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

**FOLDER TITLE:**
Bosnia-Newsweek Piece 11/3/95

**RESTRICTION CODES**

- **Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]**
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  - RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

TO: Tony Blinken

FAX NUMBER: 456-9160

FROM: Steve Waldman

NUMBER OF PAGES TO FOLLOW: 2

MESSAGE: 7:35
Why Bosnia Matters to America

BY PRESIDENT CLINTON

Our values, interests and security are all at stake.

OVER THE LAST FOUR years, the world has witnessed images we thought had been banished from Europe forever: sunken-eyed prisoners; defenseless men shot down into mass graves. Bosnia-Herzegovina, once a symbol of multi-ethnic tolerance, has been Europe’s bloodiest battleground since World War II.

But now, in Dayton, Ohio—where the Presidents of Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia are beginning negotiations aimed at ending the brutality, horror is giving way to hope. America has led the way to the best chance for peace since the war began. American pilots and their NATO colleagues waged a bombing campaign that halted Bosnian Serb attacks on the safe areas. America’s determined diplomacy brought the parties to the peace table. And in Dayton, America’s negotiating team together with our European and Russian partners is working with them to make a lasting peace.

Peace in Bosnia matters to America to our values and our interests. We have an urgent stake in stopping the slaughter, preventing the war from spreading, and building a Europe at peace.

The war in Bosnia has been waged chiefly against innocent civilians, who have suffered mass executions, ethnic cleansing, terror, and systematic rape. Murder in the markets and the playgrounds of Sarajevo has outraged our nation and our conscience for the violence done to the Bosnian people does violence to the principles on which America stands. The only way to stop the killing for good is to make peace.

Peace would also prevent the war from spreading. Bosnia lies amidst some of America’s NATO allies and many of Europe’s fragile new democracies. If war reignites in Bosnia, it could spark a much wider conflagration. In 1914, a gunshot in Sarajevo launched the first of two world wars. We must not let the century close with gunfire in Sarajevo.

Making peace in Bosnia will help build a peaceful, undivided Europe. A united Europe will be America’s best partner in security and trade. But Europe will not come together with a brutal conflict raging at its heart. Europe will not come together if the forces of intolerance triumph.

To seize this opportunity for peace, America must continue to lead. Already, American mediators have helped the parties agree to a cease-fire and to the basic principles of a settlement. Bosnia will remain a single state, with an equitable distribution of territory, free elections and democratic government. But many difficult obstacles remain to be overcome in Dayton before a comprehensive settlement is reached. There is no guarantee the parties will succeed.

If peace is achieved, NATO must help secure it and as
NATO’s leader, America must take part. Only NATO proven, strong, effective can give the Bosnian people the breathing space they need to begin to reconcile and rebuild. If the U.S. does not do its part in a NATO mission, our partners may turn their backs on Bosnia as well. The hard-won peace could be lost. We would also weaken NATO—the anchor of America’s and Europe’s common security—and jeopardize U.S. leadership in Europe.

As President, I have no responsibility more grave than putting American soldiers in harm’s way. I will not deploy U.S. troops to Bosnia unless the parties commit to a solid peace agreement. I will insist on NATO command and control that protects our troops and ensures the effectiveness of the operation. Our troops will take their orders from the American general who commands NATO forces—no one else. They will have clear rules of engagement, a carefully defined mission, and an exit strategy. As the peace process moves forward, I will continue to consult closely with Congress. If an agreement is reached, I will request an expression of Congressional support for American participation in a NATO implementation force.

I was proud to see that when the Balkan leaders arrived in Dayton, they were welcomed by hundreds of Americans of diverse faiths and backgrounds, demonstrating how deeply our nation hopes for peace. Standing together, they reflected the foundation of America’s strength: E Pluribus Unum from many, we are one. The war of ethnic and religious hatred in Bosnia strikes at the heart of the American ideal. But there was a time when Bosnia, too, found unity in its diversity. Now is the time for Bosnia to find that unity in peace for the orphans of Sarajevo; for the untold victims of Srebrenica; for the countless men and women from every ethnic community, driven from their homes and divided from their families. And now is the time for the United States to stand by our principles and stand up for our interests. We must be leaders for peace. That is our responsibility as Americans.
Edits made by Newsweek are in ((())).

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But now, in Dayton, Ohio where the Presidents of Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia are beginning negotiations aimed at ending the brutality, hope is giving way to hope. After so many wasted lives and so many futures destroyed, America has led the way to the best chance for peace since the war began. American pilots and their NATO colleagues waged a heavy bombing campaign that halted Bosnian Serb attacks on the safe areas, America's determined diplomacy brought the parties to the peace table. And in Dayton, America's negotiating team together with our European and Russian partners is working with them to make a lasting peace.

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Making peace in Bosnia will help build a peaceful, united Europe with extraordinary benefits for America's security and prosperity. A united Europe will be America's best partner in security and trade. But Europe will not come together with a brutal conflict raging at its heart. Europe will not come together if its resources are drained in an endless effort to contain the violence. Europe will not come together if the forces of ethnic intolerance are allowed to triumph.

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If peace is achieved, NATO must help secure it and as NATO’s leader, America must take part. (After four years of bloodshed, the people of Bosnia will need courage, confidence, and time to rebuild.) Only NATO, proven, strong, effective can give the Bosnian people the breathing space they need. If the United States does not do its part in a NATO mission, our partners may turn their backs on Bosnia as well. The hard-won peace could be lost (to a future of destruction and despair). We will also weaken NATO, the anchor of America’s and Europe’s common security, and jeopardize U.S. leadership in Europe.

As Commander in Chief, I have no responsibility more grave than putting American soldiers in harm’s way. As I have said repeatedly, I will not deploy U.S. troops to Bosnia unless the parties commit to a solid peace agreement. I will insist on clear NATO command and control that protects the safety of our troops and ensures the effectiveness of the operation. Our troops will take their orders from the American general who commands NATO forces no one else. And they will have clear rules of engagement, a carefully defined mission, and an exit strategy. (As the peace process in Dayton moves forward, I will continue to consult closely with Congress.) If an agreement is reached, I will request an expression of Congressional support for American participation in a NATO implementation force.

I was proud to see that when the Balkan leaders arrived at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, they were welcomed by hundreds of Americans of diverse faiths and backgrounds, demonstrating how deeply our nation hopes for peace. (Standing together in America’s heartland, they reflected the foundation of America’s strength: E Pluribus Unum from many, we are one. The war of ethnic and religious hatred in Bosnia strikes at the heart of the American ideal.) But there was a time when Bosnia, too, found unity in its diversity. Now is the time for Bosnia to find that unity in peace for the orphans of Sarajevo; for the untold victims of Srebrenica; for the countless men and women from every ethnic community, driven from their homes and divided from their families. And now is the time for the United States to stand by our principles and stand up for our interests. We must be leaders for peace. That is our responsibility as Americans.
TO: Tony Blinken

FAX NUMBER: 456 9160

FROM: Steve Waldman

NUMBER OF PAGES TO FOLLOW: 2

MESSAGE: This is cut to space. If you don't like a cut you'll need to cut something else.

Given the Rabin shooting
Seizing the Chance for Peace in Bosnia

By President William J. Clinton

Over the last four years, the world has come face to face with images we thought had been banished from Europe forever: skeletal prisoners with sunken eyes; thousands of defenseless men shot down into mass graves. Bosnia-Herzegovina, once a stronghold of tolerance, has been Europe's bloodiest battleground since the Second World War.

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- Anthony Blinken (Speechwriting)
- OA/Box Number: 3382

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This version reflects input from Lake, Baer, and Bass. Please get any comments to me at 6-9296. Many thanks, Vinca.

<<File Attachment: NEWSWK4.DOC>>
Newsweek Article on Bosnia

For four years, Bosnia-Herzegovina, once a stronghold of tolerance, has been Europe's bloodiest battleground since the Second World War.

But now, in Dayton, Ohio -- where the Presidents of Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia are beginning negotiations aimed at ending the brutality -- there is hope. After so many wasted lives and so many futures destroyed, American leadership has delivered the best chance for peace since the war began. American pilots led the NATO bombing campaign that halted Serb attacks on Bosnian safe areas. America's determined diplomacy brought the parties to the peace table. And in Dayton, America's negotiating team -- together with our European and Russian partners -- is working with them to stop the war.

Peace in Bosnia matters to America -- to our values and our interests. We share a stake in stopping the slaughter, preventing the war from spreading, and building a Europe at peace.

The people of Bosnia have suffered mass executions, ethnic cleansing, torture, terror, and systematic rape. Horror in the markets and the playgrounds of Sarajevo has outraged our nation and our conscience -- for the violence done to the Bosnian people does violence to the principles on which America stands. We must do all we can to stop the killing for good and secure peace.
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Making peace in Bosnia will help build a peaceful, undivided Europe -- with extraordinary benefits for America’s security and prosperity. A peaceful Europe will be a strong partner against common threats like terrorism, international crime, drug trafficking, and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. It will offer greater prospects for trade, creating growth and good jobs for our people.

To seize this opportunity for peace, America must continue to lead. The progress we have made so far is a product of American leadership. American diplomats brokered a cease-fire that ended the shelling and silenced the guns. And they helped the parties agree to the basic principles of a settlement: Bosnia will remain a single state, with an equitable distribution of territory, free elections and democratic institutions of government.

In Dayton, the parties have many difficult obstacles to overcome before they reach a comprehensive, lasting settlement. There is no guarantee they will succeed.
But if peace is achieved, NATO must help to secure it -- and the United States, as NATO's leader, must participate. After four years of bloodshed, Bosnia will need a credible international military presence to give the parties confidence to consolidate peace and time to start rebuilding. NATO -- proven, strong, effective -- is that force. If the United States does not do its part in a NATO mission, our partners will reconsider their own commitments and we will undercut the prospects for peace. We will also undermine the strength of NATO itself, an alliance that remains crucial to our interest in a secure, integrated, and prosperous Europe.

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There was a time when Bosnia, too, found unity in its diversity. Now is the time to find unity in peace -- for the orphans of Sarajevo; for the untold victims of Srebrenica; for the countless men and women from every ethnic community, driven from their homes and divided from their families.

And now is the time for the United States to stand by our principles and stand up for our interests. We must be leaders for peace. That is our responsibility as Americans.
For four years, Bosnia-Herzegovina, once a stronghold of tolerance, has been Europe's bloodiest battleground since the Second World War.

But now, in Dayton, Ohio -- where the Presidents of Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia are beginning negotiations aimed at ending the brutality -- there is hope. After so many wasted lives and so many futures destroyed, American leadership has delivered the best chance for peace since the war began. American pilots led the NATO bombing campaign that halted Serb attacks on Bosnian safe areas. America's determined diplomacy brought the parties to the peace table. And in Dayton, America's negotiating team -- together with our European and Russian partners -- is working with them to stop the war.

Peace in Bosnia matters to America -- to our values and our interests. We share a stake in stopping the slaughter, preventing the war from spreading, and building a Europe at peace.

The people of Bosnia have suffered mass executions, ethnic cleansing, torture, terror, and systematic rape. Horror in the markets and the playgrounds of Sarajevo has outraged our nation and our conscience -- for the violence done to the Bosnian people does violence to the principles on which America stands. We must do all we can to stop the killing for good and secure peace.
Peace would also prevent the war from spreading -- a critical American interest. The Balkans neighbor some of America’s NATO allies and many of Europe’s fragile new democracies. If war reignites in Bosnia, it could spark a much wider conflagration -- and that, in turn, could require a far costlier American intervention. In 1914, a single gunshot in Sarajevo launched the first of two world wars that made this the bloodiest century in human history. We must not let the century close with gunfire ringing in Sarajevo.

Making peace in Bosnia will help build a peaceful, undivided Europe -- with extraordinary benefits for America’s security and prosperity. A peaceful Europe will be a strong partner against common threats like terrorism, international crime, drug trafficking, and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. It will offer greater prospects for trade, creating growth and good jobs for our people.

To seize this opportunity for peace, America must continue to lead. The progress we have made so far is a product of American leadership. American diplomats brokered a cease-fire that ended the shelling and silenced the guns. And they helped the parties agree to the basic principles of a settlement: Bosnia will remain a single state, with an equitable distribution of territory, free elections and democratic institutions of government.

In Dayton, the parties have many difficult obstacles to overcome before they reach a comprehensive, lasting settlement. There is no guarantee they will succeed.
But if peace is achieved, NATO must help to secure it -- and the United States, as NATO's leader, must participate. After four years of bloodshed, Bosnia will need a credible international military presence to give the parties confidence to consolidate peace and time to start rebuilding. NATO -- proven, strong, effective -- is that force. If the United States does not do its part in a NATO mission, our partners will reconsider their own commitments and we will undercut the prospects for peace. We will also undermine the strength of NATO itself, an alliance that remains crucial to our interest in a secure, integrated, and prosperous Europe.

As Commander in Chief, I have no responsibility more grave than putting American soldiers in harm's way. As I have said repeatedly, I will not deploy American troops to Bosnia unless the parties commit to a solid peace agreement. I will insist on clear NATO command and control that protects the safety of our troops and ensures the effectiveness of the operation. Our troops will take their orders from NATO commanders -- no one else. And they will have clear rules of engagement, a carefully defined mission, and an exit strategy.

As the peace process in Dayton moves forward, I will continue to consult closely with Congress. If an agreement is reached, I will request an expression of Congressional support for American participation in a NATO implementation force.

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Newsweek Article on Bosnia

Three years ago, the world came face to face with an image we thought had been banished from Europe forever: skeletal men with sunken eyes, caged behind a wall of barbed wire. Bosnia-Herzegovina, once a stronghold of tolerance, had become a hellish citadel of crimes against humanity.

Today, the world’s eyes are on Dayton, Ohio, where the Presidents of Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia are beginning negotiations we hope will end the brutality in Bosnia. Our negotiating team, whose determination brought the parties to Dayton, is working with them to stop the war. After so many wasted lives and so many futures destroyed, this is the best chance we have had for peace since the terrible fighting began.

Peace in Bosnia matters to America -- to our values and our interests. The people of Bosnia have suffered the worst atrocities in Europe since World War II: mass executions, ethnic cleansing, torture, terror, and systematic rape. Horror in the markets and the playgrounds of Sarajevo has electrified our conscience -- for the violence done to the Bosnian people does violence to the principles America holds dear. The frightened eyes of refugees implore us, and the freshly broken ground outside Srebrenica impels us, to do all we can to stop the killing and secure peace.
Making peace is important to prevent the war from spreading. The Balkans neighbor some of America’s NATO allies and many of Europe’s fragile new democracies. If war reignites in Bosnia, it could spark a much greater conflagration -- and that, in turn, could require a far costlier American intervention. Earlier this century, a single gunshot in Sarajevo launched the first world war. We must not let this century close with gunfire ringing in Sarajevo.

Making peace in Bosnia will help build a peaceful, undivided Europe -- with extraordinary benefits for America’s security and prosperity. A peaceful Europe will be a strong partner against common threats like terrorism, international crime, drug trafficking, and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. It will offer greater prospects for trade, creating growth and good jobs for our people.

To seize this opportunity for peace, America must continue to lead. The progress we have made so far is a product of American leadership. NATO’s bombing campaign, led by American pilots, stopped Serb attacks on Bosnia’s safe areas. Our diplomats brokered a cease-fire that ended the shelling and silenced the guns. And they helped the parties agree to the basic principles of a settlement: Bosnia will remain a single state, with an equitable distribution of territory, free elections and democratic institutions of government.

In Dayton, the parties have many difficult obstacles to overcome -- among them, the internal boundary between the Bosnia-Croat Federation and the Serb Republic, the status of Sarajevo, the
separation of forces, and the procedures for free elections. Only the parties to this war can end it, but America can -- and must -- help them along the way.

If the parties reach a peace settlement, NATO must help to secure it -- and the United States, as NATO's leader, must participate. After four years of bloodshed, Bosnia will need a strong international military presence to give the parties confidence to consolidate peace and time to start rebuilding. NATO is the only organization with the credibility and the capability the task demands. If the United States does not do its part in a NATO implementation force, our partners will reconsider their own commitments. We will undermine the strength of an alliance that remains vital to our security. And we will undercut the prospects for peace.

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The fluttering white ribbons and flickering white candles that welcomed the parties to Wright-Patterson Air Force Base near Dayton represented the hopes that all Americans share for peace. The human chain that flanked the gates, made of Americans of diverse faiths and backgrounds, reflected the pride and strength of our great nation: E Pluribus Unum -- from many, we are one. Let us draw on that strength as we work for a settlement in Bosnia. For the children of Sarajevo, whose innocence was stolen by snipers; for the untold victims of Srebrenica, shot like cattle and shoveled into makeshift graves; for the countless men and women from every ethnic community, driven from their homes and divided from their families -- let us stand by our principles and stand up for our interests. Let us be leaders for peace.

(Handwritten note:)

I was proud to see the human chain by arms, held together by arms held by arms. How deeply do we remember human beings? I would remember faith and beliefs and the many different faiths and beliefs that are our experience. Hope people will hum
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Making peace in Bosnia will advance the goal of a peaceful, undivided Europe -- with extraordinary benefits for America’s security and prosperity. A peaceful Europe will be a strong partner against common threats like terrorism, international crime, drug trafficking, and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. It will offer greater prospects for trade, creating growth and good jobs for our peoples.

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In Dayton, the parties, with the help of our negotiators, have many difficult obstacles to overcome -- among them, the internal boundary between the Bosnia-Croat Federation and the Serb Republic, the status of Sarajevo, the separation of forces, and the procedures for free elections. I have urged the parties to negotiate seriously for the good of their people. Only the parties to this war can end it, but we can -- and we must -- help them along the way.

If the parties do reach a peace settlement, NATO must help to secure it -- and the United States, as NATO's leader, must participate. After four years of violence and destruction, Bosnia will need a strong international military presence to give the parties confidence to consolidate peace and time to concentrate on rebuilding. NATO is the only organization with the credibility and the capability the task demands. If the United States does not do its part in a NATO implementation force, our partners will reconsider their own commitments in Bosnia. We will undermine the strength of an alliance that remains vital to our security, and we will undercut the prospects for peace.

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A lasting peace will require more than an end to hostilities. America will work with the international community to rebuild the broken lives and shattered economies of the region. We will also maintain our strong support for the United Nations War Crimes Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. While there must be peace for justice to prevail, there must be justice if peace is to endure.

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