This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.
001. calls list  RE: Telephone numbers (partial)  (1 page)  06/08/1999  P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14438

FOLDER TITLE:
Kosovo

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor’s deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.
**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

**Date:** 6-9-99  
**ACTION / CONCURRENCE / COMMENT DUE BY:** ASAP

**Subject:** Kosovo Address

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTION FYI</th>
<th>ACTION FYI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VICE PRESIDENT</td>
<td>MOORE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PODESTA</td>
<td>NASH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECHAVESTE</td>
<td>REED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RICCHETTI</td>
<td>RUFF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEW</td>
<td>SOSNIK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BERGER</td>
<td>SPERLING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BLUMENTHAL</td>
<td>STEIN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAHILL</td>
<td>STERN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRAMPTON</td>
<td>STREETT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IBARRA</td>
<td>TRAMONTANO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JOHNSON, B.</td>
<td>UCELLI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JOHNSON, J.</td>
<td>VERVEER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KLAIN</td>
<td>WALDMAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LANE</td>
<td>YELLEN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEWIS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LINDSEY</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOCKHART</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARSHALL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**REMARKS:** Comments to Tom Malinowski

**RESPONSE:**

---

**CLOSE HOLD**

Staff Secretary's Office  
Ext. 62702
Address to the Nation on Kosovo

America

My fellow Americans: For 78 days, we and our allies have pursued our air campaign over Serbia and Kosovo with three clear goals. To enable the Kosovar people—the victims of some of the most terrible atrocities Europe has seen since the Second World War—to return to their homes with safety and self-government. To require Serbian forces responsible for those atrocities to leave Kosovo. And to provide for an international security force, with NATO at its core, that will deploy to protect all the people of that troubled land, Serbs and Albanians alike.

Serbia's leaders have now accepted each of these conditions. And today, Serbian forces began to withdraw from Kosovo, as part of the 11-day full scale withdrawal to which they agreed. Accordingly, NATO has suspended its air campaign. Force and diplomacy have worked in partnership to bring a necessary conflict to a just and honorable conclusion.

We must watch carefully to ensure that the Serbian authorities meet their commitments. And we are prepared to resume our military campaign should they fail to do so. But thus far, the process appears to be moving forward.

The result will be peace with security and dignity for the people of Kosovo, peace with our NATO alliance united and strong, peace attained in partnership with Russia, peace with new hope for a Europe where freedom is truly ascendant, a Europe where whole peoples are not singled out for destruction because of their heritage and faith. These are values Americans have sacrificed for since we crossed the Atlantic fight World War I and helped liberate Europe in World War II. They were worth fighting for in Kosovo. They are worth striving for, with steadfast determination, in the years ahead.

I am grateful to Russian Special Envoy Chernomyrdin and to Finnish President Ahtisaari for

Tonight is a night for pride.
achieving the agreement that made this possible.

I am proud of the American people for reaching out to the innocent victims of this conflict and for their patience in sticking with a difficult effort until our objectives were met.

Most of all, I want to express my gratitude to the men and women of our armed forces and those of our allies. Day after day, night after night, they risked their lives and they turned the tide -- believing what they were doing was right and doing it as no one else can. With uncommon courage and unmatched skill, they persisted until we prevailed. I ask every American to join me in saying to them: “Thank you. You make us very proud.”

I want to speak with you for a few moments tonight about what the end of this conflict means, and about the challenges we will face as we implement the peace.

We should remember that the violence we responded to in Kosovo was the culmination of a 10 year campaign by Mr. Milosevic, the leader of Serbia, to exploit ethnic and religious differences to impose his will on the lands of the former Yugoslavia. That is what he tried to do in Croatia and Bosnia, where a quarter million people died, until NATO helped stop the carnage. That is what he has been trying to do in Kosovo. The world has seen the terrifying consequences. Five hundred villages burned. Men of all ages separated from their loved ones to be shot and buried in mass graves. Women raped. Children made to watch their parents die. A whole people forced to abandon in hours communities their families had spent generations building – until more than a million were driven from their homes. All the victims had left was hope that the world would not turn its back.

When our diplomatic efforts to avert this horror were rebuffed, and the violence mounted, we and our allies chose to act, knowing that peace in Europe depended on it, knowing that hundreds
of thousands of innocent people were looking to us for help. We could not undo all the terrible things that have happened to the people of Kosovo. But our firmness has finally brought an end to a vicious campaign of ethnic cleansing. What is more, we acted early enough to reverse it.

I believe the overwhelming majority of Kosovars will go home. They will be safe. They will be able to go to school, speak their language, choose their leaders, shape their destiny. There will be no more days of foraging for food in the cold of mountains and forests, no more nights of hiding in cellars, wondering if the day will bring death or deliverance. They will know Mr. Milosevic has utterly failed to erase their history, culture, and presence from their land. His hold on Kosovo will be broken, his troops gone, his 10 year campaign of repression finished.

NATO has met its objectives as an alliance. Think of it: Nineteen democracies, each with different domestic pressures and historical ties to the Balkans came together and stayed together through the longest, most difficult military engagement in NATO's 50 year history. The great partnership between the United States, Canada and Europe, on which our security depends, has emerged from a stern test stronger than ever.

We have also met our objectives in a way that advances our core national interest in a constructive partnership with Russia. Despite our differences about NATO's air campaign, we found a way to work toward a common goal. Now I hope we will find a formula to let our troops to serve together in the force that will keep the peace in Kosovo, just as they have in Bosnia.

Finally, we have averted the wider, regional war this conflict might well have sparked had we allowed it to rage out of control. By bringing the refugees home, we will ease a burden that threatened to overwhelm the fragile democracies of southeastern Europe. Countries like Albania, Macedonia, Romania, and Bulgaria backed the NATO campaign, helped the refugees, and showed the world that there is more mercy than madness in the Balkans, more compassion
than cruelty in this troubled region of the world. By defeating Mr. Milosevic’s ruthless vision, we have made it all the more certain that this critical part of Europe will choose democracy, fair treatment of minorities, and peace.

In the last two months we have seen, not for the first time, undoubtedly not for the last, that no great evil can be turned back without cost. Now we are entering a new phase, building the peace, which in many ways will be as difficult as the last.

Our first challenge will be to help more than a million Kosovar refugees and displaced persons to return in safety and autonomy. Mine fields will have to be cleared. Homes destroyed by Serb forces will have to be rebuilt. Homeless people in need of food and medicine will have to be reached quickly. The fate of the missing will need to be discovered. The Kosovar Liberation Army will have to demilitarize, as it has agreed to do. We will have to ensure that Kosovo is a safe place to live for ethnic Serbs as well as ethnic Albanians.

For these things to happen, a secure environment must be established. To that end, some 50,000 troops led by NATO, but from more than two dozen countries, will deploy to Kosovo. Our European allies will provide the vast majority; America will contribute about 7,000.

We were very fortunate during NATO’s air campaign that we did not lose a single serviceman in combat. But this next phase also will be dangerous, for bitter memories will be fresh and the beginning of peace does not necessarily mean the end of all violence. That is why we have made sure the force going into Kosovo will have NATO command and control and rules of engagement set by NATO. It will have the means and the mandate to protect itself while doing its job.

In the meantime, the United Nations will organize a transitional civilian administration for
Kosovo, while preparing the Kosovars to govern and police themselves. As local institutions take hold, NATO will be able to turn over increasing responsibility to them and draw down its forces.

A second challenge will be to put in place a plan for lasting peace and stability in Kosovo and through all the Balkans. For that to happen, the European Union and the United States must raise our sights above the immediate horizon. We must do for the democracies of southeastern Europe what we did for western Europe after World War II, and for central Europe after the Cold War... help give them a positive path to a prosperous, shared future – a unifying magnet more powerful than the pull of hatred and destruction that has threatened to tear them apart. Our European partners must provide most of the resources for this effort, but it will be in America’s interest to do our part.

A third challenge will be to encourage Serbia to join its neighbors in this historic journey to a peaceful, democratic and united Europe.

I want to say a few words to the Serbian people tonight. I know that you, too, have suffered in Mr. Milosevic’s wars, and that many of you have also been dispossessed. You should know NATO never aimed to break up your country, and we have not; Kosovo remains part of Yugoslavia. You should also know that this is an outcome your leaders could have obtained without driving a single Kosovar family from its home, or inviting a single NATO bomb to fall on your country. Their policies have brought you no gain, no hope, and no future.

As long as Mr. Milosevic remains in power, we will have to be vigilant – to ensure he does not renege on his commitments, or threaten his neighbors, or undermine democratically elected leaders. We are also ready to help build a better future for Serbia, when its government represents tolerance and freedom, not repression and terror.
All these challenges are substantial, but they are surely preferable to the challenges of war.

Today, we do not have to see a conflict spread until we have no choice but to act at greater risk and cost – we and our allies are sending our troops to implement a peace. We no longer face the challenge of ending war crimes – we can start meeting the challenge of holding people to account. The people of Kosovo do not have to dig more mass graves or watch their children grow up in refugee camps – they can start digging foundations for new homes and give their children a chance to lead normal lives. Together, we no longer have to fight to defeat something evil – we can focus on building something good.

And in reaching this point, we have sent a message of determination and hope to all the world. At the end of the bloodiest century in human history, a great coalition of democracies has come together to say “no” to ethnic cleansing, “no” to a world where young people are taught to kill other young people because of who they are and what they believe. We have beaten back the greatest remaining outpost of violent, aggressive nationalism in Europe, and opened the way to a Europe that can be, for the first time in its history, undivided, democratic and at peace – a Europe where Americans will not have to fight and die to end another dictator’s bloody war. The 20th century is ending not with helpless indignation, but a hopeful affirmation of human dignity and human rights. Now we can begin to build the 21st century peace.

We have also reminded the world what makes our nation great. We desire no territorial gain and have no interest in dominating others. We seek a more just and peaceful world and whenever possible, we seek it by peaceful means. But when our values and our interests are threatened, Americans will stand up to defend them, today as we have throughout our history. And when we have to fight, we fight to prevail. That message will give confidence to the friends of freedom and give pause to those who would exploit ethnic differences to bring power and riches
to themselves.

America still faces great challenges in Europe and the world. But I ask you to look forward with confidence. Above all, I ask you tonight to be proud of your country and the men and women who serve it in uniform. For in Kosovo, we did the right thing. We got it done the right way. And we will finish the job.

Good night. And may God bless our wonderful country.
LANGUAGE FOR OVAL OFFICE ADDRESS ON KOSOVO

I strongly believe the speech should end with something about America and what this says about our national character. (More, even, than a simple homage to the troops.) This is the right moment for patriotism and pride. It is vital that this be seen as a moment of national triumph, thereby marginalizing our opponents.

Our success says something important about America.

Our founders dedicated this nation to a shining ideal: that we are all created equal -- that every individual has a God-given right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. It was the most powerful idea in human history: revolutionary then, and revolutionary now. Our own history has been the long struggle of living up to that ideal, of making its meaning real in each new era.

Thomas Jefferson told us that "Eternal vigilance [would be] the price of liberty." In the 20th Century, we Americans came to realize that our responsibility reaches beyond our borders. We learned through the experience of two world wars and a long Cold War that America cannot retreat from the world; that our security depends upon others' stability; that when organized evil is on the march, we have the proud and sober duty to strike against it.

Each generation of Americans has faced the test: When our values and vital interests are threatened, will we do what is necessary to defend them?

Kosovo has been such a test. To any who may have questioned our resolve, America has given its answer.

By standing with our fellow democracies -- by acting quickly and effectively against tyranny -- by insisting that mass slaughter and ethnic cleansing have no place in the new century -- we have written another chapter in the American story. We added more names to the honor roll of men and women who risked everything for freedom, from Concord to Corregidor to Korea, from Khe Sanh to Kuwait and now to Kosovo.

We thank our men and women in uniform; we honor them; we pray for their safety and their continued success. And we vow that in the 21st Century -- only a few months away -- America will remain, as President Lincoln said, "the last best hope of man on Earth."

Thank you, and God bless the United States of America.
I also think that instead of a more matter of fact opening, we should consider something more evocative and dramatic. Obviously, it should be weaker or stronger depending upon how cautious we want to be about what is happening.

Tonight, the skies over Yugoslavia are silent. The Serb army and police are withdrawing from Kosovo. The one million people deported from Kosovo in recent weeks can look forward to their return. The demands of an outraged and united international community have been met. Tonight, we have stopped the bombing, because tonight, our cause has triumphed.

On the execution of the strategy

I was determined to exhaust every effort to meet our goals -- and I was equally determined to do so, if at all possible, without enmeshing our military in a bloody conflict that would cost many American lives. I believe the results speak for themselves.
LANGUAGE FOR OVAL OFFICE ADDRESS ON KOSOVO

This language assumes, obviously, that we have a speech to give, and that the outcome is reasonably satisfactory. I strongly believe the speech should end with something about America and what this says about our national character. (More, even, than a simple homage to the troops.) This is the right moment for patriotism and pride. It is vital that this be seen as a moment of national triumph, thereby marginalizing our opponents.

Our success says something important about America.

Our founders dedicated this nation to a shining ideal: that we are all created equal -- that every individual has a God-given right to freedom. It was the most powerful idea in human history: revolutionary then, and revolutionary now. Our own history has been a long struggle to live up to that ideal of freedom, to make its meaning real in each new time. And from our first days, that vision has been a light unto the world, a beacon of hope for struggling peoples everywhere.

In the 20th Century, we Americans came to realize that our responsibility to freedom must reach beyond our borders. We learned through bitter experience in two world wars and the Cold War that America cannot retreat from the world; that our security depends upon the stability of others; that when organized evil is on the march, we have no choice but to mobilize against it.

Thomas Jefferson told us that "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." Each generation of Americans has faced the test: When freedom is threatened, will we do what is necessary to defend it? In fundamental ways, Kosovo has been such a test, a measure of our commitment to our own founding ideals.

For [72] days, America has given its answer.

By standing with our fellow democracies -- by acting quickly and effectively against tyranny -- by insisting that mass slaughter and ethnic cleansing have no place in 1999 -- we have written another chapter in the American story. We added more names to the honor roll of men and women who risked everything for freedom, from Valley Forge, to Gettysburg, to Normandy, from Ke Sahn to Kuwait and, yes, to Kosovo.

We thank our men and women in uniform; we honor them; we pray for safety and their continued success. And we pray that in the 21st Century only a few months away, America will continue to be, as President Lincoln said, "the last best hope of man on Earth."

Thank you, and God bless the United States of America.
I also think that instead of a more matter-of-fact opening, we should consider something more evocative and dramatic. (Though the stalling and delay may argue against this.) Again, this should be stronger, or weaker, depending upon what we think is happening, and how “full” we want to say the glass is.

Tonight, the skies over Yugoslavia are silent. The Serb Army and police are withdrawing from Kosovo. The one million men, women and children deported from Kosovo can look forward to their return. The demands of an outraged and united international community have been met. Tonight, we have stopped the bombing, because tonight, our cause has triumphed.

On the execution of the strategy:

I was determined to meet our goals – and I was equally determined to do so, if at all possible, without enmeshing our military in a bloody conflict that would cost many American lives. I believe the results speak for themselves.
LANGUAGE FOR OVAL OFFICE ADDRESS ON KOSOVO

This language assumes, obviously, that we have a speech to give, and that the outcome is reasonably satisfactory. I strongly believe the speech should end with something about America and what this says about our national character. (More, even, than a simple homage to the troops.) This is the right moment for patriotism and pride. It is vital that this be seen as a moment of national triumph, thereby marginalizing our opponents.

Our success says something important about America.

Our founders dedicated this nation to a shining ideal: that we are all created equal -- that every individual has a God-given right to freedom. It was the most powerful idea in human history: revolutionary then, and revolutionary now. Our own history has been a long struggle to live up to that ideal of freedom, to make its meaning real in each new time. And from our first days, that vision has been a light unto the world, a beacon of hope for struggling peoples everywhere.

In the 20th Century, we Americans came to realize that our responsibility to freedom must reach beyond our borders. We learned through bitter experience in two world wars and the Cold War that America cannot retreat from the world; that our security depends upon the stability of others; that when organized evil is on the march, we have no choice but to mobilize against it.

Thomas Jefferson told us that "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." Each generation of Americans has faced the test: When freedom is threatened, will we do what is necessary to defend it? In fundamental ways, Kosovo has been such a test, a measure of our commitment to our own founding ideals.

For [72] days, America has given its answer.

By standing with our fellow democracies -- by acting quickly and effectively against tyranny -- by insisting that mass slaughter and ethnic cleansing have no place in 1999 -- we have written another chapter in the American story. We added more names to the honor roll of men and women who risked everything for freedom, from Valley Forge, to Gettysburg, to Normandy, from Ke Sahn to Kuwait and, yes, to Kosovo.

We thank our men and women in uniform; we honor them; we pray for their safety and their continued success. And we pray that in the 21st Century only a few months away, America will continue to be, as President Lincoln said, "the last best hope of man on Earth."

Thank you, and God bless the United States of America.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE</th>
<th>SUBJECT/TITLE</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>RESTRICTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>001. calls list</td>
<td>RE: Telephone numbers (partial) (1 page)</td>
<td>06/08/1999</td>
<td>P6/b(6)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**COLLECTION:**
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14438

**FOLDER TITLE:**
Kosovo

**RESTRICITION CODES**

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor’s deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Call</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday, June 08, 1999 9:27:00 AM</td>
<td>Call</td>
<td>pl's call</td>
<td>Cliff Sloan</td>
<td>Left Message</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday, June 08, 1999 1:11:00 PM</td>
<td>Call</td>
<td>would like to speak with you</td>
<td>Mark Oeran</td>
<td>Planned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday, June 08, 1999 2:16:00 PM</td>
<td>Call</td>
<td>the piece you spoke of will be in tomorrow's NY Daily News</td>
<td>William Klein</td>
<td>Planned</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act, the Fair Housing Acts of both 1964 and 1978, the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990, that every American enjoys the opportunity and access, I am deeply committed to refining them. I am introducing legislation with remedies to protect women from harassment and minorities from discrimination in the workplace. And I call upon Congress to act promptly on this initiative. But legislation that helps no one lawyer's bonanza helps no one. And so, we're proposing to allow communities to restructure programs at the local level.

Our strength as a nation lies in the strength of our communities, the sum of our neighborhoods and families, our hopes and dreams for the future. This is our administration's agenda for opportunity. It begins in the heart of every person who believes in freedom and lives on in the American dream. Every man and woman in this room shares its vision. The great poet Carl Sandburg put it this way, "Nothing happens unless first a dream." Our mandate is to make the dream a reality.

We face a new century, a new American century. Half a world away, our allied troops face a defining moment in the new world order. And they are succeeding in their battle because each and every one of them possesses a pride in their country, integrity in their cause, and courage in their heart.

Our troops will be home soon, coming home to a grateful nation. And I want to resolve made victory quick, decisive, and just. And soon we will open wide our arms to welcome back home to America our magnificent fighting forces.

Kuwait is liberated. Iraq's army is defeated. Our military objectives are met. Kuwait is once more in the hands of Kuwaitis, in control of their own destiny. We share in their joy, a joy tempered only by our compassion for their ordeal.

Tonight the Kuwaiti flag once again flies above the capital of a free and sovereign nation. And the American flag flies above our Embassy.

Seven months ago, America and the world drew a line in the sand. We declared that the aggression against Kuwait would not stand. And tonight, America and the world have kept their word.

This is not a time of euphoria, certainly not a time to gloat. But it is a time of pride: pride in our troops; pride in the friends who stood with us in the crisis; pride in our nation and the people whose strength and courage in our hearts and expand the freedoms of all Americans. It's up to each of us to secure the triumph of the American idea. And that idea is opportunity.

With God's help and yours, we will succeed. Thank you all very much. And may God bless our troops, and may God bless the United States of America.

Address to the Nation on the Suspension of Allied Offensive Combat Operations in the Persian Gulf

February 27, 1991

Kuwait is liberated. Iraq's army is defeated. Our military objectives are met. Kuwait is once more in the hands of Kuwaitis, in control of their own destiny. We share in their joy, a joy tempered only by our compassion for their ordeal.

Tonight the Kuwaiti flag once again flies above the capital of a free and sovereign nation. And the American flag flies above our Embassy.

Seven months ago, America and the world drew a line in the sand. We declared that the aggression against Kuwait would not stand. And tonight, America and the world have kept their word.

This is not a time of euphoria, certainly not a time to gloat. But it is a time of pride: pride in our troops; pride in the friends who stood with us in the crisis; pride in our nation and the people whose strength and courage in our hearts and expand the freedoms of all Americans. It's up to each of us to secure the triumph of the American idea. And that idea is opportunity.

With God's help and yours, we will succeed. Thank you all very much. And may God bless our troops, and may God bless the United States of America.

Note: The President spoke at 11:08 a.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the J.W. Marriott Hotel. In his opening remarks, he referred to R. William Taylor, president of the American Society of Association Executives; Attorney General Dick Thornburgh; Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Jack Kemp; Secretary of Health and Human Services Louis W. Sullivan; Acting Secretary of Education Ted Sanders; and Robert L. Woodson, president of the National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise.

Administration of George Bush, 1991 / Feb. 27
this suspension on the part of the coalition becomes a permanent cease-fire.

Coalition political and military terms for a formal cease-fire include the following requirements:

Iraq must release immediately all coalition prisoners of war, third country nationals, and the remains of all who have fallen. Iraq must release all Kuwaiti detainees. Iraq also must inform Kuwaiti authorities of the location and nature of all land and sea mines. Iraq must comply fully with all relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions. This includes a resounding of Iraq's August decision to annex Kuwait and acceptance in principle of Iraq's responsibility to pay compensation for the loss, damage, and injury its aggression has caused.

The coalition calls upon the Iraqi Government to designate military commanders to meet within 48 hours with their coalition counterparts at a place in the theater of operations to be specified to arrange for military aspects of the cease-fire. Further, I have asked Secretary of State Baker to request that the United Nations Security Council meet to formulate the necessary arrangements for this war to be ended.

This suspension of offensive combat operations is contingent upon Iraq's not firing upon any coalition forces and not launching Scud missiles against any other country. If Iraq violates these terms, coalition forces will be free to resume military operations.

At every opportunity, I have said to the people of Iraq that our quarrel was not with them but instead with their leadership and, above all, with Saddam Hussein. This remains the case. You, the people of Iraq, are not our enemy. We do not seek your destruction. We have treated your POW's with kindness. Coalition forces fought this war only as a last resort and look forward to the day when Iraq is led by people prepared to live in peace with their neighbors.

We must now begin to look beyond victory and war. We must meet the challenge of securing the peace. In the future, as before, we will consult with our coalition partners. We've already done a good deal of thinking and planning for the postwar period, and Secretary Baker has already begun to consult with our coalition partners on the region's challenges. There can be, and will be, no solely American answer to all these challenges. But we can assist and support the countries of the region and be a catalyst for peace. In this spirit, Secretary Baker will go to the region next week to begin a new round of consultations.

This war is now behind us. Ahead of us is the difficult task of securing a potentially historic peace. Tonight though, let us be proud of what we have accomplished. Let us give thanks to those who risked their lives. Let us never forget those who gave their lives. May God bless our valiant military forces and their families, and let us all remember them in our prayers.

Good night, and may God bless the United States of America.

Note: President Bush spoke at 9:02 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. In his address, he referred to Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney; Colin L. Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; Secretary of State James A. Baker III; and President Saddam Hussein of Iraq. The address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.

Remarks Prior to Discussions With Foreign Minister Roland Dumas of France
February 28, 1991

Reporter. Mr. President, do you still want to prosecute Saddam Hussein for war crimes?

The President. I don't want to take any questions here in the Oval Office, but we have with us today the Foreign Minister from one of our fundamentally key coalition partners. And I will take this opportunity to express my appreciation not only to Mr. Dumas but to the President of France, François Mitterrand. It's most fitting that you come here on an exciting day like this, to give to the American people from France. And we have been together in this big, difficult peace. We hope now we continue to work hard to build peace.

The President. We've got to continue to work together in this big, difficult peace. In the future, as before, we must meet the challenge of securing the peace. In the future, as before, we will consult with our coalition partners. And I will take this opportunity to express my appreciation not only to Mr. Dumas but to the President of France, François Mitterrand. It's most fitting that you come here on an exciting day like this, to give to the American people from France. And we have been together in this big, difficult peace. We hope now we continue to work hard to build peace.

The Foreign Minister. Let me give to the American people from France. And we have been together in this big, difficult peace. We hope now we continue to work hard to build peace.

The Foreign Minister. That's much.

[At this point, another group of journalists entered the room.]

The President. May I simply say a minute ago to the first group of journalists. I still will not take questions here in the Oval Office, but this is a very special day. It's most fitting that Roland Dumas, a friend of France, be here. I have a chance on behalf of all the Americans to thank the French people for the extraordinary support they have given to this war only as a last resort and look forward to the day when Iraq is led by people prepared to live in peace with their neighbors.
25 Statement by the President on the Timing of the
Announcement of the German Surrender. May 7, 1945

I HAVE AGREED with the London and Moscow governments that I will make no announcement with reference to surrender of the enemy forces in Europe or elsewhere until a simultaneous statement can be made by the three governments. Until then, there is nothing I can or will say to you.

NOTE: Later in the day a White House release stated that on the basis of reports received the President "confidently expects to make an announcement to the nation by radio at 9 o'clock tomorrow morning." The release added that unless unforeseen developments caused a change in plans a press conference would be called at 8:30 a.m. at which time the press and radio would be given in confidence the text of the President's radio remarks.

26 The President's News Conference on V-E Day.
May 8, 1945

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I want to start off by reading you a little statement here. I want you to understand, at the very beginning, that this press conference is held with the understanding that any and all information given you here is for release at 9 a.m. this morning, eastern war time. There should be no indication of the news given here, or speculation about it, either in the press or on the radio before 9 o'clock this morning.

The radio—my radio remarks, and telegrams of congratulation to the Allied military leaders, are for release at the same time. Mr. Daniels has copies of my remarks, available for you in the lobby as you go out, and also one or two releases here.
Now, for your benefit, because you won’t get a chance to listen over the radio, I am going to read you the proclamation, and the principal remarks. It won’t take but 7 minutes, so you needn’t be uneasy. You have plenty of time. [Laughter]

“This is a solemn but glorious hour. General Eisenhower informs me that the forces of Germany have surrendered to the United Nations. The flags of freedom fly all over Europe.”

It’s celebrating my birthday, too—today, too.

Voices: Happy birthday, Mr. President! [Laughter]

THE PRESIDENT. “For this victory, we join in offering our thanks to the Providence which has guided and sustained us through the dark days of adversity. Our rejoicing is sobered and subdued by a supreme consciousness of the terrible price we have paid to rid the world of Hitler and his evil band. Let us not forget, my fellow Americans, the sorrow and the heartache which today abide in the homes of so many of our neighbors—neighbors whose most priceless possession has been rendered as a sacrifice to redeem our liberty.

“We can repay the debt which we owe to our God, to our dead, and to our children, only by work, by ceaseless devotion to the responsibilities which lie ahead of us. If I could give you a single watchword for the coming months, that word is work, work, and more work. We must work to finish the war. Our victory is only half over.”

[2.] Now, we have got another little release here, which doesn’t go into the speech, but it informs the Japanese what they can expect. We are going to be in a position where we can turn the greatest war machine in the history of the world loose on the Japanese; and I am informed by the Chiefs of Staff, by the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of the Navy, that Japan is going to have a terrible time from now on. This release here, I will read it.

“The Japanese people have felt the weight of our land, air, and naval attacks. So long as their leaders and the armed forces continue the war, the striking power and intensity of our blows will steadily increase, and will bring utter destruction to Japan’s industrial war production, to its shipping, and to everything that supports its military activity.

“The longer the war lasts, the greater will be the suffering and hard-
a chance to listen

n, and the princi-

ower informs me

United Nations.


[Continues reading his address]: "The West is free, but the

East is still in bondage to the treacherous tyranny of the Japanese.

When the last Japanese division has surrendered unconditionally, then

only will our fighting job be done.

"We must work to bind up the wounds of a suffering world—to

build an abiding peace, a peace rooted in justice and in law."

You remember, it has been emphasized here all the time that we

want a peace of justice and law. That’s what we are trying to get, at

San Francisco—what we are going to get—the framework for a peace

in justice and law. We have got terrific problems facing us. While we

have been prepared for this thing for several days, I think ever since

last Saturday night, if I remember correctly—[laughter]—we have had

other things to think about, besides this formal proclamation which we

ships which the people of Japan will undergo—all in vain. Our blows

will not cease until the Japanese military and naval forces lay down

t heir arms in unconditional surrender.

"Just what does the unconditional surrender of the armed forces mean

for the Japanese people?

"It means the end of the war.

"It means the termination of the influence of the military leaders who

brought Japan to the present brink of disaster.

"It means provision for the return of soldiers and sailors to their

families, their farms, and their jobs.

"And it means not prolonging the present agony and suffering of the

Japanese in the vain hope of victory.

"Unconditional surrender does not mean the extermination or en-

slavement of the Japanese people.”

Now, you will have copies of that when you go out.

Mr. Daniels: Mr. President, will you point out that that is marked

immediate release, but that it is for 9 o’clock?

THE PRESIDENT. That is for 9 o’clock. It is marked immediate release,

but it was to be released after the proclamation this morning. But I

thought it was so important that we released it at the same time; and

while this release is marked immediate release, it wants to be released

at 9 o’clock, after the other release.

[3.] [Continues reading his address]: "The West is free, but the

East is still in bondage to the treacherous tyranny of the Japanese.

When the last Japanese division has surrendered unconditionally, then

only will our fighting job be done.

"We must work to bind up the wounds of a suffering world—to

build an abiding peace, a peace rooted in justice and in law."

You remember, it has been emphasized here all the time that we

want a peace of justice and law. That’s what we are trying to get, at

San Francisco—what we are going to get—the framework for a peace

in justice and law. We have got terrific problems facing us. While we

have been prepared for this thing for several days, I think ever since

last Saturday night, if I remember correctly—[laughter]—we have had

other things to think about, besides this formal proclamation which we
are issuing this morning. We are facing a situation that we can either
go the whole way and make the world the happiest place it has ever
been in which to live, or we can go the wrong way and spoil the whole
thing. So we are thinking all the time of the problems which we have
to face.

[Continues reading his address]: "We can build such a peace only by
hard, toilsome, painstaking work—by understanding and working with
our Allies in peace as we have worked with them in war.

"The job ahead is no less important, no less urgent, no less difficult
than the task which now happily is done.

"I call upon every American to stick to his post until the last battle
is won. Until that day, let no man abandon his post or slacken his
efforts."

[4.] Now, I want to read to you the formal proclamation.

"A Proclamation—The Allied armies, through sacrifice and devotion
and with God's help, have wrung from Germany a final and uncondi-
tional surrender. The western world has been freed of the evil forces
which for five years and longer have imprisoned the bodies and broken
the lives of millions upon millions of free-born men. They have violated
their churches, destroyed their homes, corrupted their children, and
murdered their loved ones. Our Armies of Liberation have restored
freedom to these suffering peoples, whose spirit and will the oppressors
could never enslave.

"Much remains to be done. The victory won in the West must now
be won in the East."

I want that emphasized time after time, that we are only half
through.

"The whole world must be cleansed of the evil from which half the
world has been freed. United, the peace-loving nations have demon-
strated in the West that their arms are stronger by far than the might
of dictators or the tyranny of military cliques that once called us soft
and weak."

I would like to know what the Germans think about that now.

[Laughter]
“The power of our peoples to defend themselves against all enemies will be proved in the Pacific war as it has been proved in Europe.

“For the triumph of spirit and of arms which we have won, and for its promise to peoples everywhere who join us in the love of freedom, it is fitting that we, as a nation, give thanks to Almighty God, who has strengthened us and given us the victory.

“Now, therefore, I, Harry S. Truman, President of the United States of America, do hereby appoint Sunday, May 13, 1945, to be a day of prayer.”

And it’s exceedingly fitting that that is Mother’s Day, too.

“I call upon the people of the United States, whatever their faith, to unite in offering joyful thanks to God for the victory we have won and to pray that He will support us to the end of our present struggle and guide us into the way of peace.

“I also call upon my countrymen to dedicate this day of prayer to the memory of those who have given their lives to make possible our victory.

“In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed.”

[5.] And I have sent messages to Prime Minister Churchill, Marshal Stalin, and General Eisenhower and General de Gaulle. This is the message to—to General Eisenhower, and I will let you read the rest of them from the release which will be given you. I want you to read every one of them.

Mr. Daniels: Mr. President—the time is getting late, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. I’ll just read the one [to General Eisenhower]:

“In recognition of the unconditional surrender—unconditional and abject surrender of the Nazi barbarians, please accept the fervent congratulations and appreciation of myself, and of the American people, for the heroic achievements of your Allied Army, Navy, and Air Forces. By their sacrifices, skill, and courage they have saved and exalted the cause of freedom throughout the world. All of us owe you, and to your men of many nations, a debt beyond appraisal for their high contribution to the conquest of Nazism.
"I send also my personal appreciation of the superb leadership shown by you and your commanders in directing the valiant legions of our own country, and of our Allies, to this historic victory.  

"Please transmit this message to the appropriate officers of your command, and publish it to all Allied forces in your theaters of operation."

And in the message to Marshal Stalin, we asked him to do the same thing for the Russian commanders and Russian troops.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Truman's sixth news conference was held in his office at the White House at 8:35 a.m. on Tuesday, May 8, 1945. The White House Official Reporter noted that members of the Cabinet, Mrs. Truman and Margaret Truman, high United States and British Army and Navy officials, and Senate and Congressional leaders were grouped in chairs around the President's desk.

27 Broadcast to the American People Announcing the Surrender of Germany. May 8, 1945

[Delivered from the Radio Room at the White House at 9 a.m.]

THIS IS a solemn but a glorious hour. I only wish that Franklin D. Roosevelt had lived to witness this day. General Eisenhower informs me that the forces of Germany have surrendered to the United Nations. The flags of freedom fly over all Europe.

For this victory, we join in offering our thanks to the Providence which has guided and sustained us through the dark days of adversity. Our rejoicing is sobered and subdued by a supreme consciousness of the terrible price we have paid to rid the world of Hitler and his evil band. Let us not forget, my fellow Americans, the sorrow and the heartache which today abide in the homes of so many of our neighbors—neighbors whose most priceless possession has been rendered as a sacrifice to redeem our liberty.

We can repay the debt which we owe to our God, to our dead and to our children only by work—by ceaseless devotion to the responsibilities which lie ahead of us. If I could give you a single watchword for the coming months, that word is—work, work, and more work.

We must work to finish the war. Our victory is but half-won. The West is free, but the East is still in bondage to the treacherous tyranny of the Japanese. We must work to win an abiding peace, a just peace which for five years has deprived its churches and murdered their people, and has denied freedom to these states which for five years could never enslave.

"Much remains to be won in the East. We have won a battle, but the war is far from ended. It is fitting, therefore, that we should renew our efforts in this direction, and that we should work together with our Allied nations to bring about a lasting peace.

"For the triumph of freedom, it is fitting that we should renew our efforts in this direction, and that we should work together with our Allied nations to bring about a lasting peace."

Now, therefore, I call upon every American, in every section of our land, to renew their efforts in this direction, and to work together with their Allies in the cause of freedom.
leadership shown by our predecessors of operation."

to do the same

an and Margaret
States and British
ialists, and Senate
ers were grouped
President's desk.

9 a.m.]

Franklin D.
hower informs
ited Nations.

the Providence
ays of adversity.
consciousness of
ider and his evil
orrow and the
y of our neigh-
en rendered as

our dead and to
responsibilities
word for the
work.
half-won. The
orous tyranny

of the Japanese. When the last Japanese division has surrendered un-
conditionally, then only will our fighting job be done.

We must work to bind up the wounds of a suffering world—to build
an abiding peace, a peace rooted in justice and in law. We can build
such a peace only by hard, toilsome, painstaking work—by understand-
ing and working with our allies in peace as we have in war.

The job ahead is no less important, no less urgent, no less difficult
than the task which now happily is done.

I call upon every American to stick to his post until the last battle is
won. Until that day, let no man abandon his post or slacken his efforts.

And now, I want to read to you my formal proclamation of this
occasion:

"A Proclamation—The Allied armies, through sacrifice and devotion
and with God's help, have wrung from Germany a final and unconditional
surrender. The western world has been freed of the evil forces
which for five years and longer have imprisoned the bodies and broken
the lives of millions upon millions of free-born men. They have viol-
ated their churches, destroyed their homes, corrupted their children,
and murdered their loved ones. Our Armies of Liberation have restored
freedom to these suffering peoples, whose spirit and will the oppressors
could never enslave.

"Much remains to be done. The victory won in the West must now
be won in the East. The whole world must be cleansed of the evil
from which half the world has been freed. United, the peace-loving
nations have demonstrated in the West that their arms are stronger by
far than the might of the dictators or the tyranny of military cliques
that once called us soft and weak. The power of our peoples to defend
themselves against all enemies will be proved in the Pacific war as it has
been proved in Europe.

"For the triumph of spirit and of arms which we have won, and for
its promise to the peoples everywhere who join us in the love of free-
dom, it is fitting that we, as a nation, give thanks to Almighty God,
who has strengthened us and given us the victory.

"Now, therefore, I, Harry S. Truman, President of the United States
of America, do hereby appoint Sunday, May 13, 1945, to be a day of
prayer.
“I call upon the people of the United States, whatever their faith, to unite in offering joyful thanks to God for the victory we have won, and to pray that He will support us to the end of our present struggle and guide us into the ways of peace.

“I also call upon my countrymen to dedicate this day of prayer to the memory of those who have given their lives to make possible our victory.

“In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed.”

Statement by the President Calling for Unconditional Surrender of Japan. May 8, 1945

NAZI GERMANY has been defeated.

The Japanese people have felt the weight of our land, air and naval attacks. So long as their leaders and the armed forces continue the war the striking power and intensity of our blows will steadily increase and will bring utter destruction to Japan’s industrial war production, to its shipping, and to everything that supports its military activity.

The longer the war lasts, the greater will be the suffering and hardships which the people of Japan will undergo—all in vain. Our blows will not cease until the Japanese military and naval forces lay down their arms in unconditional surrender.

Just what does the unconditional surrender of the armed forces mean for the Japanese people?

It means the end of the war.

It means the termination of the influence of the military leaders who have brought Japan to the present brink of disaster.

It means provision for the return of soldiers and sailors to their families, their farms, their jobs.

It means not prolonging the present agony and suffering of the Japanese in the vain hope of victory.

Unconditional surrender does not mean the extermination or enslavement of the Japanese people.
lose no time in making of our Social Security Act a more perfect instrument for the maintenance of economic security throughout this country.

I expect to present to the Congress specific recommendations looking toward this objective.

A sound system of social security requires careful consideration and preparation. Social security worthy of the name is not a dole or a device for giving everybody something for nothing. True social security must consist of rights which are earned rights—guaranteed by the law of the land. Only that kind of social security is worthy of the men and women who have fought and are now fighting to preserve the heritage and the future of America.

But before I go any further, this will be in the form of releases, so you don’t have to copy it unless you want to. "—in reply to the message forwarded to that Government by the Secretary of State on August 11. I deem this reply a full acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration which specifies the unconditional surrender of Japan. In the reply there is no qualification.

"Arrangements are now being made for the signing of the surrender terms at the earliest possible moment.

"General Douglas MacArthur has been appointed the Supreme Allied Commander to receive the Japanese surrender. Great Britain, Russia, and China will be represented by high-ranking officers.

"Meantime, the Allied armed forces have been ordered to suspend offensive action.

"Proclamation of V-J Day must wait upon the formal signing of the surrender terms by Japan.

"The following is the Japanese Government’s message accepting our terms."

---

1 See Item 103.
But before I start to read that, there are three releases to come; one has to do with a 2-day holiday.¹ The reason we are making it 2 days is because we didn’t get to celebrate for the other. [Laughter] Then there is one that has to do with the draft.²

This is the official Swiss communique handed to the Secretary of State:

“Sir: I have the honor to refer to your note of August 11, in which you requested me to transmit to my Government the reply of the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and China to the message from the Japanese Government which was communicated in my note of August 10.

“At 20.10 today (Swiss Time) the Japanese Minister to Switzerland conveyed the following written statement to the Swiss Government for transmission to the four Allied governments:

“Communication of the Japanese Government of August 14, 1945, addressed to the Governments of the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China:

“With reference to the Japanese Government’s note of August 10 regarding their acceptance of the provisions of the Potsdam declaration and the reply of the Governments of the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China sent by American Secretary of State Byrnes under the date of August 11, the Japanese Government have the honor to communicate to the Governments of the four powers as follows:

“1. His Majesty the Emperor has issued an Imperial rescript regarding Japan’s acceptance of the provisions of the Potsdam declaration.

“2. His Majesty the Emperor is prepared to authorize and ensure the signature of his Government and the Imperial General Headquarters of the necessary terms for carrying out the provisions of the Potsdam declaration. His Majesty is also prepared to issue his commands to all the military, naval, and air authorities of Japan and all the forces under their control wherever located to cease active operations, to surrender arms and to issue such other orders as may be required by the Supreme

¹ See Item 102. ² See Item 101.
Commander of the Allied Forces for the execution of the above-mentioned terms.

"Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

"Chargé d'Affaires of the Swiss Government in the United States"

Voice: I congratulate you!

THE PRESIDENT. That is all.

Joe Fox, Washington Star: Thank you, Mr. President.

[Applause and further congratulations]

NOTE: President Truman's eighteenth news conference was held in his office at the White House at 7 p.m. on Tuesday, August 14, 1945. The White House Official Reporter noted that members of the Cabinet were present; also the President's official family, his secretariat, and Administrative Assistants George Schoeneman and David K. Niles. He also noted that former Secretary of State Cordell Hull was invited, but did not arrive until the conference was over.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT ANNOUNCING A REDUCTION IN THE DRAFT

THE WAR DEPARTMENT has recommended, and I have approved, a request to the Director of Selective Service to reduce inductions immediately from 80,000 to 50,000 per month. This figure will provide only sufficient men to support the forces required for occupational duty and to permit the relief of long-service men overseas to the maximum extent transportation makes possible.

In justice to the millions of men who have given long and faithful service under the difficult and hazardous conditions of the Pacific War and elsewhere overseas a constant flow of replacements to the occupational forces is thought to be imperative.

Mathematically and morally no other course of action appears acceptable.

Transportation by air and sea should make possible the release from the Army of five to five and a half million men during the next twelve to eighteen months. It is too early to propose definite figures for the occupation forces which will be required in the Pacific twelve months from now or what the Army forces may be at home by the middle of the year.

The present personnel now in the Selective Service system is being returned to those men who have completed their service.

Requirements will be made for the lowest age group. Preliminary estimates indicate that this requirement will be met.

STATEMENT ON EMPLOYMENT OF FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

ONE OF THE EFFECTS OF THE RECONSTRUCTION ACT requires the Federal government to employ veterans in all departments. They have carried on war work which are essential in the overall victory over the world.

On behalf of the Army of Occupation, as a token of appreciation for their service, I am glad to announce the following:

This action is based on the recommendation of the Advisory Committee of Employes. On behalf of the Army of Occupation, I hope that this statement will be a well-deserved recognition of the contribution of the employes to the war effort.

NOTE: The President was gratified by the enthusiastic reception given to the release announcement.

August 16, 1945

By the President of the United States of America a Proclamation:

The war lords of Japan and the Japanese armed forces have surrendered. They have surrendered unconditionally. Three months after victory in Europe victory has come in the East.

The cruel war of aggression which Japan started eight years ago to spread the forces of evil over the Pacific has resulted in her total defeat.

This is the end of the grandiose schemes of the dictators to enslave the peoples of the world, destroy their civilization, and institute a new era of darkness and degradation. This day is a new beginning in the history of freedom on this earth.

Our global victory has come from the courage and stamina and spirit of free men and women united in determination to fight.

It has come from the massive strength of arms and materials created by peace-loving peoples who knew that unless they won decency in the world would end.

It has come from millions of peaceful citizens all over the world—turned soldiers almost overnight—who showed a ruthless enemy that they were not afraid to fight and to die, and that they knew how to win.

It has come with the help of God, Who was with us in the early days of adversity and disaster, and Who has now brought us to this glorious day of triumph.

Let us give thanks to Him, and remember that we have now dedicated ourselves to follow in His ways to a lasting and just peace and to a better world.

Now, THEREFORE, I, HARRY S. TRUMAN, President of the United States of America, do hereby appoint Sunday, August 19, 1945, to be a day of prayer.

I call upon the people of the United States, of all faiths, to unite in offering their thanks to God for the victory we have won, and in praying that He will support and guide us into the paths of peace.

I also call upon my countrymen to dedicate this day of prayer to the memory of those who have given their lives to make possible our victory.

223
LANGUAGE FOR OVAL OFFICE ADDRESS ON KOSOVO

This language assumes, obviously, that we have a speech to give, and that the outcome is reasonably satisfactory. I strongly believe the speech should end with something about America and what this says about our national character. (More, even, than a simple homage to the troops.) This is the right moment for patriotism and pride. It is vital that this be seen as a moment of national triumph, thereby marginalizing our opponents.

Our success says something important about America.

Our founders dedicated this nation to a shining ideal: that we are all created equal -- that every individual has a God-given right to freedom. It was the most powerful idea in human history: revolutionary then, and revolutionary now. Our own history has been a long struggle to live up to that ideal of freedom, to make its meaning real in each new time. And from our first days, that vision has been a light unto the world, a beacon of hope for struggling peoples everywhere.

In the 20th Century, we Americans came to realize that our responsibility to freedom must reach beyond our borders. We learned through bitter experience in two world wars and the Cold War that America cannot retreat from the world; that our security depends upon the stability of others; that when organized evil is on the march, we have no choice but to mobilize against it.

Thomas Jefferson told us that "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." Each generation of Americans has faced the test: When freedom is threatened, will we do what is necessary to defend it? In fundamental ways, Kosovo has been such a test, a measure of our commitment to our own founding ideals.

By standing with our fellow democracies -- by acting quickly and effectively against tyranny -- by insisting that mass slaughter and ethnic cleansing have no place in 1999 -- we have written another chapter in the American story. We added more names to the honor roll of men and women who risked everything for freedom, from Valley Forge, to Gettysburg, to Normandy, from Ke Sahn to Kuwait and, yes, to Kosovo.

We thank our men and women in uniform; we honor them; we pray for safety and their continued success. And we pray that in the 21st Century, only a few months away, America will remain and now.

Thank you, and God bless the United States of America.
I also think that instead of a more matter of fact opening, we should consider something more evocative and dramatic. Obviously, it should be weaker or stronger depending upon how cautious we want to be about what is happening.

Tonight, the skies over Yugoslavia are silent. The Serb army and police are withdrawing from Kosovo. The one million people deported from Kosovo in recent weeks can look forward to their return. The demands of an outraged and united international community have been met. Tonight, we have stopped the bombing, because tonight, our cause has triumphed.

On the execution of the strategy...

I was determined to exhaust every effort to meet our goals — and I was equally determined to do so, if at all possible, without enmeshing our military in a bloody conflict that would cost many American lives. I believe the results speak for themselves.