatian railway companies had not been able to agree on the opening of the 93 kilometers (59 miles) between Mostar and Ploce.

But the misunderstandings and problems were ironed out overnight hours before the scheduled reopening, the Sarajevo daily Oslobodjenje reported Tuesday.

"The railway continues north from Sarajevo to Breko, a port town on the Sava River. That stretch also needs repairs and presents a further obstacle since it crosses into Serb-controlled territory."

Izetbegovic said when the northern part reopens to Breko "then it will be the full reopening of the country."
REBUILDING BOSNIA
By Joe Geshwiler
The Atlanta Constitution, Foreign Affairs

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina -- Gabrielle Beloc is typical of the resilient souls working to put the pieces of their lives together in this shattered city. Beloc's cheeriness seems amazing considering:

- He had to endure 3 1/2 years of front-line fighting against besieging Serbs.
- His house was ventilated by tank shells in the process.
- His Sarajevo neighborhood of Yugorsko Hotonj is still infested with land mines and unexploded shells.

What sustains Beloc, a sturdy 43-year old Muslim, is the return of his wife and children from their wartime refuge in Germany and the chance to rebuild their house and begin afresh in familiar surroundings.

Beloc and his neighbors are Implementation Force (called FOR) says the progress in getting Sarajevo back to normal has been stunning.

Overall, though, the pace of reconstruction is slow. Civilian relief and military officials alike complain about the pace, although the officer in charge of coordinating military and civilian recovery work, U.S. Brig. Gen. Thomas Matthews, remains optimistic.

"A lot of progress will be made in the next months when the World Bank money kicks in," he said.

There had better be progress. Reconstruction must start humming while the weather is decent. Winter shelter has to be ready for thousands of refugees. Unemployed Bosnians (estimated at 60% of the population) need jobs. Bosnians of every background need to believe there's too much at stake in maintaining the peace to revert to war.

There's just so much that IFOR can or should do, Matthews said. His focus is on immediate recovery work -- rebuilding bridges, rerouting and demining roads,

The U.S. program commits $29 million to fix an estimated 2,500 homes before Oct 1. The Clinton Administration has a longer range program. If Congress approves, the United States will allot $600 million over three years.
DONJA DOBOSNICA, Bosnia-Herzegovina (AP) -- With heavy armor and NATO sharpshooters standing guard, U.S. officials Saturday kicked off a much trumpeted $29 million project to help rebuild Bosnia.

John Menzies, U.S. Ambassador to Bosnia, declared the country had reached a turning point after nearly four years of war.

"We are now entering a transition from relief to reconstruction," Menzies told local officials and aid workers inaugurating the effort to put roofs on 2,500 war-damaged homes by next October.

But George Mitchell, the former U.S. Senator now heading a private group monitoring developments in Bosnia, said continued freedom of indicted war criminals remains the greatest obstacle to peace.

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and Gen. Ratko Mladic, his military commander, are the most senior figures sought by U.N. war crimes tribunal, but both remain at large -- and influential -- in Bosnia.

Mitchell, in Sarajevo, also urged Muslims and Bosnian Croats to rid their ranks of war criminals, saying they were a threat to the fragile Muslim-Croat Federation in Bosnia.

But spirits were high in Donja Dobosnica, a predominately Muslim village about 15 miles west of Tuzla, the headquarters of U.S. forces in Bosnia.

Resident welcomed the American reconstruction effort...

"My name is finally off the list four years after my house was nearly destroyed," said Ljubicica Garagic, 42, one of about 500 Serbs still living among 4,000 Muslims.

"I hope it will really happen. I can hardly wait to move back in it,"

Alenka Savic, an engineer working on the project, said the houses with walls standing are eligible. The program will put a roof back on the house and make two rooms habitable and install electric wiring and plumbing.

This will enable families to move back in before winter starts and continue fixing up the rest of the house on their own, Savic said.

In addition, homeowners must prove that they owned the house before the Bosnian war started in 1992 and they must be living in Bosnia.

Other programs have already removed many of the signs of war damage from Donja Dobosnica. Major General William L. North, the American commander in Bosnia, noted "beautiful sounds -- the sounds of hammering in the background."

The aid project was first announced by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton during her visit to Bosnia in March.

It is part of $282 million rebuilding deal signed Friday in Sarajevo with the Muslim-led Bosnian government and the Muslim Croat Federation.
FOR ONE BOSNIAN BUSINESSMAN, THE CHICKEN CAME FIRST
By Kurt Schork

Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina

A businessman who expanded his chicken farm from 11 birds to 35,000 in two years seems like a good candidate for credit, but in bomb-scarred Bosnia there are few lenders. In a devastated country where the commercial banking system remains a shambles, Mustafa Agovic hopes to qualify for a loan under the international community's multibillion dollar reconstruction program for Bosnia.

"I want to create a new facility for chickens up to 18 weeks of age and a farm for another 42,000 to produce eatable eggs," Agovic said.

His family business, Hagg, needs about $600,000 to buy and install equipment for the expansion and reckons the facility could be up and running within three months of getting it. His workforce would expand from 15 to 50.

The most likely source of money is a program funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), which is gearing up to provide loans to creditworthy commercial and industrial enterprises here.

USAID conditions are stiff - an interest rate of eight to nine percent and a three-year term - but Agovic is eager to press forward.

"Compared to what is available elsewhere in Bosnia those terms are very good," he told Reuters. "If you can get money here, which is difficult, it is at three or even five percent a month. That's 36 to 60 percent a year, which is impossible. The first year would be tight for me with USAID but after that it would be manageable.

"I'd like to get the money in June. The earlier it comes, the sooner I'll start the business. If the money doesn't come we'll do what we have been doing. We've been managing without money for a long time now."

"From an egg to an egg" is Agovic's motto, but the truth is the chicken came first.

Eleven chickens, to be exact - 10 hens and one cockerel which Agovic gathered in the besieged Bosnian capital of Sarajevo in 1993. From that meager beginning the 45-year-old entrepreneur engineered a brood of 35,000 laying hens in just two years, helping drive the price of an egg in city markets down to 75 cents from $3.75.

Now peace has come to Bosnia, Agovic is brimming with ideas on how to expand Hagg but he lacks capital.

Agovic's core business in the early days of the 43-month Bosnian war was cheese production. Hagg lost its dairy herd when the western Sarajevo suburb of Stup became a battleground. Instead of shutting down his business Agovic began manufacturing cheese from powdered milk flown into the city by the United Nations as humanitarian aid.

"The city hospitals needed the cheese so they gave me the powdered milk and I made the cheese," Agovic explained. "We were making as much as 500 kilograms (1,100 pounds) a day. We were paid for our work with part of the cheese which we would then take to the market and sell."

Hagg's production of cheese from powdered milk continues, with hospitals and refugee centers as the primary clients.

Agovic is still paid in powdered milk or cheese because his institutional customers haven't any cash. He expects the practice to continue for several years. Making cheese from fresh milk still isn't possible in Sarajevo because local dairy herds were destroyed in the war.

Hagg's current production facility sits in a complex of old buildings just a few hundred yards from the Bosnian Presidency in the center of Sarajevo close to the former front lines.

The rooms where eggs from purebred Isabrown chickens are incubated are as clean as a hospital operating room, but there are reminders of the war.

One incubator has a large hole in it put there by a heavy machinegun. "An employee responsible for controlling the temperature in the incubators entered this room one night about 10 o'clock and switched on the light and they fired at him from the Serb side of the line," Agovic recalled.

"We lost 1,152 eggs (three days' worth of eggs stored in Hagg's incubators) at that moment because the bullet hit the power cable to the heaters."

Like businessmen the world over, Agovic has waste disposal problems. Periodically they include where to slaughter and get rid of the residue from thousands of chickens who have outlived their productive lives and what to do with a prodigious amount of droppings, the odor from which wafts into central Sarajevo.

Agovic views the problems as business opportunities and thinks that with some financing he could make money solving them and be environmentally responsible.

But his plans for making chicken paste and hot dogs out of the old birds and converting the droppings into commercially saleable gas and fertilizer must await the success of the USAID-financed project.

One thing Abdovic and Hagg don't worry about is the competition, which in Sarajevo comes primarily from a state-owned business.

"I love competition, especially from state companies," he said. "People in state businesses don't know where their real interest lies so they can't make business decisions."
wood-burning stoves.

Dozens of nations and finance agencies have pledged more than $1.8 billion in aid, but the World Bank and other humanitarian agencies say the reality is that the money is slow in coming in.

Even at that, it falls far short of the country’s total rebuilding cost, estimated conservatively at more than $5 billion over four years.

The economy was another casualty of the war. According to The World Bank, annual per capita income has dropped to about $500, compared to $1,900 just before the war.

Craig Mason is Tuzla project manager for World Vision International, the Los Angeles-based humanitarian relief organization that is helping rebuild homes. "Reconstruction is going to be a very long process, but it’s essential we start immediately and do as much as we can for short-term impact," he says.

###
MEMICI, Bosnia-Herzegovina—Tears well in the eyes of Hasan Hodzic, a 63-year-old Muslim, as he clears away the rubble of two houses his family lost in the war. His wife, Bahira, 54, overweight and risking a heart attack, is chopping wood. They live in a tiny, damp coal shed, surrounded by row after row of gutted homes, their roofs burned away, their windows blown out. "We have no other choice," Hodzic says.

Not one of the 400 homes escaped the damage of war in this village 12 miles east of U.S. military headquarters at Tuzla Air Base. There is no water, no electricity, no school, no medical clinic.

The Muslim families say the Serbs burned their homes and everything else in Memici, where they once lived together as friends, and instead sent some of them to concentration camps four years ago. Now the U.S.-brokered Dayton peace accord signed last December has realigned Bosnia, returning Memici to Muslim control. American peacekeepers have silenced the guns that claimed an estimated 250,000 people dead or missing.

The military mission of separating and disarming the warring sides across Bosnia has been declared a success, but the civilian effort is at least three months behind, say some U.S. officials. There are many obstacles, including a lack of money, millions of deadly mines scattered across the countryside, and fear of returning to former homes now under control of a different ethnic and religious group.

Although in some areas the war damage is minimal, in some sections of the country miles of homes lay in ruins, far beyond military objectives. Ghost towns abound. Skeletons of the victims of war, with their clothing and their personal belongings, still litter the countryside.

The Dayton peace accord realigned the territories of the three warring factions—the Bosnian Muslims, the orthodox Bosnian Serbs and the Catholic Bosnian Croats. But neither the 18,000 American peacekeepers nor the Dayton peace agreement can bring the Serbs and Muslims together again in the villages as they were before the war.

"I do not know how to hate, but I want to live as far away (from the Serbs) as possible," says Mehmed Hodzic, who was wounded in the right leg at the start of the war.

In the village of Markovic near Memici, two homes owned by Pasa Jahic, 52, were destroyed by the Serbs, who were her neighbors. She says her husband, Juso Jahic, 52, was executed by the Serbs in May 1992.

Thousands of Serb, Muslim and Croat peasants are not really living anymore in the beautiful countryside of Bosnia's towering mountains.

The U.S. government has provided $1 billion in humanitarian relief aid in Bosnia since 1991. But it is switching to a recovery effort. This year, the U.S. and the Agency for International Development are funneling $550 million into Bosnia to repair damaged homes, restore water and electricity, and help revive the economy with loans to small businesses.

The Dayton peace accord scheduled for completion by December 1996, as set by the 1995 Dayton peace agreement, is estimated to cost $2.5 billion, of which nearly $1 billion has been spent. The U.S. government has provided $1 billion in humanitarian aid since the Dayton peace accord was signed.

The Dayton peace accord is expected to bring peace to Bosnia and Herzegovina, but it is not expected to resolve the ethnic conflicts that have divided the region for centuries. The future of Bosnia is uncertain, and the country remains divided along ethnic lines.

The Dayton peace accord has brought some relief to the people of Bosnia, but it has not brought an end to the conflict. The war in Bosnia continues, and the number of displaced people remains high. The Dayton peace accord is a step in the right direction, but it is not a complete solution to the problems facing Bosnia.
Executive Action

An Army Reserve Unit Guides Reconstruction Of Postwar Bosnia

The 353rd's Bankers, Brokers Are as Essential to Peace As Bazookas and Bullets

Putting Trams Back on Track

By THOMAS E. RICKS
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

PALI, Bosnia and Herzegovina — U.S. Army Col. Michael Hess, in his pin-striped blue suit, leather suspenders, yellow tie and longish hair, looks more like an international banker than a military officer. And the issue or the table at this relief workers’ meeting has a distinctly unmilitary flavor.

"This distribution of diapers, where is that going to be?" the colonel asks. In eastern Bosnia, replies the woman from Care International.

Despite his civilian camouflage, Col. Hess plays a key role in the six-month-old U.S. military effort in Bosnia. He is operations officer of the 353rd Civil Affairs Command, a little-known Bronx, N.Y., Army Reserve unit that is quietly coordinating the NATO-led peacekeeping mission here with international civil reconstruction efforts.

With its wealth of military experience and civilian skills, the unit tries to help bond Bosnia together economically, physically and politically. Members currently work with, to name a few, the Sarajevo tram system, utilities, the international agency overseeing national elections and the local World Bank office.

The 353rd can tackle such diverse tasks because its soldiers make up what may be the world’s most economically sophisticated military unit. Col. Hess, once an armored-cavalry commander, is Citicorp’s relationship manager for Scandinavia, Finland and the Baltic nations. The 353rd also includes a professor of financial economics, a vice president of the U.S. unit of a Dutch bank holding company, a Schering-Plough Corp. environmental engineer, a mechanical engineer, the supervisor of bus maintenance for New York City and a Merrill Lynch & Co. broker.

In Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital, the 353rd functions as a band of armed middlemen, melding military units from 14 nations and more than 100 diverse relief and aid groups. "We explain to the military who these guys are and what their capabilities are — and explain to these [other] guys what the military does," Col. Hess says.

The military thinks relief workers are a bunch of troublemakers, and they think the military is a bunch of profiteers. In fact, we’re all dedicated professionals on both sides," he says.

When U.S. forces entered Bosnia in December, fearful of snipers and mines, combat units of the First Armored Division occupied the limelight. But in the past six months have gone more smoothly than expected. U.S. forces have suffered only one hostile death as the three warring factions were separated, heavy weapons placed in holding areas, and minefields mapped and, in places, cleared.

Preparing for Elections

Now there is more emphasis on civilian tasks, notably preparing for extraordinarily complex national elections in September. This moves the fighting bankers and bureaucrats of the 353rd to the forefront. If the U.S. mission is judged a success, it may well be as much to the 353rd’s calculators and laptops as to the howitzers and machine guns of the First Armored.

"These guys are doing fantastic work to support the elections," says Ed Joseph, the liaison officer between the military and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, which will oversee the elections. Already, soldiers of the 353rd have computerized the messy Bosnian voting rolls and began instructing inspectors who will train poll operators.

As the U.S. military shrinks to fit post-Cold War circumstances, it necessarily makes more use of its 970,000-strong reserves and National Guard. From an old Turkish castle in Sarajevo, a Kansas National Guard unit operates a counter-mortar radar system. Reservists from New York staff the U.S. military press office in Tuzla. A recent Air Force C-130 flight into northern Bosnia had a crew from the West Virginia Air National Guard; the commander is an American Airlines pilot and his navigators are writers of computer war games for SIRM International Inc. Many of the reservists will head home this month, having completed their six-month stint.

"They’re downsizing the military, but they’re not downsizing what the military has to do, so they’re using reservists to pick up the load," says Jeff Lane, a military pilot who is a database engineer for Lockheed Martin Corp.

A Central Role

No reserve unit has a more central role than the 353rd. "For most military people, looking at civil affairs is like pigs looking at a wristwatch," Col. Hess says. They "kind of like it, are intrigued by it, but they don’t really know what it does."

As recognition dawns that American success turns on nonmilitary goals, the 353rd has been allowed to commit "mission creep" and become deeply involved in Bosnia’s economic and political affairs.

As troubleshooter for Carl Bildt, the former Swedish prime minister who oversees the civilian rebuilding effort, Col. Hess is here to assess humanitarian problems in Serb-held territory of eastern Bosnia, Sipping espresso in the marketplace of Pale, the Bosnian Serb "capital," he hears a deep rumble in the distance. It isn’t clear whether it is an exploding antitank mine or just thunder. Col. Hess seems unfurled.

"That’s interesting," he shrugs.

He joins a meeting of international aid workers, whose natty attire contrasts sharply with that of the man from the French aid group Medicins Sans Frontieres, his blue jeans, sandals, shoulder-length hair and cigarette holder.

Col. Hess has been a suit-and-tie man since taking master’s degrees simultaneously in European history at Columbia University and in business at New York University a decade ago. For Citicorp in northern Europe, he both handles inquiries and sells the bank’s services. Essentially, he says, "I’m a facilitator" for Citicorp—"not very different from this job."

Col. Michael Hess
Key to Peace

Each officer of the 323rd feels his specialty holds the key to peace. Maj. William Robbins Jr., chief of maintenance for the New York City Transit Authority’s bus department, is one example. To implement the peace agreement, he says in a gravelly New York voice, “the biggest thing is freedom of movement.” Thus, his job includes getting more Sarajevo trams on the tracks for intercity travel—letting more people cross factional boundaries as envisioned by the peace accord signed in Dayton, Ohio.

He strides through Sarajevo’s main tram yard wearing fatigues, complete with a Screaming Eagle patch on the 101st Airborne Division on his right shoulder commemorating two years as an infantryman in Vietnam. He pauses before Bus 259, which has 62 bullet holes in its windshield and 26 more in the engine panel below. Its engine, wiring and axles are being cannibalized for other buses.

“One of the things I didn’t expect is how closely related it would be to what we do” in New York, he says. Bullet holes aside, the main differences are the mines still embedded along the tramway in suburbs formerly held by Bosnian Serbs. Maj. Robbins is lining up a Norwegian aid group to get the mines removed so workers can repair the line. A shell crater in Sarajevo, he adds, isn’t really different from a Bronx pothole: “It does the same damage to the undercarriage of the vehicle.”

Mines also are a problem for Lt. Col. Mark Dunalski, a former product engineer for Texas Instruments Inc., who is the 323rd’s electricity liaison officer. For Bosnians, electricity carries profoundly political implications. “Electricity,” he says, “is one of the few national systems that ties them together.” Because the system crisscrosses everyone’s territory, he says, the various sides must cooperate quietly even when refusing to admit it in public. For example, Bosnian Serbs will provide power to Gorazde, the embattled Muslim pocket in eastern Bosnia, which in turn will pass power to the southern Serb town of Foča. When Col. Dunalski found that mines along transmission lines were blocking repair work, he had Army helicopters fly local technicians to examine damage from the air.

Number, Please

Col. John Stroebel uses telecommunications to bind together Bosnia’s factions. Formerly of AT&T Corp., he sees an analogy between the breakup of AT&T and the breakup of Yugoslavia. Bizzarro first blush—after all, Sprint and MCI never literally opened fire on Ma Bell — the comparison makes sense as he talks about the politics of Balkan area codes. Bosnian Serbs now use the 381 country code, the same as Serbia proper. Col. Stroebel wants them to switch to the 387 used by Bosnia and to re-establish telephone links to Sarajevo, creating the physical conditions for dialogue. “Telecommunications and electronic media were kind of like a weapon in this war,” he says.

He also is cleaning up after the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Partly because of its autumn bombing raids against Serb command and control systems, nine of 11 radio transmission towers for telephones in Bosnian Serb territory were destroyed. He is trying to establish cellular service, which “would be quite helpful to the economy and the elections.”

Military Might

The soldier-executives of the 323rd sometimes use military might to get their work done. After departing Serbs dismantled Sarajevo’s network, Maj. Larry Adrain, a 323rd water-supply expert who works as an environmental manager for Schering-Plough, asked French and Italian troops to establish a perimeter so a major well field wouldn’t be hit during the next transfer of territory under peace-agreement terms.

But he was too late to protect a water station in the hills northeast of Sarajevo. He points at the charred remains of its controls, installed with exquisite workmanship by the Austro-Hungarian empire in 1892. Before abandoning the station, he says, Bosnian Serbs “ripped the guts out, took out the switches and controls, which cost a lot of money, and then they trashed it.” He points to pipes conveying water from springs deep inside the mountain. “They just walked through with a sledgehammer and broke the pipes. It annoys you because it’s sheer destruction.” He has Italian army engineers building a water bypass so locals can clean their homes.

When Lt. Col. Mark Cataudella, a mechanical and electrical engineer from...
Rebuilding Bosnia

A savage war wreaked their country. Now determined survivors have a message for the world: Start over.
Rebuilding Bosnia

By Joe Gershwer

Sarajevo — Gabrielle Beloc is typical of the resilient souls working to put the pieces of their lives back together in this shattered city.

Beloc's cheeriness seems amazing, considering:
■ He had to endure 3½ years of front-line fighting against the Serbs.
■ His house was ventilated by tank shells in the process.
■ His Sarajevo neighborhood of Yugorak Horenj is still infested with land mines and unexploded shells.

What sustains him is his wife and children from their wartime refuge in Germany and the chance to rebuild their house and begin afresh in familiar surroundings.

Beloc and his neighbors are getting help from a U.S. aid program administered by Catholic Relief Services. To prepare for the brutal Bosnian winter, his family and nearly 100 others in Yugorak Horenj will get 5,000 building supplies plus technical assistance so they can weatherize two downstairs rooms and restore utility service.

It's a modest step toward a prewar world, but that's OK, for the moment, with Beloc. He showed a visitor how he had cleared the first floor of his house of debris to get ready for repairs.

There's a purpose to Beloc's show of pluck. He's a founder of his community, and he intends to inspire his neighbors to work at restoring the city. But there are people with their hearts still stuck in the past.

There's evidence of confidence in the countryside. Every flat and unpaved patch of earth seems to be cultivated, roadside businesses are springing up.

And in Sarajevo, one can watch the beginnings of what could be the world's largest downtown replacement program, or sense the sweet relief of Sarajevans enjoying a warm evening outdoors — without worrying about being picked off by a Serb sniper.

The damage to Sarajevo is everywhere, but the city's Bosnian Serb terminology were more selective than an initial glance might indicate. Some buildings were targeted for repeated shellings. That includes the ruined twin towers of the Bosnian Parliament, the main post office, any government building that housed records and the offices of the major independent newspaper.

Restoring Sarajevo's municipal services was a priority, says Craig Buck, the U.S. Agency for International Development director in Sarajevo. Now the city is fully operational, has working water service and has a second-floor wall of his home.

By Joe Gershwer

The Peace Implementation Force (called IFOR), says the progress in getting life in Sarajevo back to normal has been stunning.

Overall, though, the pace of reconstruction is slow. Civilian relief and military officials alike complain about the pace, although the officer in charge of coordinating military and civilian recovery work, U.S. Brig. Gen. Thomas Matthews, remains optimistic.

"A lot of progress will be made in the next two months when the World Bank money kicks in," he said.

There has been progress. Reconstruction must start humming while the weather is decent. Winter shelter has to be ready for thousands of refugees. Some buildings were destroyed.

Unemployed Bosnians, although 60 percent of the population need jobs, Bosnians of every background need to believe there's too much at stake in maintaining the peace to revert to war.

There's just so much that IFOR can or should do, Matthews said. His focus is on immediate recovery — rebuilding bridges, repairing and demining roads, restoring water lines. The military's intention is that the Bosnians come to depend on IFOR, not on civilian institutions.

That means the Bosnians need to see for reconstruction loans, credits and grants is Rory O'Sullivan, a World Bank director based in Sarajevo. But the bank can offer only a fraction of the financing the Bosnian people need.

The bank estimates infrastructure damage alone at $20 billion, and yet it can muster pledges of only $5 billion because, as O'Sullivan puts it, that's all the world can afford.

O'Sullivan doesn't think Bosnia-Herzegovina is a basket case, "not when you consider its potential."

It's blessed, he says, with highly skilled people with a special capacity for engineering and construction.

"I expect a 30 percent to 40 percent increase in its (gross national product) over the next four years," he said.

The United States got out in front of other outside donors, according to AID's Buck, with a quick-impact program last winter that concentrated on food relief and cost about $85 million.

The home-winterization program just getting started in Beloc's community and other battered towns costs $25 million to fix up an estimated 2,500 homes before Oct. 1.

The Clinton administration has a longer range program as well. If Congress approves, the United States will allocate $600 million over three years to stimulate private business and create jobs, to finance municipal infrastructure rehabilitation and to fund a modest

BOSNIA'S CHALLENGE

Staying within the lines

The boundary lines for Bosnia-Herzegovina, according to the Dayton Agreement, and areas in the region controlled by Serbs, Muslims and Croats as of April 1996

Can Bosnian economy rebound?
Projections for the Bosnian economy

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Projected average for three years

Source: The World Bank
Olympic dreams return to Bosnia

War-scarred stadium of '84 Winter Games brought back to life

By Lee Michael Katz
USA TODAY

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina — Despite four years of shelling and suffering, the Olympic dream lives on here as a symbol of postwar rebuilding.

Next month, this city plans to hold a world-class track meet in the stadium that housed the 1984 Winter Olympic Games. Double gold medal sprinter Michael Johnson and other Olympic stars are expected to compete.

The return of major sports events to Bosnia is a prime example of a war-torn nation returning to normalcy. Before this year, it would have been either risky or suicidal to run in this front-line site. Shrapnel damage mars the platform holding the Olympic torch. Now, workers are applying fresh paint and plaster at the stadium, guarded by heavily armed NATO troops and tanks.

Enes Paslić, 40, sells souvenir pins, stamps and posters of the 1984 Games to the soldiers. But the Sept. 9 track meet "means more to us" than the Olympics, he says. "It's very important for us Sarajevans to have the whole world come back to us after what happened. Now we have survived four years of war, and sports are coming back to the city."

The track meet is part of a larger picture of Bosnia's return to life as a normal European city. Markets that once were symbols of death and desolation are brimming with fruits and vegetables. A formal peace agreement last December and the arrival of NATO peacekeeping troops have brought Sarajevo a reprieve from its wartime isolation by Bosnian Serbs.

Only a white stone plaque commemorates the infamous 1982 bread line massacre, in which 16 people were slaughtered by an artillery shell. "Pray for the dead," the plaque says. Across the street is a new branch of the Yves Rocher cosmetics chain. Bosnians, once obsessed with finding food, now can buy $40 bottles of French perfume.

Ice cream stands and well-stocked new kiosks dot the main shopping district. Downtown, the whistles of traffic sound. The biggest problem on Sniper Alley is illegally parked cars.

Cafes are packed with young Sarajevans, drinking coffee, chatting and listening to rock music. "The girls are beautiful. They are dressed smart," says Admir Begovic, 23, a NATO translator. "The buildings are full of shrapnel shells, (but) it looks great to me."

Big-name rock bands, from Bootie and the Blowfish to The Who, are being lined up for a "Bosnia '96" fund-raising concert in November, to be held simultaneously in Sarajevo and New York.

The gains in Sarajevo and Bosnia mask some very real problems. Yellow warning tape marks land mines. Money is still a problem, though the economy is better than before the war. Unemployment is 94%. Most goods are sold in German marks.

Still, even by objective measures, Bosnia is coming back. NATO peacekeepers have been measuring a "normality index" since February. The index shows continued improvement in food stocks and prices, traffic levels, building occupancy and even available staples from lipstick to underwear.

But the children of Sarajevo don't need the NATO charts to tell them life is better. To them, it is symbolized by the big blue top of an Italian circus that has just come to town.


The children are reluctant to discuss their suffering. Asked whether she had enough to eat during the war, 6-year-old Jasna Pecar replies simply, "Sometimes yes, sometimes no." Her terse view of war speaks volumes. "It was very ugly. We had no circuses."

Sadia Korman, 65 and 6 feet tall, weighed 164 pounds before the war. Now he weighs 122 pounds. Glancing at the children and the elephants, he smiles. "Life is coming back."

That is evident at the packed Koko Cafe, where the smell of fresh paint mingles with the aroma of fresh coffee.

Owner Sead Bulkic, 37, is renovating. Upstairs, carpenters replace plastic sheeting with glass windows for an upscale dining room. "We were afraid to invest during the war," he says. "It could blow up in a minute."

At the stadium reconstruction, Sead Porticanin, 40, who makes prosthetic devices for war amputees, recalls some of the great soccer matches he saw before the war. He watches as his daughters, ages 11 and 8, run up and down the steps.

During the war, the two girls often hid in a basement. "Can you imagine? They ate one chocolate bar for 15 days, cube by cube," he says, Sarajevo is "coming back to normal."

If chocolate defines normal for the girls, he says, the guys at work "cannot stop talking about the track meet."
OLYMPIC GLORY RETURNS TO SARAJEVO, IF ONLY FOR A DAY

EDS NOTE TIME ELEMENT: This story should be used no later than Sunday. The event will have started in Sarajevo by about 7 a.m. EDT Monday.

DUPLICATION ALERT: Moving in "s" (sports) and "i" (international) categories.

By LOUIS J. SALOME=

C.1996 Cox News Service=

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina _ Hundreds of fresh granite-gray tombstones lean into the wind like frozen soldiers a mere grenade throw from the once-grand Olympic Hall, the site of international athletic glory in 1984. But now it is just another crumbled victim of the Bosnian war.

And near that devastated structure is the Kosevo (cq) Athletic Stadium, its fresh shocking lime-green trim, untested bright red track and lush infield grass about to come alive with athletes and thousands of fans for the first time since 1991, when the killing began.

If all goes according to plan, more than 100 world class male and female athletes will compete in 14 track and field events on Monday (Sept. 9) afternoon in a two-hour blitzkrieg of competition dubbed "Sarajevo '96, a Meeting of Solidarity."

Ante (cq) Tomek, general secretary of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Athletic Federation, said admission is free and he expects the 54,000-seat stadium to be filled. He said Juan Antonio Samaranch, president of the International Olympic Committee, is scheduled to attend.

Tomek and other organizers said they hope to convince Michael Johnson of the United States, who won gold medals in the 200- and 400-meter sprints in the Atlanta Games, to compete alone with Canada's Donovan Bailey, the 100-meter Olympic champ. It was uncertain, however, whether either would attend.

Roberto Volpani of the International Amateur Athletic Federation (IAAF) in Monaco, which is backing the event, said middle distance champions Noureddine Morceli of Algeria and Daniel Koman of Kenya plan to attend.

Tomek said the special event is designed to be a "morale booster" and a reminder of what normal living is like for people who are still without water most of the day and without jobs all the time.

An event of this kind is like a come-from-behind sprint for Sarajevo. The frantic preparations will culminate in a joy that will last only a couple of hours before the reality of the marathon recovery _ made more difficult by bitter ethnic divisions _ settles
Nearly every building in Sarajevo has been damaged by war. And even now, about a year after the war’s end, men clear lots with scythes near the city center while their wives rake the refuse beside their shattered homes.

The athletes are expected to fly in Sunday after competing on Saturday in the $3 million Grand Prix finals in Milan, Italy.

Exactly who will attend won’t be known until the plane from Milan touches down in Sarajevo at noon on Sunday.

"There is no money at stake. It’s just a matter of goodwill. Only one’s image and conscience are at stake," said Volpani of the IAAF.

The athletes will receive nothing more than a free flight into the recently re-opened but ill-equipped Sarajevo airport, a room at the shattered Holiday Inn, and an original piece of graphic art signed by all participants and created by Bosnian artist Mersad Berber.

Among companies sponsoring the special event: Coca-Cola Co.; Mercedes-Benz; Adidas, the German sporting goods company; Mondo, the Italian sports flooring company; Seiko, the watch company, and; INA, the Bosnian oil company.

The International Olympic Committee contributed $1.1 million to rebuild the stadium field, and the IAAF donated about $700,000 to restore the track. An additional $3.5 million will be needed to completely renovate the stadium, Tomek said.

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NYT-09-06-96 1554EDT<
Media Wars Begin In Bosnia

By JUDITH INGRAM
Associated Press Writer
Wednesday, September 4, 1996 3:24 am EDT

BANJA LUKA, Bosnia-Herzegovina (AP) — Col. Milovan Milutinovic began the Bosnian war as a propagandist, a spokesman for the Serb military machine. Now, he is giving voice to foes of the ruling Bosnian Serb political elite.

It's not that Milutinovic is a dove among a flock of hawks. Far from it: he is proud to be a spokesman for Gen. Ratko Mladic, the military commander accused of war crimes.

But his Radio Krajina is a reminder of the fissures in the Bosnian Serb camp as Sept. 14 elections approach. It is also the flagship of a newer development: local media efforts to crack official control of information in Bosnia.

In the last months of the war, the radio exposed the rift between political leaders and Mladic's military, embittered by what it saw as corruption and lack of support for the army among former Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and his circle.

Listeners tuned in because the radio gave more reliable information on the war than official Bosnian Serb radio. The radio also ignored orders from Karadzic to shut down.

"Publicly, I'm a dissident," Milutinovic said. "And I feel that is an honor."

Today, the radio has guests from all parties running in the Serb region on its five-night-a-week call-in program — except the ruling Serb party, which Milutinovic says forbids its members to go on, and the ruling Muslim party, which has no representatives in its area. The radio also has given air time to officials of the NATO-led peace force and foreign election organizers.

When candidates appear on the three-hour show, they are peppered with questions. By encouraging Serbs to openly ask questions, the media eventually may weaken Karadzic's lieutenants and give moderates a chance.

On Serb territory, Karadzic officially is out as Bosnian Serb leader. But he retains influence, and his deputies based in Pale have a strong grip on official TV and most other institutions.

But Banja Luka, the largest city under Serb rule, is also a hotbed of opposition to Pale. Part of the reason is Radio Krajina, which mark
first birthday this month.

The non-governmental Institute for War and Peace Reporting, which monitors media across Bosnia, credits the radio with opening a political debate "by asking uncomfortable questions about the implementation of the Dayton accords."

Radio Krajina, however, is only the most successful of several broadcasters and newspapers based in this northwestern city that needle Karadzic's ruling party.

That's hard to do in Bosnia, where ruling Muslim, Serb and Croat parties all control the main TV stations in their territory.

In Muslim-ruled territory, independent newspapers and small, local broadcasters -- many financed at least in part from abroad -- have cut into the party's information edge. Bosnian Croat media has been impenetrable.

Foreign governments and non-governmental organizations have targeted their democratizing dollars in Banja Luka in hopes of weakening Karadzic's lieutenants and encouraging a moderate opposition.

Last week, Banja Luka's Nezavisine Novine, or Independent News, went daily after getting newsprint and other support from the U.S. Agency for International Development.

Another paper in Banja Luka, Novi Prelom, is a biweekly mix of satire and commentary, whose founder opposed the war and now favors the Bosnian Serbs' reintegration into Bosnia.

It and other papers in smaller towns only print a few thousand copies each, and none can be considered truly independent.

Branislava Memon, editor of Novi Prelom, said that despite the different views of her paper, she tunes into Radio Krajina because "you can hear all sorts of ideas, and the arguments against them."

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Bosnians Shiver At Track Meet

By ROBERT MILLWARD
AP Sports Writer
Tuesday, September 10, 1996 3:12 am EDT

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina (AP) -- The Bosnian fans went wild when American pole vaulter Pat Manson threw T-shirts, his track shoes and everything in his bag into the crowd.

They roared when Olympic champion high jumper Charles Austin cleared the bar to win his event. And they marveled at the speed of Kenyan 1,000-meter runners Vincent Malakwen and veteran William Tanui.

But why did half the capacity 5,000 crowd leave long before the end of the historic track meet in war-ravaged Sarajevo?

They missed Olympic champion Lyudmilla Engquist of Sweden beat Slovenia's silver medalist Brigita Bukovec in the 100-meter hurdles, Britain's John Mayock upset world 10,000-meter record holder Salah Hissou of Morocco over 2,000 meters and Hicham El Guerrouj down rising Kenyan star and 3,000-meter world record holder Daniel Komen in the 1,500 meters.

It was not that the sports-starved Sarajevans were protesting the non-appearance of world and Olympic 200 and 400-meter titalist Michael Johnson or world triple jump champ Jonathan Edwards.

It's just that they were cold.

The temperature drop suddenly around late afternoon in Bosnia and the fans just wanted to get back to their homes or to what is left of them.

Both Austin and Engquist were emotionally affected by seeing with their own eyes the devastation they had previously only seen on Television.

''The memory of seeing what has happened to this city will always be with me,'' Austin said. ''Just driving in from the airport made me very sad.

''I don't know exactly why they were fighting. But I would like to know, seeing this destruction, what the people think now, how they feel, what's going through their minds.'
Engquist, who collected $250,000 Saturday for being the overall women's champion in the IAAF Grand Prix finals, said she tried to avoid crying on the journey from Sarajevo airport as she saw row after row of bombed-out houses.

"I've seen something like 400,000 people from this country now living in Sweden. And at the time I tried to understand why.

"Now I know. Now I want to help. I can't help alone, but I will try to do what I can," Engquist said. "These people must believe they have not been forgotten."

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Substantive Statements by The President of the United States on Bosnia since January 1993

1. February 5, 1993, The President's News Conference With Prime Minister Brian Mulroney

2. February 10, 1993, Remarks at a Town Meeting in Detroit

3. February 24, 1993, Exchange With Reporters Prior to a Meeting With Prime Minister John Major of the United Kingdom

4. February 24, 1993, The President's News Conference With Prime Minister John Major of the United Kingdom


6. March 9, 1993, The President's News Conference With President Francois Mitterrand of France

7. March 24, 1993, Interview With Dan Rather of CBS News

8. April 16, 1993, The President's News Conference with Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa of Japan


10. April 25, 1993, Question-and-Answer Session With the Newspaper Association of America in Boston


14. May 12, 1993, Interview With Don Imus of WFAN Radio in New York City


17.  June 17, 1993, The President's News Conference
18.  July 2, 1993, Interview With Foreign Journalists
19.  September 8, 1993, Remarks and an Exchange With Reporters Prior to Discussions With President Alija Izetbegovic of Bosnia
20.  September 17, 1993, The President's News Conference With Prime Minister Ciampi of Italy
21.  September 27, 1993, The President's News Conference With Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa of Japan in New York City
27.  January 14, 1994, The President's News Conference With President Boris Yeltsin of Russia in Moscow
28.  February 9, 1994, Teleconference With Mayors and an Exchange With Reporters
29.  February 9, 1994, Remarks Announcing the NATO Decision on Air Strikes in Bosnia and an Exchange With Reporters
30.  February 10, 1994, Remarks on the Bipartisan on Commission on Entitlement Reform and an Exchange With Reporters
31.  February 11, 1994, The President's News Conference With Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa of Japan
32.  February 17, 1994, Interview With Don Imus of WFAN Radio in New York City
33.  February 19, 1994, The President's Radio Address and an Exchange With Reporters
34.  February 21, 1994, The President's News Conference
35.  March 1, 1994, The President's News Conference With Prime Minister John Major
36. March 18, 1994, Remarks at the Bosnian Federation Signing Ceremony
37. April 5, 1994, Remarks in a Town Meeting in Charlotte, North Carolina
38. April 10, 1994, Remarks and an Exchange With Reporters
39. April 11, 1994, Exchange With Reporters on Bosnia
40. April 14, 1994, Remarks on the American Helicopter Tragedy in Iraq and an Exchange With Reporters
41. April 17, 1994, Remarks on Bosnia and an Exchange With Reporters in Newport News, Virginia
42. April 18, 1994, Remarks on Bosnia and an Exchange with Reporters Prior to Departure for Milwaukee, Wisconsin
43. April 19, 1994, Interview on MTV's "Enough is Enough" Forum
44. April 19, 1994, Remarks on Bosnia and an Exchange With Reporters
45. April 20, 1994, Exchange With Reporters Prior to Discussions With Chancellor Franz Vranitzky of Austria
46. April 20, 1994, The President's News Conference
47. April 22, 1994, The President's News Conference With Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou
48. April 25, 1994, Remarks Honoring the 1994 Victim Service Award Recipients and an Exchange With Reporters
49. May 3, 1994, Interview on CNN's "Global Forum With President Clinton"
50. May 25, 1994, Remarks at the United States Naval Academy Commencement Ceremony in Annapolis, Maryland
51. May 27, 1994, Interview With the Italian Media
52. May 27, 1994, Interview With Gavin Esler of the British Broadcasting Corporation, Foreign Policy
53. June 2, 1994, The President's News Conference With Prime Minister Berlusconi of Italy in Rome
54. June 7, 1994, Interview With the French Media in Paris
55. June 7, 1994, Remarks to the French National Assembly in Paris
56. July 1, 1994, Interview With Klaus Walther of ZDF German Television
57. July 11, 1994, The President's News Conference With Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Bonn, Germany
58. September 26, 1994, Remarks to the 49th Session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York City
59. September 28, 1994, The President's News Conference With President Yeltsin of Russia
60. December 5, 1994, Remarks to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in Budapest, Hungary
61. February 28, 1995, Exchange with Reporters Prior to Discussions with Prime Minister Wim Kok of the Netherlands
63. May 31, 1995, Remarks at the United States Air Force Academy Commencement
64. May 31, 1995, Interview with Billings Gazette
65. June 1, 1995, Remarks at a Town Meeting in Billings
66. June 3, 1995, Saturday Radio Address
67. June 5, 1995, Interview with Larry King
68. June 14, 1995, The President's News Conference with European Union Leaders
70. June 24, 1995, Interview with Susan Yoachum of the San Francisco Chronicle
73. August 7, 1995, Interview with Bob Edwards and Mara Liasson of National Public Radio
74. August 10, 1995, The President's News Conference
75. August 11, 1995, Interview with Tabitha Soren of MTV
76. August 23, 1995, Remarks at a Memorial Service for the American Diplomats Who Died in Bosnia-Herzegovina
77. August 31, 1995, Remarks on arrival in Honolulu, Hawaii
78. September 5, 1995, Remarks and Question-and-Answer with the Community at Abraham Lincoln Middle School in Selma, California
79. September 23, 1995, Saturday Radio Address
80. October 5, 1995, Remarks Announcing Agreement on a Cease-Fire in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Exchange with Reporters
81. October 6, 1995, Remarks at Freedom House Breakfast
82. October 15, 1995, Remarks at the University of Connecticut in Storrs
83. October 19, 1995, The President's News Conference
84. October 25, 1995, Remarks Honoring Harry S. Truman at the Library of Congress
85. October 31, 1995, Remarks Before the Start of Bosnia Negotiations
86. November 21, 1995, Remarks on the Tentative Bosnia Peace Agreement
87. November 25, 1995, Saturday Radio Address
Dear Melanne,

I feel sure that the Pentagon has forwarded to you the recently established APO numbers for single soldier mail and letters for families of deployed servicemembers. But better safe than sorry. The numbers are:

- Any Soldier - 09397
- Any Family Member of a Deployed Soldier - 09399

These numbers will go into effect on January 15, 1996. There is a weight restriction on parcels of 11 ounces.

Have a great holiday.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

Radio Address
Remind me.
December 15, 1995

Mr. John P. Rice

Dear Mr. Rice:

Thank you for your letter regarding the Administration's policy on Bosnia. I appreciate your contacting me to voice your concern and for enclosing the copy of your speech for President Clinton.

In order to successfully face the challenges of the future, President Clinton and his Administration are working toward the changes that Americans want and need -- real changes that will ensure that America remains strong, secure, and prosperous, thereby creating greater opportunity for all Americans. As we continue to re-invent government to further this goal, President Clinton and I welcome the thoughts and concerns of all Americans.

Again, thank you for writing. Be assured that I will keep your views in mind.

Sincerely,

Leon E. Panetta
Chief of Staff

cc: The Honorable Donald Baer

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COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Communications
Don Baer
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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]

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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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]
November 23, 1995

FAX TRANSMISSION

To: Executive Office of the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Attention: Hon. Leon E. Panetta, Chief of Staff.

This is a fax of 4 pages including this page.

Subject: Suggested draft of speech by the President.

I offer the following document in the hope that the thoughts expressed in it will be of some usefulness in the preparation of the speech the President will deliver next week on the subject of our country's participation in the Bosnian peace keeping mission.

Happy Thanksgiving.

Sincerely,

John P. Rice

John P. Rice
DRAFT OF SPEECH FOR THE PRESIDENT
ON THE SUBJECT OF U.S. PARTICIPATION
IN THE BOSNIAN PEACE KEEPING MISSION

We citizens of the United States of America obtained the blessings of freedom not only through the sacrifices of the patriots that founded our nation but also through the support of other nations that contributed arms and soldiers to our cause. There was no promise that their mission would be without pain and suffering or even succeed. Nevertheless the people that contributed to the establishment of our nation fully committed themselves in the effort to secure the ideals that formed its foundation. Now we are left with their legacy, and the open question is: "What are we going to do to perpetuate their gift?"

Thomas Paine, who was at the forefront of the intellectual leaders of the American Revolution, wrote that "The cause of America is in great measure the cause of all mankind." and went on to say, "Many circumstances have, and will arise, which are not local, but universal, and through which the principles of all lovers of mankind are affected. . ." If he were alive today, I believe he would tell us now that "The cause of all mankind is in great measure the cause of America."

Like you, I have witnessed on television the horrors that have been visited upon the inhabitants of the former Yugoslavia. We have seen the killing and dismemberment of children, women and men in the random shelling of civilian areas and the genocide resulting from so-called ethnic cleansing. As a consequence of this mayhem, hundreds of thousands of our fellow human beings have been living in hell. We have been viewing these horrors for three years, while the victims looked to the Free World to rescue them from their
nightmare. These are indeed once again "times that try men's souls", and the
time is now at hand for us to stop just wringing our hands and to act with
courage in the service of mankind.

Our Nation, as the leader of the Free World, must assume the leadership
position in the endeavor to restore peace in the former Yugoslavia. We have
the resources to do the job, and we will most certainly share in the loss with
all of civilized society if the mission fails.

We must all recognize that some part of our armed forces is always "in
harms way". No one would seriously suggest that we keep our law enforcement
people in the police station so as to avoid placing them "in harms way" out on
the streets. Our Congress appropriates hundreds of billions of dollars every
year for the maintenance of a well-trained, powerful military force capable of
speedily moving over the face of the globe to protect our national interests.
The issue about our participation in the peace keeping mission in Bosnia is:
Is it in our vital national interest?

If our national interests are to be weighed only by economic factors and
our values as civilized people left off the scale, then we have no national
interests in the peace keeping in Bosnia. But we should remember the past
when we stood by while two world wars were spawned in this part of Europe and
then turned into a whirlpool that inevitably drew our country into its
current. Surely, it cannot be that we have already forgotten the consequences
of our failure to act on a timely basis when the third Reich began its assault
on civilized society? We must not and cannot repeat this mistake, or we will
again pay a terrible price for our neglect.

We must recognize that there can be no greater threat to civilized
society than allowing the wanton destruction of human life under the aegis of
governments. The anarchy of Bosnia is a virus that must be destroyed because
otherwise it will spread and destroy us all. Fortunately a solution is now at
hand. All the parties to the Bosnian conflict signed a peace treaty in Dayton, Ohio last week. Now, it is in our national interests that its terms be kept. As your President, I have committed our Government to participate in this mission and call upon all Americans to support this united effort. The United States will be providing about one-third of the peacekeeping forces to be stationed for approximately twelve months along the borders of the newly defined political subdivisions created by the treaty.

Your government and NATO will work diligently to ensure the safety of our forces and to enable their earliest possible return home. And, when this mission is completed, we will know that we have made our contribution to perpetuating the ideals that our founders initiated and that we have further insured those ideals for our posterity and mankind.

###
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
18 December 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR DISTRIBUTION

FROM: NANCY SODERBERG

SUBJECT: BOSNIA REQUESTS

Here is my understanding of what we have agreed to do for next few weeks.

- **DOD Briefing:** This week on Friday. 15 minute pre-brief; 45 minutes in Operations Deputies Conference Room. Followed by 15 minute pre-brief and 30 minute interview with Stars & Stripes and Army, Navy and Air Force Times. Possible additional 10 minute interview with Armed Forces Network. (Action: Schuker/Feeley)

- Interview with Bosnian newspaper, 10 minutes brief; 20 minutes. Pending. (Action: Schuker)

- December 24 church attendance with families and Radio Address to troops (Bosnia reserves and active). (Armed Forces Radio, CNN, VOA?) (Action: Schuker/Bell/Blinken)

- Phone call to troops (Bosnia, Haiti, Japan) (Action: Bell/WHMO)

- Possible FLOTUS or VP dropby TL meeting of religious and humanitarian groups. This week. (Action: Schuker/Schifter)

- Possible FLOTUS or VP with children writing letters to troops in Bosnia. This week. (Action: Schuker)

- Taped Presidential message to troops for New Years. (Action: Schuker/Blinken)

- Foreign policy speech, early January. GW? Pending. (Action: Schuker/Blinken)
cc:
Stephanie Streett
Ann Walley
Tony Lake
Sandy Berger
Don Baer
Andrew Sens
Bob Bell
David Johnson
Jill Schuker
Richard Schifter
John Feeley
Tony Blinken
Fred Dohse
Joyce Harmon
Brenda Hilliard
Steve Naplan
MEMO

To: Don Baer  
    Mike McCurry  
    Evelyn Lieberman  
    Ginny Terzano

From: David Eichenbaum

Subject: Internet Pen Pals for Troops

Date: December 14, 1995

The Pen Pal for Troops Program

The Democratic National Committee would like to support the peace keeping troops in Bosnia by establishing an Internet Pen Pal system. This system would allow anybody with Internet access to become a pen pal with a soldier in Bosnia simply by sending a message to an e-mail address or using a form on the DNC's Internet home page on the World Wide Web. The messages of support will be forwarded to the troops in Bosnia, and be distributed to those soldiers who are interested.

By developing this project now, and kicking it off in the next week, the President will be able to instantly engage Americans in supporting the troops in Bosnia in time for the holidays.

The DNC home page receives thousand of hits, or accesses a day, with hundreds of them filling out the visitor book or the volunteer form. Adding a Pen Pal prompt onto our menu page could generate hundreds (possibly thousands) of letters a day from our web site alone. Even if the DNC web site visitors do not write a pen pal letter, hundreds of thousands of people a day will notice the Democratic Party's efforts to support President Clinton and the troops in Bosnia, by promoting the project on our page and throughout the Internet.

The Inaugural Event

For this program to receive media attention and have an impact, President Clinton should be the first pen pal, with a press event set up around it. The event could happen in the Oval Office with a backdrop of senior military officers and also families of soldiers. The message of the event would be the support of the troops in Bosnia; the unique appeal to the press and to the public will be the use of the Internet as the medium.

While we would work in consultation with the White House on the exact scripting of the event, we envision the President discussing the millions of Americans who have access to the Internet via homes or schools or computer centers, and how this medium
will allow Americans to connect directly to the troops in Bosnia to show their support. The President could even encourage computer retailers to set up Internet Pen Pal e-mail centers in their stores for the holiday season -- or perhaps this can be done beforehand and announced by the President at the event. It is important for the President to mention that the troops in Bosnia do have access to computers and to the Internet. After discussing the use of the Internet, the President would then turn to the computer on his desktop and write a message of support. When he is finished, he could invite the family members or others to send messages as well.

Because of the uncertainty of the Internet connections to Bosnia, it is suggested that we do NOT try to do a satellite link to a soldier in Bosnia receiving the message. If lines are down or if there is a glitch, the end image of the press conference could be distracting from our goal.

Technical Needs
Technically we will need to have a desktop computer with a color monitor large enough to be captured well on film. The computer would need a Windows operating system and a Netscape web browser. Depending on the ease and reliability of the connection, the President can either connect directly to the Internet and immediately send a message or he could simulate it in a "how to" fashion.

On the Military side, we would need assurance that the troops will have access to the Internet, and an Internet location to forward the letters to.

Attachments
Attached is one page step by step description of how the Internet Pen Pals for Troops program would work.
Language for Bosnia Speech
Nov. 2, 1995
Attn: Dick Morris

Tom Freedman

Tom Back

from Naomi

My fellow Americans:

There are certain times -- and they do not come often, nor should they -- when events call upon America by name. When we look back at those moments, we see that this country of ours, when pressed hard by history, is like a gentle but powerful giant: fair and deliberate, and slow to anger; a champion, above all, of peace. But when those who are being used as sacrifices to a cruel injustice cry out to the conscience of humanity, this mighty and compassionate nation, first among equals, will turn toward them.

Tonight, I sign a decree that will send 25,000 of the bravest and strongest of our sons and daughters to wage peace in the ravaged Balkans.

Many of you have real doubts and real fears about that course: some say that the rivalries of these tormented lands are so old and so deep that they defy intervention; others, that peacekeeping such as this is more complex a challenge than is old-fashioned, outright war; and still others, that the grief of a people in a faraway region is of no consequence to our citizens, who have our own concerns to grapple with here at home. Some of these words of caution come from the most moral of considerations; others -- I trust, far fewer -- are examples of those who would use global politics as a way to play national politics.

But whatever their impetus, tonight I am here to tell you why these fears must be laid aside; and why you and I must rise as Americans to the call of conscience and of history.

The first reason we must courageously embrace this course of action is that we Americans are a civilized people. And we know what a delicate and precious thing civilization is. We all know from our own observation that the horrors of the Balkans have registered at a level of sheer inhumanity that the civilized mind must reject. Tribal and ethnic conflict are all too common in today's world; instability -- even violent instability -- is a commonplace danger is our post-Cold-War world.

But what has transpired in the Balkans consists of what can only be
relation to the world -- the story of democracy versus communism -- has come, thank God, to a triumphant end. The past five years have been truly extraordinary in terms of the global outbreak of peace. Black and White South Africans are standing in line together outside voting booths; Catholic
members of a group that faces a profound test. We are, historically, a
'chosen' generation -- one that will either rise to or fail the call of history,
and the successful or disastrous transition into the post-millennial world.

I call upon you to change the way you may think about peacekeeping
and peacekeepers. One critic scoffed that peacekeepers are not 'mean dogs'
but 'warm puppies.' That way of thinking is as obsolete as the dinosaur.
Peacekeepers of the twenty-first century are not only blessed: they are
brave. Peace must be understood in a new way: not as something easy, but
as something hard. Not as something that Americans collapse into, but as
something that brave American warriors rise to.

Think about these times we live in; and about the democratic peace
that we have helped to wage so successfully in Haiti and in Ireland and in
Gaza and in Jerusalem. And think about all the children who sleep quietly
at night in those countries now; and of the Balkan children whose
nightmares we have the power and the grace to bring to an end. And ask
yourselves: is this legacy of peacekeeping not a brave and honorable
American record -- as brave and honorable as any record of war? Is this
form of strength not also part of the American mission?

I charge that it is.

And I ask you to join me in sending our courageous American sons and
daughters to the Balkans not only with your prayers, but with your pride;
for they, the armies of the peace, are carrying out once again the great
task of this nation.
TO: BOSNIA WORKING GROUP

FOR DISCUSSION AT TUESDAY 10 am VTS meeting.

I. BOSNIA OVERARCHING MESSAGES
   October 24

LEADERSHIP—American leadership enabled peace: POTUS determination/resolve was key

NATIONAL INTEREST—Success means, Europe at peace: fundamental goal of US policy given last century of conflict on that continent

VALUES—One of the most violent conflicts of recent times, ended because US cared; can’t stop responsibility at the water’s edge; not realistic/not smart

HUMANITARIAN—End humanitarian disaster: children not dying in the streets; Light at the end of this tunnel

MEANS—NATO is right military vehicle; US leadership; up to the task; work in alliance

ENDS—Limited engagement, clear mission, opportunity

It’s right, it’s honorable, it’s responsibility of global leadership, it’s best opportunity for peace, only US can do it

II. PROBLEMS

—Human Rights issues
—Rules of Engagement
—Costs
—Command and Control
—Raison d’etre for Commitment Now
—End-game

III. Influential Update

IV. Congressional Update

V. POTUS
ACTION COUNCIL FOR PEACE IN THE BALKANS

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Bosnia Message Points (RS draft)

In a world which continues to be a dangerous place, NATO remains the guarantee for peace and stability in most of Europe. Shared values, shared goals, and shared interests tie NATO’s members to each other.

One of the shared goals is the establishment of peace in the Balkans and the creation of a Europe which, as President Bush once put it, “whole and free.” What has prevented us from attaining that goal has been the brutal war in the former Yugoslavia. Dissension within NATO made it difficult to deal with what seemed to be an intractable problem. Now, at long last, U.S. initiative has brought us to the point where the killing can finally be stopped and a peace can be negotiated.

The parties to the terrible conflict now finally want peace, but they do not trust each other. To make sure that the peace holds, it will have to be policed, reassuring each party that the others will be held to their agreement. A united NATO is prepared to take on the responsibility of policing the peace agreement, to put troops into the region to keep the peace and, if necessary, to enforce it.

It was U.S. leadership which has brought us to this point. But U.S. leadership will continue to be needed to make NATO’s role in the Balkans credible. Such leadership requires the participation of U.S. troops in the policing of the peace agreement.

The troops will be needed to patrol the lines drawn within Bosnia between the Serbs and the Muslim-Croat Federation. Their objective will be to prevent breaches of the peace by either side. The line of demarcation is, however, not intended to seal the two areas off from each other. On the contrary, as the rebuilding process begins, confidence-building measures and above all economic relations across the dividing line under civilian auspices will be encouraged. That is why there are good reasons to expect a draw-down in the peacekeeping force after one year.