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For Immediate Release November 27, 1995

STATEMENTS BY THE PRESIDENT

The Oval Office

8:00 P.M. EST

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

There are times and places where our leadership can mean the difference between peace and war, and where we can defend our fundamental values as a people and serve our most basic, strategic interests. My fellow Americans, in this new era there are still times when America and America alone can and should make the difference for peace.
The terrible war in Bosnia is such a case. Nowhere today is the need for American leadership more stark or more immediate than in Bosnia. For nearly four years a terrible war has torn Bosnia apart. Horrors we prayed had been banished from Europe forever have been seared into our minds again. Skeletal prisoners caged behind barbed-wire fences; women and girls raped as a tool of war; defenseless men and boys shot down into mass graves, evoking visions of World War II concentration camps; and endless lines of refugees marching toward a future of despair.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Second, the risks to our troops will be minimized. American troops will take their orders from the American general who commands NATO. They will be heavily armed and thoroughly trained. By making an overwhelming show of force, they will lessen the need to use force. But unlike the U.N. forces, they will have the authority to respond immediately, and the training and the equipment to respond with overwhelming force to any threat to their own safety or any violations of the military provisions of the peace agreement.
If the NATO plan meets with my approval I will immediately send it to Congress and request its support. I will also authorize the participation of a small number of American troops in a NATO advance mission that will lay the groundwork for IFOR, starting sometime next week. They will establish headquarters and set up the sophisticated communication systems that must be in place before NATO can send in its troops, tanks and trucks to Bosnia.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A few weeks ago, I was privileged to spend some time with His Holiness, Pope John Paul, II, when he came to America. At the very end of our meeting, the Pope looked at me and said, "I have lived through most of this century. I remember that it began with a war in Sarajevo. Mr. President, you must not let it end with a war in Sarajevo."
In Bosnia, this terrible war has challenged our interests and troubled our souls. Thankfully, we can do something about it. I say again, our mission will be clear, limited and achievable. The people of Bosnia, our NATO allies, and people all around the world are now looking to America for leadership. So let us lead. That is our responsibility as Americans.

Goodnight and God bless America.

END

8:22 P.M. EST
Good evening.

Tonight, I want to speak with you about our responsibility as Americans.

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

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

[Throughout what we now call “the American Century,” the American people have disagreed on specific policies -- profoundly, even passionately. But we have always agreed on America’s purpose: to lead the great human struggle for peace, freedom and tolerance.]
When the Cold War ended, some people questioned that purpose. They believed that, much like after World War I, America could step back from -- instead of stepping up to -- our responsibility to lead. If we would just keep our military strong and our country safe, we could leave for others the hard work of leadership. But if America doesn't lead, too often the job won't get done. We should all be proud that President Bush, and then this administration, have kept faith with America's special mission in the world. From Iraq to Haiti, from South Africa to Korea, from the Middle East to Northern Ireland, we have stood up for peace and freedom because that is in America's interest.

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

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

The terrible war in Bosnia is such a case. Nowhere are America’s fundamental values and basic interests more at stake -- or the need for American leadership more immediate -- than in Bosnia.

For nearly four years, a terrible war that began when Serbian nationalism forced the break-up of Yugoslavia has torn Bosnia apart. This war has wasted thousands of lives and destroyed countless futures. Horrors that we prayed had been banished from Europe forever have been seared into our minds: skeletal prisoners caged behind barbed wire fences... defenseless men and boys shot down into mass graves... endless lines of refugees marching toward a future of despair.

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

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

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

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

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

In Bosnia the mission is clear. The risks are manageable. Our troops are well prepared. But no
deployment of American troops is risk free and this one may well involve casualties. There may
be accidents in the field... or incidents with people who have not given up their hatred. We must
be prepared for that possibility. As President, my most difficult duty is to put the men and women
who volunteer to serve our nation in harm's way when America's interests and values demand it.

I assume full responsibility for any harm that may come to them.

If the safety of some Americans is going to be put at risk, all Americans have the right to know what is at stake... what our troops will be asked to accomplish... and why we must carry out our responsibility to implement the peace agreement in Bosnia.

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

Securing peace in Bosnia will also help build a stable Europe -- which has been one of America's most important interests for nearly a century. Bosnia lies at the very heart of Europe -- next door to many of its fragile new democracies and some of America's closest allies. Generations of Americans have understood that Europe's stability is vital to our own national security. That's why we fought two world wars in Europe. That's why we defended its hard won peace and freedom with NATO and the Marshall Plan. That's why we must help the nations of Europe end their worst nightmare since World War II -- now.
The only force capable of getting the job done is NATO -- the powerful military alliance of democracies that has guaranteed our security for half a century. As NATO’s leader -- and as the primary broker of the peace agreement -- the United States must be an essential part of its mission.

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

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

As I speak to you, NATO is completing its planning for IFOR, an International Force for peace in Bosnia of about 60,000 troops. Already, more than 20 nations -- including our major NATO allies -- have pledged to take part. They will contribute about 2/3rds of the implementation force -- some 40,000 troops. The United States would contribute the rest -- about 20,000 soldiers.
Later this week, the final NATO plan will be submitted to me for review and approval. Let me make clear what I expect it to include -- and what it must include for me to give final approval to the participation of our armed forces:

First, the mission will be precisely defined -- with clear, realistic goals that can be achieved in a finite period of time. Our troops will make sure each side withdraws its forces behind the front lines -- and keeps them there. They will maintain the cease fire to prevent the war from accidentally starting again. They will clear land mines so that young children do not lose their arms or their legs. They will create a secure environment in Bosnia so that its people can return to their homes and begin to rebuild their lives. Our Joint Chiefs of Staff have concluded that this mission should and will take about one year.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Tonight, I want to speak with you about our responsibility as Americans.

From its birth, our nation has been more than just the sum of its economic needs and political goals. America has always stood for the idea that people have the right to live in peace and freedom -- to control their own lives and pursue their dreams. For two centuries, that American idea has been a source of inspiration and hope to people around the world. Today, the values of liberty, democracy and peace for which America stands are, more and more, the ideals of humanity.

In this century especially, America has done more than simply stand for these ideals -- we have acted on them... and sacrificed for them. Our people fought two world wars so that freedom could triumph over tyranny. Then, we made the commitments that kept the peace... that helped spread democracy... that brought us unparalleled prosperity... and that won the Cold War.

Throughout what we now call “the American Century,” the American people have disagreed on specific policies -- profoundly, even passionately. But we have always agreed on America’s purpose: to lead the great human struggle for peace, freedom and tolerance.
When the Cold War ended, some people questioned that purpose. They believed that America could step back from -- instead of stepping up to -- our responsibility to lead. We should all be proud that we have kept faith with America’s special mission in the world. From Iraq to Haiti, from South Africa to Korea, from the Middle East to Northern Ireland, we have stood down aggression and stood up for those willing to take risks for peace.

Now, as the Cold War gives way to the global village, the challenges and opportunities of a new era demand our leadership more than ever. The new democracies of Europe we have worked so hard to support remain fragile. They must be nurtured and defended. And we are all vulnerable to the organized forces of intolerance and destruction: ethnic and religious rivalries... the spread of weapons of mass destruction... drug trafficking, organized crime and terrorism. Just as surely as fascism and communism, these forces would spread darkness over light... chaos over community. They too demand American leadership -- and the strength and values we wield as our weapons -- to fight and defeat them.

Nowhere is the assault on America’s values more clear -- or the need for American leadership more immediate -- than in Bosnia.

For nearly four years, a terrible war that began when Serbian nationalism forced the break-up of Yugoslavia has torn Bosnia apart. This war has wasted thousands of lives and destroyed countless futures. Images that we prayed had been banished from Europe forever have been seared into our minds: skeletal prisoners caged behind barbed wire fences... defenseless men and boys shot down into mass graves... endless lines of refugees marching toward a future of despair.
Some urged immediate intervention. I decided that while American ground troops should help secure a peace agreement if and when it was reached, they should not fight a war in Bosnia. The United States could not force peace on Bosnia’s warring ethnic groups -- the Serbs, Croats and Muslims. Only they themselves could make it. What America has done is to support our European allies in the search for peace... to stop the war from spreading... and to ease the suffering of the Bosnian people.

But as months of a terrible conflict turned into years, it became clear that Europe alone could not end the war. This summer, when Bosnian Serb shelling once again turned Bosnia’s playgrounds and marketplaces into killing fields, the United States insisted that NATO take a stand. NATO’s heavy and continuous air strikes -- many of them flown by skilled American pilots -- convinced the Serbs to start thinking about making peace.

At the same time, intensive diplomacy by America’s negotiating team forged a Bosnia-wide cease fire and brought the parties back to the peace table. Three dedicated American diplomats -- Bob Frasure, Joe Kruzel and Nelson Drew -- lost their lives in that effort. Tonight, we remember their sacrifice. Finally, the Muslims, Croats and Serbs came to Dayton, Ohio -- in America’s heartland -- to negotiate a final settlement. There, exhausted by war, they made a commitment to peace. They agreed to put down their guns... to preserve Bosnia as a single state... to protect the human rights of its citizens... and to try to build a peaceful, democratic future.

I believe America has a responsibility to help them make good on that commitment -- to secure peace in Bosnia and to turn this moment of hope into an enduring reality. To do that, troops from our country and around the world would go into Bosnia -- at the parties’ request -- to give them
the confidence they need to implement their peace plan. While I refused to send American troops to fight a war in Bosnia, I am determined to send them to Bosnia to secure the peace.

No deployment of American troops is risk free. This one may well involve casualties. As President, my most difficult decision is to put the men and women who volunteer to serve our nation in harm’s way -- and I assume full responsibility for any harm that may come to them. But the goal of a lasting peace in Bosnia is achievable. The risks are manageable. Our troops are ready. And America’s values and interests -- together with our standing in the world as a beacon of hope for all those striving for freedom -- demand that we continue to be leaders for peace.

The American people must understand what is at stake -- and why we must carry out our responsibility to secure peace in Bosnia.

Securing peace in Bosnia can end the terrible suffering of the Bosnian people -- the mass executions... the ethnic cleansing... the campaigns of rape and terror. Let us never forget: one quarter of a million men, women and children have been shelled, shot and tortured to death. Two million people -- half of Bosnia’s population -- were forced from their homes and into a miserable life as refugees. [Anecdote from Zlata Diary?]. Now, American leadership has created the chance to secure the peace -- and stop the suffering.

Securing peace in Bosnia will also help build a stable Europe -- which has been one of America’s most important interests for nearly a century. Bosnia lies at the very heart of Europe -- next door to many of its fragile new democracies and some of America’s closest allies. If we don’t stamp out the spark of this conflict now, it could light a much larger fire in Europe. Successive
generations of Americans have understood that Europe's stability is vital to our own national
security. That's why we fought two world wars in Europe. That's why we defended its hard won
peace and freedom with NATO and the Marshall Plan. That's why we must help the nations of
Europe end their worst nightmare since World War II -- now.

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

If we're not there, NATO will not be there. The parties will not carry through on their peace
plan: The war will re-ignite. The slaughter of innocents will begin again. A conflict that already
has claimed so many victims could spread like poison throughout the region, eat away at Europe's
stability, and undermine our ability to confront, together, common problems like nuclear
proliferation, terrorism, crime and drugs. And America's commitment to leadership -- in NATO
and around the world -- will be called into question. If America does not lead, no one will lead.
If America does not act, no one will act. That is one of the great lessons of this century -- and we
must not forget it in Bosnia.

As I speak to you, NATO is completing its planning for an implementation force of about 60,000
troops -- to be known as IFOR. Already, more than 20 nations -- including our major NATO
allies -- have pledged to take part. They will contribute about 40,000 of the implementation
force's troops. The United States would contribute the rest -- about 20,000 soldiers.
Later this week, the final NATO plan will be submitted to me for review and approval. Let me make clear what I expect it to include -- and what it must include for me to approve the participation of our armed forces:

First, the mission must be precisely defined -- with clear, realistic goals that can be achieved in a finite period of time. Our troops will make sure each side withdraws its forces behind the front lines -- and keeps them there. They will maintain the cease fire to prevent the war from accidentally starting again. They will oversee an arms build-down that creates a balance of forces and makes future hostilities much less likely -- while the United States and others make sure the Bosnian Federation has the means to defend itself once IFOR withdraws. They will create a secure environment in Bosnia so that its people can return to their homes and begin to rebuild their lives. I hope and expect that this mission will take no more than one year.

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

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

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

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

But thanks to our leadership, and the commitment of our allies, the people of Bosnia have the chance to decide their future peacefully -- and in peace. They have a chance to remind the world that, just a few years ago, the mosques, minarets and churches of Sarajevo were a shining symbol of multi-ethnic tolerance -- that Bosnia once found unity in its diversity. We must not turn our backs on them now. In the choice between peace and war, America must choose peace.
We Americans are a people of conscience -- and we should be proud of that fact. When terrible images of inhumanity dominate our living rooms night after night, we want to do something to end the suffering.

My duty as President is to match those causes to our interests. America cannot take on every fight. We cannot stop all the killing in the world or defend every woman and child. But there are times and places where we can help end war... where we can save women and children... where we can live up to our values and serve our interests... where America -- and America alone -- can make a difference.

Bosnia is such a case. Our interests are plain. The cause is right. The mission to help the peace in Bosnia take hold is clear, limited and achievable. The people of Bosnia, our NATO allies and people around the world are looking to us for leadership. Let us lead.

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

The 20th century has been marked by so much progress... and too much bloodshed. It has been witness to humanity's capacity for the best... and its weakness for the worst. Through two world wars and a Cold War, America has stood for freedom and tolerance... and with all those who cherish peace and liberty. We have done so because a world in which nations enjoy peace and people live free will be a much better world for our own children to make the most of their God-given potential. And we have done so because it is the right thing to do.
Because previous generations of Americans stood up for freedom -- and because we continue to do so -- the American people are secure and prosperous. And more people than ever before live in peace. More people than ever before are treated with dignity. More people than ever before can hope to build a better life than their parents had -- and expect to pass on an even better one to their children.

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

In Bosnia, a terrible war has challenged our interests and troubled our souls. Now, because of American leadership, the war is over and a lasting peace has a chance to take hold. A few weeks ago, I was privileged to spend time with His Holiness Pope John Paul II when he came to America. At the end of our meeting, the Pope said: "I have lived through most of this century. I remember that it began with a war in Sarajevo. Mr. President, you must not let it end with a war in Sarajevo." All of us must do our part to hear the Pope's plea -- starting with America. Our job is not yet done. We must help peace in Bosnia take hold and endure. We must remain leaders for peace. This is our responsibility as Americans. Let us go forward and meet it.

Good night + God bless Am.  

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

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

[Throughout what we now call "the American Century," the American people have disagreed on specific policies -- profoundly, even passionately. But we have always agreed on America's purpose: to lead the great human struggle for peace, freedom and tolerance.]
When the Cold War ended, some people questioned that purpose. They believed that, much like after World War I, America could step back from -- instead of stepping up to -- our responsibility to lead. If we would just keep our military strong and our country safe, we could leave for others the hard work of leadership. But if America doesn’t lead, too often the job won’t get done. We should all be proud that President Bush, and then this administration, have kept faith with America’s special mission in the world. From Iraq to Haiti, from South Africa to Korea, from the Middle East to Northern Ireland, we have stood up for peace and freedom because that is in America’s interest.

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

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

The terrible war in Bosnia is such a case. Nowhere are America’s fundamental values and basic interests more at stake -- or the need for American leadership more immediate -- than in Bosnia.

For nearly four years, a terrible war that began when Serbian nationalism forced the break-up of Yugoslavia has torn Bosnia apart. This war has wasted thousands of lives and destroyed countless futures. Horrors that we prayed had been banished from Europe forever have been seared into our minds: skeletal prisoners caged behind barbed wire fences... defenseless men and boys shot down into mass graves... endless lines of refugees marching toward a future of despair.

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

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

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

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

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

In Bosnia the mission is clear. The risks are manageable. Our troops are well prepared. But no
deployment of American troops is risk free and this one may well involve casualties. There may
be accidents in the field... or incidents with people who have not given up their hatred. We must
be prepared for that possibility. As President, my most difficult duty is to put the men and women
who volunteer to serve our nation in harm’s way when America’s interests and values demand it. I assume full responsibility for any harm that may come to them.

If the safety of some Americans is going to be put at risk, all Americans have the right to know what is at stake... what our troops will be asked to accomplish... and why we must carry out our responsibility to implement the peace agreement in Bosnia.

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

Securing peace in Bosnia will also help build a stable Europe -- which has been one of America’s most important interests for nearly a century. Bosnia lies at the very heart of Europe -- next door to many of its fragile new democracies and some of America’s closest allies. Generations of Americans have understood that Europe’s stability is vital to our own national security. That’s why we fought two world wars in Europe. That’s why we defended its hard won peace and freedom with NATO and the Marshall Plan. That’s why we must help the nations of Europe end their worst nightmare since World War II -- now.
The only force capable of getting the job done is NATO -- the powerful military alliance of democracies that has guaranteed our security for half a century. As NATO's leader -- and as the primary broker of the peace agreement -- the United States must be an essential part of its mission.

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

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

As I speak to you, NATO is completing its planning for IFOR, an International Force for peace in Bosnia of about 60,000 troops. Already, more than 20 nations -- including our major NATO allies -- have pledged to take part. They will contribute about 2/3rds of the implementation force -- some 40,000 troops. The United States would contribute the rest -- about 20,000 soldiers.
Later this week, the final NATO plan will be submitted to me for review and approval. Let me make clear what I expect it to include -- and what it must include for me to give final approval to the participation of our armed forces:

First, the mission will be precisely defined -- with clear, realistic goals that can be achieved in a finite period of time. Our troops will make sure each side withdraws its forces behind the front lines -- and keeps them there. They will maintain the cease fire to prevent the war from accidentally starting again. They will clear land mines so that young children do not lose their arms or their legs. They will create a secure environment in Bosnia so that its people can return to their homes and begin to rebuild their lives. Our Joint Chiefs of Staff have concluded that this mission should and will take about one year.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

These are the blessings of freedom -- and America has always been freedom's greatest champion. If we continue to do everything we can to share these blessings with people around the world -- if we continue to be leaders for peace -- then the sacrifices that the American people have made this century will be renewed. And the next century can be the greatest our nation has yet known.
A few weeks ago, I was privileged to spend time with His Holiness Pope John Paul II when he came to America. At the end of our meeting, the Pope said: “I have lived through most of this century. I remember that it began with a war in Sarajevo. Mr. President, you must not let it end with a war in Sarajevo.”

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

Goodnight. And God bless America.
Good evening.

Tonight, I want to speak with you about our responsibility as Americans.

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

In this century especially, America has done more than simply stand for these ideals -- we have acted on them... and sacrificed for them. Our people fought two world wars so that freedom could triumph over tyranny. Then, we made the commitments that kept the peace... that helped spread democracy... that brought us unparalleled prosperity... and that won the Cold War.

Throughout what we now call "the American Century," the American people have disagreed on specific policies -- profoundly, even passionately. But we have always agreed on America's purpose: to lead the great human struggle for peace, freedom and tolerance.

When the Cold War ended, some people questioned that purpose. They believed that America could step back from -- instead of stepping up to -- our responsibility to lead. We should all be proud that we have kept faith with America's special mission in the world. From Iraq to Haiti,
from South Africa to Korea, from the Middle East to Northern Ireland, we have stood up for peace and freedom because that is in America's interest.

As the Cold War gives way to the global village, the challenges and opportunities of a new era demand our leadership more than ever. We are all vulnerable to the organized forces of intolerance and destruction: ethnic and religious rivalries... the spread of weapons of mass destruction... drug trafficking, organized crime and terrorism. Just as surely as fascism and communism, these forces would spread chaos over community. They too demand American leadership -- and the strength and values we wield as our weapons -- to fight and defeat them.

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

The terrible war in Bosnia is such a case. Nowhere is the assault on America's fundamental values and basic interests more clear -- or the need for American leadership more immediate -- than in Bosnia.

For nearly four years, a terrible war that began when Serbian nationalism forced the break-up of Yugoslavia has torn Bosnia apart. This war has wasted thousands of lives and destroyed
countless futures. Images that we prayed had been banished from Europe forever have been
seared into our minds: skeletal prisoners caged behind barbed wire fences... defenseless men and
boys shot down into mass graves... endless lines of refugees marching toward a future of despair.

Some urged immediate intervention. I decided that the United States could not force peace on
Bosnia’s warring ethnic groups -- the Serbs, Croats and Muslims -- and that American ground
troops should not fight a war in Bosnia. Instead, America has supported our European allies in
searching for peace... to stop the war from spreading... and to ease the suffering of the Bosnian
people.

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

At the same time, intensive diplomacy by America’s negotiating team forged a Bosnia-wide cease
fire. Three dedicated American diplomats -- Bob Frasure, Joe Kruzel and Nelson Drew -- lost
their lives in that effort. Tonight, we remember their sacrifice. Finally, the Muslims, Croats and
Serbs came to Dayton, Ohio -- in America’s heartland -- to negotiate a settlement. There,
exhausted by war, they made a commitment to peace. They agreed to put down their guns... to
preserve Bosnia as a single state... to protect the human rights of its citizens... and to try to build a
peaceful, democratic future.
America has a responsibility to answer the Bosnian parties’ specific request to help turn this moment of hope into an enduring reality. To do that, troops from our country and around the world would go into Bosnia to give them the confidence they need to implement their peace plan. While I refused to send American troops to fight a war in Bosnia, I am convinced they should help Bosnia secure its peace.

In Bosnia the risks are manageable. Our troops are ready. The goal of peace is achievable. But no deployment of American troops is risk free. This one may well involve casualties. As President, my most difficult decision is to put the men and women who volunteer to serve our nation in harm’s way -- and I assume full responsibility for any harm that may come to them. If the lives of some Americans are going to be put at risk, all Americans have the right to know what is at stake -- and why we must carry out our responsibility to secure peace in Bosnia.

Securing peace in Bosnia can end the terrible suffering of the Bosnian people -- the mass executions... the ethnic cleansing... the campaigns of rape and terror. Let us never forget: one quarter of a million men, women and children have been shelled, shot and tortured to death. Two million people -- half of Bosnia’s population -- were forced from their homes and into a miserable life as refugees. [Anecdote from Zlata Diary?]. Now, American leadership has created the chance to secure the peace -- and stop the suffering.

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

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

If we’re not there, NATO will not be there. The peace will collapse. The war will re-ignite. The slaughter of innocents will begin again. A conflict that already has claimed so many victims could spread like poison throughout the region, eat away at Europe’s stability, and undermine our ability to confront, together, common problems like nuclear proliferation, terrorism, crime and drugs. And America’s commitment to leadership -- in NATO and around the world -- will be called into question. If America does not lead, no one will lead. If America does not act, no one will act. That is one of the great lessons of this century -- and we must not forget it in Bosnia.

As I speak to you, NATO is completing its planning for an implementation force of about 60,000 troops -- to be known as IFOR. Already, more than 20 nations -- including our major NATO allies -- have pledged to take part. They will contribute about 40,000 of the implementation force’s troops. The United States would contribute the rest -- about 20,000 soldiers.

Later this week, the final NATO plan will be submitted to me for review and approval. Let me make clear what I expect it to include -- and what it must include for me to approve the participation of our armed forces: 

The plan I approve will include:

<Add participation criteria here>
First, the mission must be precisely defined -- with clear, realistic goals that can be achieved in a finite period of time. Our troops will make sure each side withdraws its forces behind the front lines -- and keeps them there. They will maintain the cease fire to prevent the war from accidentally starting again. They will create a secure environment in Bosnia so that its people can return to their homes and begin to rebuild their lives. Our military commanders have concluded that this mission should and will take no more than one year.

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

If the NATO plan meets with my approval, I will immediately send it to Congress and request its support. I will also authorize the participation of a small number of American troops in a NATO advance mission that will lay the groundwork for IFOR, starting in [TK] weeks. They will repair the roads, build the runways and set up the sophisticated communications systems that must be in place before NATO can send its troops, tanks and trucks into Bosnia. The implementation force itself would begin deploying in Bosnia by [TK TK].
The climate of security NATO creates in Bosnia will allow the international to oversee the removal of heavy weapons so that future hostilities are much less likely -- while the United States and others make sure the Bosnian Federation has the means to defend itself once IFOR withdraws. Civilian agencies from around the world will begin a separate program of humanitarian relief and reconstruction. This effort is absolutely essential to making peace endure. It will bring the people of Bosnia the food, shelter, clothing and medicine so many have been denied for so long. It will help them rebuild their roads and their schools... their power plants and hospitals... their factories and their shops. It will reunite children with their parents and families with their homes. It will allow the Bosnians freely to choose leaders devoted to reconciliation. It will give all the people of Bosnia a much greater stake in peace than in war -- so that peace takes on a life and logic of its own.

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

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

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

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

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

In Bosnia, a terrible war has challenged our interests and troubled our souls. Now, because of American leadership, the war is over and a lasting peace has a chance to take hold. A few weeks ago, I was privileged to spend time with His Holiness Pope John Paul II when he came to
America. At the end of our meeting, the Pope said: "I have lived through most of this century. I remember that it began with a war in Sarajevo. Mr. President, you must not let it end with a war in Sarajevo."

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

Goodnight. And God bless America.
Good evening.

Tonight, I want to speak with you about our responsibility as Americans.

From its creation, our nation has stood for the idea that people have the right to live in peace and freedom -- to control their own lives and pursue their dreams. That American idea has been a source of inspiration and hope to people around the world. Today -- from Poland to Haiti... from South Africa to Southeast Asia... from Northern Ireland to the Middle East -- the values of liberty, democracy and peace for which America stands are, more and more, the ideals of humanity.

In this century especially, America has not just stood for these ideals -- we have acted on them. We fought two world wars so that freedom could triumph over tyranny. Then, we made the commitments and built the institutions -- like NATO and the Marshall Plan -- that helped spread democracy... that brought us unparalleled prosperity... and that won the Cold War.

Throughout what we now call "the American Century," the American people have disagreed on specific policies -- profoundly, even passionately. But we have always agreed on America's purpose: to lead the great human struggle for peace, freedom and tolerance.
Now, with the Cold War over, some Americans believe we can afford to step back from -- instead of stepping up to -- the challenges and opportunities of a new era. They are wrong.

Look around the world. The new democracies we have worked so hard to support remain fragile. They must be nurtured and defended. And as the Cold War gives way to the global village, we are all vulnerable to the organized forces of intolerance and destruction: ethnic and religious rivalries... the spread of weapons of mass destruction... drug trafficking, organized crime and terrorism. Just as surely as fascism and communism, these forces would spread darkness over light... chaos over community. They too demand American leadership -- and the strength and values we wield as our weapons -- to fight and defeat them.

Nowhere is the need for American leadership more clear -- or more immediate -- than in Bosnia.

For nearly four years, a terrible war has torn that nation apart -- wasting thousands of lives and destroying countless futures. Last week, in Dayton, Ohio, this horror finally gave way to hope. There, with the help of America’s negotiating team, the parties to the war made a commitment to peace. They agreed to put down their guns... to settle their differences with ballots, not bullets... and to try to build a peaceful, democratic Bosnia.

I believe our nation has a responsibility to help them make good on that commitment -- to secure peace in Bosnia and to turn this moment of hope into an enduring reality. To do that, troops from our country and countries around the world would go into Bosnia to give the parties the confidence they need to implement their peace plan -- to create a climate of security that allows...
the hard work of rebuilding and reconciliation to begin. They would go into Bosnia not to fight a
war, but to enforce the peace.

No deployment of American troops is risk free. This one may well involve casualties. As
President, my most difficult decision is to put the men and women who volunteer to serve our
nation in harm’s way—and I assume full responsibility for any harm that may come to them. But
the goal of a lasting peace in Bosnia is achievable. The risks are manageable. Our troops are the
best trained, best equipped and best prepared in the world. And America’s values and interests --
together with our standing in the world as a beacon of hope for all those striving for freedom --
demand that we continue to be leaders for peace.

Securing peace in Bosnia can end the terrible suffering of the Bosnian people -- the mass
executions... the ethnic cleansing... the campaigns of rape and terror. The horrific images of this
war have been seared into our minds forever: skeletal prisoners caged behind barbed wire fences...
defenseless men and boys shot down into mass graves... endless lines of refugees marching toward
a future of despair. A quarter of a million men, women and children have been shelled, shot and
beaten to death. Two million people -- half of Bosnia’s population -- were forced from their
homes and into a miserable life as refugees. [Anecdote?]. Now, American leadership has created
the chance to secure the peace -- and end the suffering.

Securing peace in Bosnia will also prevent the war from reigniting and spreading throughout the
region. Bosnia lies at the very heart of Europe -- next door to many of its fragile new
democracies and some of America’s closest allies. If we don’t stamp out the spark of this conflict now, it could light a much larger fire in Europe.

Successive generations of Americans have understood that Europe’s stability is vital to our own national security. That’s why we fought two world wars in Europe. That’s why we defended its hard won peace and freedom with NATO and the Marshall Plan. The nations of Europe now ask us to help them end their worst nightmare since World War II. If we do not act, how can we expect them to help us take on common problems like terrorism, drugs and the spread of weapons of mass destruction? How can we expect them to work with us to build a more prosperous future? And how can we expect people around the world who are striving for peace and freedom -- and who look to America for leadership -- to value our word and our commitment?

America has a responsibility to lead -- especially in Europe, but also around the world. If we do not lead, no one will lead. If we do not act, no one will act. That is one of the great lessons of this century -- and we must not forget it in Bosnia.

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

At the end of the Cold War, Serbian nationalism forced the break-up of Yugoslavia and started an ugly and dangerous war. Bosnia -- where Muslims, Serbs and Croats had lived together peacefully for decades -- became a killing field.
Some urged immediate intervention. I decided that while American ground troops should help secure a peace agreement if and when it was reached, they should not become combatants in Bosnia. It was clear that the United States could not force peace on the parties -- only they themselves could make it.

For three years, our European allies took the lead in bringing the parties to the peace table. Three separate peace plans failed because the Bosnian Serbs refused to sign on. This summer, they stepped up their assaults on defenseless civilians in Bosnia’s safe areas. The capital city, Sarajevo, once again came under siege -- its brave citizens subject to vicious shelling that stained its playgrounds and marketplaces with blood.

When a Bosnian Serb shell slaughtered 38 people in Sarajevo in August, the United States insisted that NATO take a stand. We demanded that the Serbs stop offensive actions against defenseless civilian areas, withdraw their heavy weapons from around Sarajevo and allow road and air access to the city. When they refused, NATO began heavy and continuous air strikes against Bosnian Serb military targets. The air strikes -- many of them flown by skilled American pilots -- convinced them to comply with our demands.

At the same time, I instructed our negotiating team to push the parties back to the peace table. Their intensive diplomacy forged a Bosnia-wide cease fire and brought the parties to Dayton -- in America’s heartland -- to negotiate a comprehensive peace agreement. There, exhausted by war, the parties chose peace -- and asked America to help it take hold.
The peace plan agreed to in Dayton preserves Bosnia as a single state. Sarajevo will remain united. There will be a central government chosen through internationally supervised, democratic elections. Refugees will be allowed to return to their homes... people will be able to move freely throughout Bosnia... and the human rights of Bosnian citizens will be safeguarded. The parties have also pledged to cooperate with the International War Crimes Tribunal -- so that those responsible for crimes against humanity can be brought to justice.

This agreement is a milestone on the road to a lasting peace, but it does not mark the end of the journey -- or the end of America's responsibility. All the parties have asked for a strong international force on the ground in Bosnia to help them implement their agreement -- to give them confidence that each side will live up to its word and breathing room so they can focus on rebuilding. The only force capable of doing that is NATO -- the powerful military alliance of democracies that has guaranteed our security for half a century. As NATO's leader, the United States must be an essential part of its mission.

If we're not there, NATO will not be there. The parties will not carry through on their peace plan. Then, the war would re-ignite. The slaughter of innocents would begin again. A conflict that already has claimed so many victims could spread like poison throughout the region and eat away at Europe's stability. And America's commitment to leadership will be called into question around the world. In the choice we now face between peace and war in Bosnia, we must choose peace.
NATO is completing its planning for an implementation force of about 60,000 troops -- to be known as IFOR. Already, more than 20 nations -- including our major NATO allies -- have pledged to take part. They will contribute about 2/3rds of IFOR’s troops. The United States would contribute the rest -- about 20,000 soldiers.

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

First, the mission must be clear, limited and achievable. Our troops will make sure each side withdraws its forces behind the front lines -- and keeps them there. They will maintain the cease fire to prevent the war from accidentally starting again. They will oversee an arms build-down that reduces the number of heavy weapons, creates a balance of forces and makes future hostilities much less likely -- while the United States coordinates efforts, outside of IFOR, to make sure the Bosnian Federation has the means to defend itself once IFOR withdraws. They will create a secure environment in Bosnia so that its people can return to their homes and begin to rebuild their lives. I hope and expect that this mission will take no more than one year.

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

If the NATO plan meets with my approval, I will immediately send it to Congress and request its support. I will also authorize the participation of about 1500 [TK TK] American troops in a NATO advance mission that will lay the groundwork for IFOR, starting in XX weeks. They will repair the roads, build the runways and set up the sophisticated communications systems that must be in place before NATO can send its troops, tanks and trucks into Bosnia. The implementation force itself would begin deploying in Bosnia [TK TK].

The climate of security IFOR creates in Bosnia will allow civilian agencies from around the world to begin a separate program of humanitarian relief and reconstruction. This effort is absolutely essential to making peace endure. It will bring the people of Bosnia the food, shelter, clothing and medicine so many have been denied for so long. It will help the Bosnians rebuild their roads and their schools... their power plants and hospitals... their factories and their shops. It will reunite children with their parents and families with their homes. It will allow them freely to choose leaders devoted to reconciliation. In short, it will give all the people of Bosnia a much greater stake in peace than in war -- so that peace takes on a life and logic of its own.

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

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

Now, we must continue to help the people of Bosnia find that same unity again in peace.

American leadership has brought the people of Bosnia to this chance for peace. We must not turn our backs on them now.

Americans are a people of conscience -- and we should be proud of that fact. When terrible images of inhumanity dominate our television screens night after night, we want to do something to end the suffering.

My duty as President is to match those causes to our interests. We cannot take on every fight. We cannot stop all the killing in the world or defend every woman and child. But where our interests and values demand it -- and where we can make a difference -- America must act.

Bosnia is such a case. Our interests are plain. The cause is right. The mission to help the peace in Bosnia take hold is clear, limited and achievable. The people of Bosnia, our NATO allies and people around the world are looking to us for leadership. Let us lead.
My fellow Americans, I ask you to think for a moment about the century that is drawing to a close -- and the new one that will soon begin.

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

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

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

In Bosnia, a terrible war has challenged our interests and troubled our souls. Now, because of American leadership, a century that began when a gunshot in Sarajevo sparked the first of two
After we had taken the hub of Poshop through the world. But in any case, such a thought of a relationship with UK.

Now our common path together makes it easier to make opportunity.

Roll - drum, really!

What we need to do together.

Obligation of any of part.

You can do what we have to do. But could be of Ch.

[Wilkie/Longsell four]
world wars need not end with the sound of gunfire in Sarajevo. America’s job is not yet done.

We must help peace in Bosnia take hold and endure. We must remain leaders for peace. This is our responsibility as Americans. Let us go forward and meet it.
— Speed relationship didn't start all well. 

— Started off with us.

— Go to sleep in the #6 bus rolls.

— Lesson — in this Nov of 95.

— Thoughts about p-ships.

— Will I

— Will be a different

— All was long fight struggle.

— Russia

— Yeltsin brought to Abyl Pal.

— Set in some chic place w/ FDR + Churchill.

— Ironic that Churchill in addressing Congress: mother/father

— When I was student/concern, often wish I

— Could be here.

— But now be seen on C-Span. Don't

— Know if I'd like that.

— Saw

— After 2 wk, he didn't make mistake. Wasn't fo' stum.

— Now, speed went w/ Euro seem in.

— Think major — Both for sec fii.
11/24/95 9 p.m.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
ADDRESS TO THE NATION ON BOSNIA
THE WHITE HOUSE
NOVEMBER 27, 1995

Good evening.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Now, we must continue to help the people of Bosnia find that same unity again in peace.

American leadership has brought the people of Bosnia to this chance for peace. We must not turn our backs on them now.

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

My duty as President is to match those causes to our interests. We cannot take on every fight.

But where our interests and values demand it -- and where we can make a difference -- America should act. Bosnia is such a case. Our interests are plain. The cause is right. And the NATO mission to help the peace in Bosnia take hold is clear, limited and achievable. America is the world's only superpower. Let us act as one.

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

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

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

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

In Bosnia, a terrible war has challenged our interests and outraged our conscience. Now, because
of American leadership, a century that began when a gunshot in Sarajevo sparked the first of two
world wars need not end with the sound of gunfire in Sarajevo. America's job is not yet
done. We must help peace in Bosnia take hold and endure. We must remain leaders for peace.

This is our responsibility as Americans. Let us go forward and meet it.
Good evening.

Tonight, I want to speak with you about our responsibility as Americans.

From its very creation, our nation has stood for the idea that people have the right to live in peace and freedom -- to control their own lives and destinies. That American idea has been a source of inspiration and hope to people around the world. Today -- from Poland to Haiti... from South Africa to Southeast Asia... from Northern Ireland to the Middle East -- the values of democracy, peace and liberty for which America stands are, more and more, the ideals of humanity.

In this century especially, America has not just stood for these ideals -- we have acted on them. We fought two world wars so that freedom could triumph over tyranny. Then, we made the commitments and built the institutions -- like NATO and the Marshall Plan -- that kept the peace... that helped spread democracy... that brought us unparalleled prosperity... and that won the Cold War.

Throughout what we now call “the American Century,” the American people have disagreed on specific policies -- profoundly, even passionately. But we have always agreed on America’s purpose: to lead the great human struggle for freedom, dignity and tolerance.
Now, with the Cold War over, some Americans believe we can afford to step back from -- instead of stepping up to -- the challenges and opportunities of a new era. They are wrong. Look around the world. The new democracies we have worked so hard to support remain fragile. They must be nurtured and defended. And as the Cold War gives way to the global village, we are all vulnerable to the organized forces of intolerance and destruction: ethnic and religious rivalries... the spread of weapons of mass destruction... drug trafficking, organized crime and terrorism.

Just as surely as fascism and communism, these forces would spread darkness over light... chaos over community. They too demand American leadership -- and the strength and values we wield as our weapons -- to fight and defeat them.

Nowhere is the need for American leadership more clear -- or more immediate -- than in Bosnia. For nearly four years, a terrible war has torn that nation apart -- wasting thousands of lives and destroying countless futures. Images that we thought had been banished from Europe forever flooded our living rooms: skeletal prisoners caged behind barbed wire fences... defenseless men and boys shot down into mass graves... endless lines of refugees marching toward a future of despair.

Last week, in Dayton, Ohio, this horror finally gave way to hope. There, with the help of America's negotiating team, the parties to the war made a commitment to peace. They agreed to put down their guns... to settle their differences with ballots, not bullets... and to try to build a peaceful, democratic Bosnia.
I believe our nation has a responsibility to help them make good on that commitment -- to secure peace in Bosnia and to turn this moment of hope into an enduring reality. To do that, troops from our country and countries around the world would go into Bosnia to give the parties the confidence they need to implement their peace plan -- to pull back their forces... to create a climate of security that allows the hard work of rebuilding and reconciliation to begin. They would go to Bosnia not to fight a war, but to help the peace that all the parties want take hold and last.

This is a difficult mission. But the goal of a lasting peace in Bosnia is achievable. The risks are manageable. And America’s values and interests -- together with our standing in the world as a beacon of hope for all those striving for freedom -- demand that we continue to be leaders for peace.

Securing peace in Bosnia can end the terrible suffering of the Bosnian people -- the mass executions... the ethnic cleansing... the campaigns of rape and terror. A quarter of a million men, women and children have been shelled, shot and beaten to death. Two million people -- half of Bosnia’s pre-war population -- were forced from their homes and into a miserable life as refugees.

[Anecdote]. Now, American leadership has created the chance to end the war -- and the suffering.

Securing peace in Bosnia will also prevent the war from reigniting and spreading throughout the region. Bosnia lies at the very heart of Europe -- next door to many of its fragile new democracies and some of America’s closest allies. If we don’t stamp out the spark of this conflict
now, it could light a much larger fire in Europe. Successive generations of Americans have understood that Europe's stability is vital to our own national security. That's why we fought two world wars in Europe. That's why we defended its hard won peace and freedom against communism with NATO and the Marshall Plan.

The nations of Europe now ask us to help them end their worst nightmare since World War II -- not by fighting a war, but by securing the peace. If we do not act, how can we expect them to help us take on common problems like terrorism, drugs and the spread of weapons of mass destruction? How can we expect them to work with us to build a more prosperous future? And how can we expect people around the world who are striving for peace and freedom -- and who look to America for leadership -- to value our word and our commitment.

America has a responsibility to lead -- especially in Europe, but also around the world. If we do not lead, no one will lead. If we do not act, no one will act. That is one of the great lessons of this century -- and we must not forget it in Bosnia.

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

At the end of the Cold War, in 1989, Serbian nationalism forced the break-up of Yugoslavia and started an ugly and dangerous war. Bosnia -- where Muslims, Serbs and Croats had lived together peacefully for decades -- became a killing field.
Some urged immediate intervention. But I decided that while American ground troops should help secure a peace agreement if and when it was reached, they should not become combatants in Bosnia. It was clear that the United States could not force peace on the parties -- only they themselves could make it.

For three years, our European allies took the lead in bringing the parties to the peace table. Three separate peace plans failed because the Bosnian Serbs refused to sign on. This summer, they stepped up their assaults on defenseless civilians in Bosnia’s safe areas. Its capital city, Sarajevo, once again came under siege -- its brave citizens subject to vicious shelling and denied food, medicine, electricity and heat.

When a Bosnian Serb shell slaughtered 38 people in Sarajevo in August, the United States insisted that NATO take a stand. We demanded that the Serbs stop offensive actions against defenseless civilian areas, withdraw their heavy weapons from around Sarajevo and allow road and air access to the city. When they refused, NATO began heavy and continuous air strikes against Bosnian Serb military targets. The air strikes -- many of them flown by skilled American pilots -- convinced them to comply with our demands.

At the same time, I instructed our negotiating team to push the parties back to the peace table. Their intensive diplomacy convinced all the parties for the first time to agree to the basic principles of an overall settlement. They forged a Bosnia-wide cease fire. They brought the parties to Dayton -- in America’s heartland -- to negotiate a comprehensive peace agreement. There, exhausted by war, the parties chose peace -- and asked America to help it take hold.
The peace plan agreed to in Dayton preserves Bosnia as a single state. It will be made up of two parts: the Bosnian-Croat Federation and the Bosnian Serb Republic, with a fair distribution of land between the two. The capital city of Sarajevo will remain united. There will be a central government chosen through internationally supervised, democratic elections. Refugees will be allowed to return to their homes... people will be able to move freely throughout Bosnia... and the human rights of Bosnian citizens will be safeguarded. The parties have also pledged to cooperate with the International War Crimes Tribunal -- so that those responsible for crimes against humanity can be brought to justice.

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

All the parties have asked for a strong international force on the ground in Bosnia to help them implement their agreement -- to give them confidence that each side will live up to its word and breathing room so they can focus on rebuilding. The only force capable of doing that is NATO -- the powerful military alliance of democracies that has guaranteed our security for half a century. As NATO's leader, the United States must be an essential part of its mission.

If we fail to live up to that responsibility, the parties will not carry through on their peace plan. The war could easily re-ignite. The slaughter of innocents would begin again. A conflict that already has claimed so many victims could spread like poison throughout the region and eat away
at Europe's stability. And America's commitment to leadership will be called into question around the world. In the choice we now face between peace and war in Bosnia, we must choose peace.

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

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

First, the mission must be clear and achievable. Our troops will make sure each side withdraws its forces behind the front lines -- and keeps them there. They will maintain the cease fire so that war does not accidentally start again. They will create a secure environment in Bosnia so that its people can return to their homes and rebuild their lives in peace. I hope and expect this mission will take no more than one year.

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

If the NATO plan meets with my approval, I will immediately send it to Congress and request its support. I will also authorize the participation of about 1500 [TK TK] American troops in a NATO advance mission that will lay the groundwork for IFOR. They will repair the roads, build the runways and set up the sophisticated communications systems that must be in place before NATO can send its troops, tanks and trucks into Bosnia.

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

The international community will also oversee an arms build-down in Bosnia that reduces the number of heavy weapons and creates a balance of forces. This will eliminate any one side's military advantage -- and make future hostilities much less likely. The United States will also help...
coordinate efforts -- outside of IFOR and working through other governments -- to make sure the Bosnian Federation has the means to defend itself once IFOR withdraws.

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

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

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

Americans are a people of conscience -- and we should be proud of that fact. When terrible images of inhumanity dominate our television screens night after night, we want to do something to end the suffering.
My duty as President is to match those causes to our interests. We cannot take on every fight.

We cannot stop all the killing in the world or defend every woman and child. But where our interests and values demand it -- and where we can make a difference -- America must act. Bosnia is such a case. Our interests are plain. The cause is right. And the NATO mission to help the peace in Bosnia take hold is clear, limited and achievable. The people of Bosnia, our NATO allies and people around the world are looking to us for leadership. Let us lead.

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

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

Through two world wars and a Cold War, previous generations of Americans stood up for freedom. Because they did -- and because we continue to do so -- more people than ever before live in peace. More people than ever before are treated with dignity. More people than ever before can hope to build a better life than their parents had -- and expect to pass on an even better one to their children.
These are the blessings of freedom -- and America has always been freedom's greatest champion. If we continue to do everything we can to share these blessings with people around the world -- if we continue to be leaders for peace -- then the sacrifices that the American people have made this century will be redeemed. And the next century can be the greatest our nation has yet known.

In Bosnia, a terrible war has challenged our interests and troubled our souls. Now, because of American leadership, a century that began when a gunshot in Sarajevo sparked the first of two world wars need not end with the sound of gunfire in Sarajevo. America's job is not yet done. We must help peace in Bosnia take hold and endure. We must remain leaders for peace. This is our responsibility as Americans. Let us go forward and meet it.
Good evening.

For nearly four years, a terrible war has torn apart Bosnia -- wasting thousands of lives and destroying countless futures. Images that we thought had been banished from Europe forever flooded our television screens and newspapers: skeletal prisoners caged behind barbed wire fences... defenseless men and boys shot down into mass graves... endless lines of refugees marching toward a future of despair.

Last week, in Dayton, Ohio, this horror finally gave way to hope. There, with the help of America's negotiating team, the parties to the worst conflict in Europe since World War II made a commitment to peace. They agreed to put down their guns... to settle their differences with ballots, not bullets... and to try to build a peaceful, democratic Bosnia.

Tonight, I want to speak with you about America's responsibility to help them make good on that commitment -- to secure peace in Bosnia and to turn this moment of hope into an enduring reality. That means giving the parties the confidence they need to implement their peace plan -- to pull back their forces... to create a climate of security in Bosnia that allows the hard work of rebuilding and reconciliation to begin... to help peace take hold and last.
Our armed forces will be asked to shoulder a difficult mission. But the goal of a lasting peace in Bosnia is achievable. The risks are manageable. And America's values and interests -- together with our standing in the world as a beacon of hope for all those striving for freedom -- demand that we continue to be leaders for peace.

Securing peace in Bosnia can end the terrible suffering of the Bosnian people -- the mass executions... the ethnic cleansing... the campaigns of rape and terror. A quarter of a million men, women and children have been shelled, shot and beaten to death. Two million people -- half of Bosnia's pre-war population -- were forced from their homes and into a miserable life as refugees. Now, American leadership has created the chance to end the war -- and the suffering.

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

The American people should understand how we have come to this chance for peace -- and where we must go from here.
At the end of the Cold War, in 1989, Serbian nationalism forced the break-up of Yugoslavia and started an ugly and dangerous war. Bosnia -- where Muslims, Serbs and Croats had lived together peacefully for decades -- became a killing field.

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

For three years, we worked toward these goals. By sending some American troops to neighboring states and imposing tough economic sanctions against Serbia, we prevented the war from spreading. By using our air power to conduct the longest humanitarian air lift in history... and to enforce a no-fly zone that took the war out of the skies, we eased the plight of the Bosnian people. And our diplomats stopped the fighting between Muslims and Croats.

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

At the same time, I instructed our negotiating team to redouble their efforts to push the parties back to the peace table. Their intensive diplomacy convinced all the parties for the first time to agree to the basic principles of an overall settlement. They forged a Bosnia-wide cease fire. They brought the parties to Dayton to negotiate a comprehensive peace agreement. And they succeeded.

The peace plan agreed to in Dayton preserves Bosnia as a single state. It will be made up of two parts: the Bosnian-Croat Federation and the Bosnian Serb Republic, with a fair distribution of land between the two. The capital city of Sarajevo will remain united. There will be a central government chosen through internationally supervised, democratic elections. Refugees will be allowed to return to their homes... people will be able to move freely throughout Bosnia... and the human rights of Bosnian citizens will be monitored by an independent commission and an internationally-trained civilian police. The parties have also pledged to cooperate with the International War Crimes Tribunal -- so that those responsible for crimes against humanity can be brought to justice.
This agreement is a milestone on the road to a lasting peace, but it does not mark the end of the journey -- or the end of America's responsibility. The parties have made a commitment to peace. Now, we must help them make good on it so that peace takes hold and endures.

All the parties have asked for a strong international force on the ground in Bosnia to help them implement their agreement -- to give them confidence that each side will live up to its word and breathing room so they can focus on rebuilding. The only force capable of doing that is NATO -- the powerful military alliance of democracies that has guaranteed our security for half a century. As NATO's leader, the United States must be an essential part of its mission.

If we fail to live up to that responsibility, the parties will not carry through on their peace plan. The war could easily re-ignite. The slaughter of innocents would begin again. And a conflict that already has claimed so many victims could spread like poison throughout the region and eat away at Europe's stability. In the choice we now face between peace and war in Bosnia, we must choose peace.

NATO is now completing its planning for an implementation force of about 60,000 troops -- to be known as IFOR. Already, more than 20 nations around the world -- including our major NATO allies -- have pledged to take part. They will contribute about 2/3rds of IFOR's troops. The United States would contribute the rest -- about 20,000 soldiers.
Later this week, the final IFOR plan will be submitted to me for review and approval. Let me make clear what I expect it to include -- and what it must include for me to approve the participation of our armed forces:

First, the mission must be clear and achievable. Our troops will make sure each side withdraws its forces behind the front line -- and keeps them there. They will maintain the cease fire so that war does not accidentally start again. They will create a secure environment in Bosnia so that its people can return to their homes and rebuild their lives in peace.

Second, the risks to our troops must be minimized and their deployment limited in time. They will only take their orders from the American general who commands NATO -- and no one else. They will be heavily armed and thoroughly trained. By making an overwhelming show of force, they will lessen the need to use force. But they will have the authority to respond immediately -- and the capacity, training and equipment to respond decisively -- to any threat to their safety or any violation of the peace agreement. Of that you can be sure. And there will be a reasonable timetable for their withdrawal -- which our military planners now estimate at about one year.

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

The international community will also oversee an arms build-down in Bosnia that reduces the number of heavy weapons and creates a balance of forces. This will eliminate any one side's military advantage -- and make future hostilities much less likely. The United States will also help coordinate efforts -- outside of IFOR and working through other governments -- to make sure the Bosnian Federation has the means to defend itself once IFOR withdraws.

After so much bloodshed and loss... after so many senseless violations of human dignity... it will take time -- and an extraordinary effort of will -- for the people of Bosnia to pull themselves from the past and start building the future. There is no guarantee that Muslims, Serbs and Croats will come together again -- and stay together -- as friends, neighbors and citizens of a shared state with a common destiny.
But thanks to our leadership, and the commitment of our allies, the people of Bosnia have the chance to decide their future peacefully -- and in peace. They have a chance to remind the world that, just a few years ago, the mosques, minarets and churches of Sarajevo were a shining symbol of multi-ethnic tolerance -- that Bosnia once found unity in its glorious diversity.

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

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

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

My fellow Americans, I ask you to think for a moment about the century that is drawing to a close -- and the new one that will soon begin.
The 20th century has been marked by so much progress... and too much bloodshed. It has been witness to humanity's capacity for the best... and its weakness for the worst. Throughout this century, America has stood for progress and human dignity. We have stood with all those who cherish peace and liberty. We have done so because a world in which nations enjoy peace and people live free will be a much better world for our own children to make the most of their God-given potential.

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

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

In Bosnia, a terrible war has challenged our interests and outraged our conscience. Now, because of American leadership, a century that began when a gunshot in Sarajevo sparked the first of two world wars need not end with the sound of gunfire in Sarajevo. But America's job is not yet done. We must help peace in Bosnia take hold and endure. We must remain leaders for peace. This is our responsibility as Americans. Let us go forward and meet it.
PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
ADDRESS TO THE NATION ON BOSNIA
THE WHITE HOUSE
NOVEMBER 27, 1995

Good evening.

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

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

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

Securing peace in Bosnia can end the terrible suffering of the Bosnian people -- the mass executions... the ethnic cleansing... the campaigns of rape and terror. Nearly 250,000 men, women and children have been shelled, shot, beaten and starved to death. Two million people --
half of Bosnia’s pre-war population -- were forced from their homes and into a miserable life as refugees. Now, American leadership has created the chance to end the war -- and the suffering -- for good. We must seize it.

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

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

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

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

But the search for a comprehensive peace proved frustrating and elusive. On three occasions the international community proposed and negotiated detailed peace plans with the parties. Each time the result was the same -- the Muslims and Croats would accept the plan, the Bosnian Serbs would reject it.
This summer, the Bosnian Serbs stepped up their assaults on the safe areas. Sarajevo once again came under siege -- its brave citizens subject to vicious shelling and denied food, medicine, electricity and heat. The towns of Srebrenica and Zepa fell to Serb guns.

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

At the same time, I ordered our negotiating team to push the parties back to the peace table. Their intensive diplomacy convinced the Serbs for the first time to agree to the basic principles of an overall settlement. They forged a Bosnia-wide cease fire. And they brought the parties to Dayton to negotiate a peace agreement. Three devoted American diplomats -- Bob Frasure, Joe Kruzel and Nelson Drew -- were killed in that effort. They gave their lives seeking for others the blessings of peace and freedom we Americans hold so dear -- and tonight, we remember their sacrifice.
In Dayton, the extraordinary skill and dedication of our negotiating team -- led by Secretary Christopher and Ambassador Holbrooke -- enabled the parties to reach an overall settlement that can end the war in Bosnia for good.

The peace plan would preserve Bosnia as a single state -- within its present borders and with international recognition. The state will be made up of two parts: the Bosnian-Croat Federation and the Bosnian Serb Republic, with a fair distribution of land between the two. The capital city of Sarajevo will remain united. There will be an effective central government -- including a national Parliament, a Presidency and a Constitutional Court -- with responsibility for foreign policy, trade, monetary policy, citizenship, immigration and other important functions. The Presidency and Parliament will be chosen through free, democratic elections, held under international supervision. Refugees will be allowed to return to their homes... people will be able to move freely throughout Bosnia... and the human rights of every Bosnian citizen will be monitored by an independent commission and an internationally-trained civilian police. And the parties have pledged to cooperate with the International War Crimes Tribunal -- so that those responsible for crimes against humanity are brought to justice.

This agreement is a milestone on the road to a lasting peace, but it does not mark the end of the journey -- or the end of America's responsibility. The parties have made a commitment to peace. Now, we must help them make good on it so that peace takes hold and endures.
If we fail to live up to that responsibility, the hard won peace in Bosnia will be lost. The war would re-ignite. The slaughter of innocents would begin again. And a conflict that already has claimed so many victims could spread like poison throughout the region and eat away at Europe's stability. Our values and our interests demand that in the choice we now face between peace and war in Bosnia, we choose peace.

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

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

Over the next few days, the final IFOR plan will be submitted to me for review and approval. Let me make clear what I expect it to include -- and what it must include for me to approve the participation of our armed forces:
The mission must be clear, limited and achievable: to oversee the separation of forces and to maintain the cease-fire. Our troops will only take their orders from the American general who commands NATO -- and no one else. They will be heavily armed and thoroughly trained. By making an overwhelming show of force, they will minimize the need to use force. But they will have the authority to meet any threat to their safety or any violation of the peace agreement with immediate, decisive force. And there will be a reasonable timetable for their withdrawal -- which our military planners now estimate at about one year.

If the plan meets with my approval, I will immediately send it to Congress and request its support for committing U.S. troops to IFOR. I will also authorize the participation of about 1500 American troops in a NATO advance mission that will lay the groundwork for IFOR. This "enabling force" will repair the roads, build the runways and set up the sophisticated communications systems that must be in place before NATO can send its troops, tanks and trucks into Bosnia.

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

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

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

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

Now, we must continue to help the people of Bosnia find that same unity again in peace. This is our best chance -- and maybe the last chance for a long time -- to end their suffering for good.
This is our best chance - and maybe the last chance for a long time -- to prevent a dangerous war from starting again and spreading throughout the region. American leadership has brought the people of Bosnia to this chance for peace. We must not turn our backs on them now.

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

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

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

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

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

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

In Bosnia, a terrible war has challenged our interests and outraged our conscience. Now, because we have been leaders for peace, a century that began when a gunshot in Sarajevo sparked the first of two world wars does not have to end with the sound of gunfire in Sarajevo. But America’s job is not yet done. We must help peace in Bosnia take hold and endure. We must remain leaders for peace. This is our responsibility as Americans. Let us go forward and meet it.
11/23/95  1 p.m.

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

Good evening.

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

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

Tonight, I want to speak with you about America's responsibility to help them make good on that commitment -- to turn a moment of hope into a lasting reality. If we do, we can put a final stop to the worst war in Europe since World War II. We can end the terrible suffering of the Bosnian people -- the mass executions... the ethnic cleansing... the campaigns of rape and terror. And we can prevent the war from reigniting, spreading to neighboring states and sparking a much wider conflict.
The American people should understand how we have come to this chance for peace -- and where we go from here.

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

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

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

For three years, we worked toward these goals. By sending our troops to neighboring states... making clear the consequences of taking the fight beyond Bosnia... and leading an international campaign of economic sanctions against Serbia, we prevented the war from spreading. By using our air power to conduct the longest humanitarian air lift in history... to enforce a no-fly zone that
took the war out of the skies... and to end the strangulation of Sarajevo, we eased the plight of
the Bosnian people.

Meanwhile, our diplomats and their European counterparts brokered a Bosnian-Croat Federation
that stopped the fighting between Muslims and Croats. They initiated cease-fires that temporarily
ended the rain of shells on the safe areas.

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

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

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

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

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

The peace plan would preserve Bosnia as a single state -- within its present borders and with international recognition. The state will be made up of two parts: the Bosnian-Croat Federation and the Bosnian Serb Republic, with a fair distribution of land between the two. The capital city of Sarajevo will remain united. There will be an effective central government -- including a national Parliament, a Presidency and a Constitutional Court -- with responsibility for foreign policy, foreign trade, monetary policy, citizenship, immigration and other important functions. The Presidency and Parliament will be chosen through free, democratic elections, held under
international supervision. Refugees will be allowed to return to their homes... people will be able
to move freely throughout Bosnia... and the human rights of every Bosnian citizen will be
monitored by an independent commission and an internationally-trained civilian police. And the
parties have pledged to cooperate with the International War Crimes Tribunal -- so that those
responsible for crimes against humanity are brought to justice.

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

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

Choosing peace means doing our part to secure the peace so that it becomes self-sustaining. All
the parties to the conflict want a strong international force on the ground in Bosnia to help them
implement their agreement -- to oversee the separation of forces... to give them confidence that
each side will live up to its word. That force is NATO -- the powerful military alliance of
democracies that has guaranteed our security for half a century. The United States, as NATO’s
leader, must be an essential part of its mission.
Now that an agreement has been reached, NATO will quickly complete its planning for an implementation force of about 60,000 troops -- to be known as IFOR. Already, more than 20 nations around the world -- including all our NATO allies -- have pledged to take part. They will contribute about 2/3rds of IFOR's troops. The United States will contribute the rest -- about 20,000 soldiers. IFOR will be heavily armed and thoroughly trained. By making an overwhelming show of force, it will minimize the need to use force.

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

The mission must be clear, limited and achievable: to maintain the cease-fire, to oversee the separation of forces and to give the people of Bosnia the confidence and breathing room they need to focus on rebuilding. Our troops will only take their orders from the American general who commands NATO -- and no one else. They will have the authority to meet any threat to their safety or any violation of the peace agreement with immediate, decisive force. And there will be a reasonable timetable for their withdrawal -- which our military planners now estimate at about one year.
If the plan meets with my approval, I will immediately send it to Congress and request its support for committing U.S. troops to IFOR. Our foreign policy works best when we work together. I want the widest possible support for peace.

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

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

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

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

Now, we must continue to help the people of Bosnia find that same unity again in peace. This is our best chance -- and maybe the last chance for a long time -- to end their suffering for good. This is our best chance - and maybe the last chance for a long time -- to prevent a dangerous war from starting again and spreading throughout the region. American leadership has brought the people of Bosnia to this chance for peace. We must not turn our backs on them now.

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

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

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

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

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international supervision. Refugees will be allowed to return to their homes... people will be able
to move freely throughout Bosnia... and the human rights of every Bosnian citizen will be
monitored by an independent commission and an internationally-trained civilian police. [Those
individuals charged with war crimes would be excluded from political life.]

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

If we fail to live up to that responsibility, the hard won peace in Bosnia will be lost. The war
would re-ignite. The slaughter of innocents would begin again. And a conflict that already has
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choice we now face between peace and war in Bosnia, we choose peace.

Choosing peace means doing our part to secure the peace. All the parties to the conflict want a
strong international force on the ground in Bosnia to help them implement their agreement -- to
oversee the separation of forces... to give them confidence that each side will live up to its word.
That force is NATO. And the United States, as NATO's leader, must be an essential part of its
mission.
Now that an agreement has been reached, NATO will quickly complete its planning for an implementation force -- to be known as IFOR. American troops would make up about 1/3rd of the force -- the remaining troops would come from our NATO allies and other nations around the world, including Russia.

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

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

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My fellow Americans, I do not want to underestimate the difficulties that lie ahead. Peace has its costs and its risks -- but they are far outweighed by the costs and risks of not seizing this chance for peace. It is our best chance -- and maybe the last chance for a long time -- to end the suffering of the Bosnian people for good. It is our best chance - and maybe the last chance for a long time -- to prevent a dangerous war from starting anew and spreading throughout the region.