Case Number: 2012-0798-F

FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title: PC/DC [Principals Committee/Deputies Committee] Meetings on Bosnia, January 1995 [1]
Staff Office-Individual: European Affairs-Drew, Nelson/Bremner, Sue
Original OA/ID Number: 697

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. memo	Don Kerrick to Samuel Berger, re: Deupties Committee Meeting on Bosnia (3 pages)	01/05/1995	P1/b(1)
001b. paper	Extension of FRY Sanctions Relief (4 pages)	01/00/1995	P1/b(1)
001c. memo	Richard Holbrooke to the Secretary (4 pages)	01/00/1995	P1/b(1)
002a. memo	Don Kerrick to Anthony Lake, re: Silajdzic Meeting with the Vice President (1 page)	01/30/1995	P1/b(1)
002b. paper	Re: Measures for the Continuation of the Peace Process (4 pages)	01/00/1995	P1/b(1)
003a. fax	Fax Coversheet [partial] (1 page)	01/00/1995	b(7)(C)
003b. memo	Re: Summary of Conclusions for Meeting of the NSC Deputies Committee [partial] (1 page)	01/25/1995	P1/b(1)
003c. note	Handwritten notes from Deputies Committee Meeting (7 pages)	01/25/1995	P1/b(1)
004a. memo	Don Kerrick to Samuel Berger, re: January 25 Deputies Meeting on Bosnia (5 pages)	01/24/1995	P1/b(1)
004b. paper	re: Likely Sticking Points in Bosnian Peace Talks (3 pages)	01/24/1995	P1/b(1)
004c. paper	re: Bosnia - If We Move Into a Negotiation (6 pages)	01/00/1995	P1/b(1)
004d. letter	Alija Izetbegovic to the Secretary of State (1 page)	01/22/1995	P1/b(1)

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FOLDER TITLE:
PC/DC [Principals Committee/Deputies Committee]Meetings on Bosnia, January 1995
[1]

2012-0798-F
ke3030

RESTRICTION CODES

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004e. paper	Re: UNPROFOR Augmentation Issues Paper (3 pages)	01/24/1995	P1/b(1)
004f. list	Re: Troops Offered to UNPROFOR (1 page)	01/23/1995	P1/b(1)
004g. paper	Re: Croatia Strategy (4 pages)	01/00/1995	P1/b(1)
004h. paper	Re: Political and Military Options for Supporting an UNPROFOR Withdrawal from Croatia (3 pages)	01/24/1995	P1/b(1)
004i. paper	Re: Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic Visit to Washington (4 pages)	01/00/1995	P1/b(1)
005a. memo	Don Kerrick to Anthony Lake, re: CPL Lunch Item - Bosnia (2 pages)	01/31/1995	P1/b(1)
005b. paper	[duplicate of 002b] (4 pages)	01/00/1995	P1/b(1)
006. paper	Re: Implementing a Croatia Strategy (1 page)	01/00/1995	P1/b(1)

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DEPUTIES COMMITTEE MEETING ON BOSNIA
DATE: January 6, 1995
LOCATION: White House Situation Room
TIME: 3:00pm - 4:00pm

Agenda

I. Inter-Serbian Sanctions.....OVP/NSC

-- IWG recommendations on extension of 100-day sanctions suspension period

II. Diplomatic Strategy .....State

-- Status of negotiations post-cessation of hostilities

III. Congressional and Public Affairs Strategy.....All

-- Gameplan for January

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines,
September 11, 2006
By KDE NARA, Date 04/02/15
2012-0798-F

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001b. paper	Extension of FRY Sanctions Relief (4 pages)	01/00/1995	P1/b(1)

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001c. memo	Richard Holbrooke to the Secretary (4 pages)	01/00/1995	P1/b(1)

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CONGRESSIONAL CALENDAR ON BOSNIA
JANUARY

Jan. 4	Senators Dole/Lieberman & 15 introduce unilateral lift resolution. Referred to committee (SFRC).
Jan. 4-6	Ambassador Galbraith briefs SFRC/HIRC staffs, Senators Moynihan, Lieberman and Levin.
Jan. 6	DC meeting on suspension of sanctions.
Jan. 6/9	Calls on members/staffs to brief on USG decision regarding sanctions extension, decision to offer equipment to UNPROFOR.
Jan. 11-12	State, JCS, OSD briefings of SASC, SFRC, HIRC, and CONS (Members) on overall Bosnia policy.
Jan. 16-17	British Foreign Secretary Hurd in Washington, meetings with key Members.
Jan. 24-Feb. 2	Adm. Crowe meetings with key members
Jan. 26-27	French FM Juppé in Washington, meetings with key members
January-February	Meetings by Ambassadors Albright, Harriman, Bartholomew, and Hunter with key Members, others as needed.
January-February	Continue to set up targeted Perry-Shali meetings with Dole, Lieberman, Gingrich, Cohen, Levin, Hyde, Berman, McCain, Gilman.
January-February	National security briefings in House/Senate for new Members.

(Contact Group meetings continue throughout this period. To the extent any significant developments, staff/Member calls will be made. State/NSC/OSD leg will have daily press guidance to brief individual staffers in response to any inquiries.)

UNILATERAL LIFTING OF THE ARMS EMBARGO ON BOSNIA: THE PATH TO AN AMERICANIZED FOURTH BALKAN WAR

When the history of the tragic conflict in the former Yugoslavia is written, it will be clear that the arms embargo on Bosnia -- imposed in 1991 -- was a mistake. It has been discriminatory in depriving B-H of the means of self-defense against the Bosnian Serbs' superiority in tanks and artillery drawn from Tito's old arsenals and from some fresh supplies from outside, notably supporters in Serbia itself. An international agreement to lift the arms embargo multilaterally and deal collectively with the consequences would be both wise and just -- and has been supported by the Administration.

Some Americans, however, reacting with understandable frustration, are demanding the U.S. ignore UN resolutions and act unilaterally to lift the arms embargo. They claim unilateral lift would ensure that Bosnian government forces receive the arms and training they need to "level the field" and defend themselves. And they claim such a step would do this without drawing the U.S. into the Balkan fighting.

But a realistic look at the facts on the ground and the likely consequences of unilateral U.S. action demonstrate that taking such a seemingly fair, direct, and simple action would be a grave mistake, for both U.S. interests and the people of Bosnia. Among the consequences -- ignored or denied by proponents of unilateral lift -- would be these:

- Unilateral lift would undermine the most successful diplomatic initiative in many months -- the Cessation of Hostilities agreement, negotiated with the help of former President Carter -- which was just signed by all the warring parties, and is now coming into effect. An American decision now to end the arms embargo would end that Cessation of Hostilities agreement -- and end also the hope of renewed negotiations toward a permanent peace settlement that would preserve Bosnia-Herzegovina as a single state, consistent with the Contact Group proposal.

- The Bosnian Serbs would have every incentive launch pre-emptive attacks, designed to exploit their advantages before the American arms supplies reached Bosnia. While the Serbs probably could not totally defeat government forces, it is virtually certain they would occupy the eastern enclaves and renew military pressure on Sarajevo and elsewhere, especially on relief supply routes.

- Current UNPROFOR operations would end as European and many other contributing countries withdraw from Bosnia, seizing on U.S. action as an excuse to end a commitment that has been costly for them in lives, treasure, and involvement.

- UN and most other outside relief efforts would stop, at the very time humanitarian requirements would increase dramatically, both because of the increased fighting and the withdrawal of Serb cooperation. Most Americans are unaware that a high percentage of the food reaching the enclaves comes through Belgrade and Bosnian-Serb controlled territory. All airfields and most land routes are within range of Bosnian Serb artillery. Whatever else

they did, the Serbs could easily cut off these relief supplies.

The cumulative effect of these consequences would be strong pressure for direct American combat involvement -- something President Clinton, like President Bush before him has consistently ruled out. The U.S. would have precipitated the increased fighting and the end of international relief and peacekeeping efforts. Moral responsibility for the resulting military and humanitarian situation in Bosnia would shift the U.S.

In short, unilaterally ending the arms embargo is not an alternative to U.S. military intervention. It is a way of accomplishing such intervention.

The implications of taking on this responsibility are many and grave. To begin with, the U.S. would have to take over relief efforts, or accept responsibility for the large-scale starvation and refugee flows that would result from the lack of food.

Similarly, unless we were prepared to watch as pre-emptive Serb attacks further battered Bosnian cities and defensive positions, U.S. airstrikes would be required to defend government forces. However the necessary European bases and other NATO support on which our current, much smaller air efforts depend, might not be available in the aftermath of a major break with our allies. In any case, airstrikes alone, even with the added planes needed, would probably not halt Serb ground attacks, given the difficult weather and terrain conditions.

Furthermore, contrary to the claims of unilateral lift backers, the "playing field" in Bosnia is not self-leveling. Simply authorizing U.S. manufacturers to sell arms to Bosnia would not get any arms to Bosnia. For lifting the embargo to have its intended effect of allowing the Bosnians to defend themselves, the U.S. would have to undertake a major military assistance program to provide arms -- without the cooperation of our major allies and, potentially, in the face of their active opposition.

The financial costs, though substantial, would be the least of the problems in carrying out such an effort. Upgrading Bosnia's light infantry to confront Bosnian Serb heavy weapons successfully is not a simple task -- as earlier U.S. efforts to equip local forces in other countries from Vietnam to El Salvador have shown. Most important, sophisticated arms -- which the Bosnians would need to overcome Bosnian Serb advantages in heavy weapons -- are ineffective without trained soldiers to use them and a continuing stream of support. U.S. trainers, advisers and logistics support personnel on the ground would be necessary to assist the Bosnian Government in using the arms effectively.

A U.S. decision to lift the arms embargo unilaterally would undermine the most important U.S. national security objectives for the region. The primary U.S. objective has been to avoid a wider war in the Balkans. Among the most serious potential consequences of unilateral U.S. action would, however, be strong pressures to widen the conflict beyond Bosnia. There are painfully many scenarios for such wider fighting:

- Escalation of fighting would likely draw in the Serbs from Krajina (as it did in Bihac), thus extending the actual fighting to Croatia.

- The Belgrade Serbs, though very sympathetic to the Bosnian Serbs, are now under strong international pressure, cutting off supplies to the Bosnian Serbs and pressing them to settle on terms the government of Bosnia Herzegovina has accepted. With the U.S. acting unilaterally, over the objections of our allies and the Russians, it would be difficult if not impossible to convince the Belgrade Serbs to hold back from intervening in support of their Bosnian Serb compatriots -- unless we were prepared to threaten Belgrade militarily.

- U.S. military confrontation with Serbia could precipitate a sharp crackdown by Belgrade in Serbia's principal Muslim province, Kosovo, a development which would have the potential to destabilize the entire southern Balkan region, and which the U.S. has pledged to meet with force.

- Broader conflict could draw Albania, Macedonia, Greece, and Turkey into the conflict.

Multilateral lift would not pose the same risks. Our Contact Group partners have agreed that lifting the arms embargo multilaterally could become unavoidable as a last resort if negotiations collapse and UNPROFOR must be withdrawn. If the arms embargo were lifted multilaterally by the UN the dangers to the Western alliance and the U.S.-Russian relationship would be avoided, the United States would not assume sole responsibility for the defense of the Bosnian government, and the unity among the Contact Group members and permanent members

of the UN Security Council would provide a powerful incentive for the Serbs to negotiate rather than attack in response to multilateral lift.

With NATO's cooperation, airstrikes would be more effective; the allies might assist in arming the Bosnian government; and with Russia's help or acquiescence, Serbia may be kept out of the war -- a critical factor in whether a lift and strike strategy would succeed. For these reasons, the Administration continues to believe that multilateral lift remains an option, although one not without risks and adverse consequences.

Neither our horror at the destruction brought by this long and brutal war and at the atrocities of Serbian ethnic cleansing nor our frustration with the irrationality of Balkan rivalries and the difficulty of international peacekeeping should be allowed to cause us to forget that much has been accomplished by international action even as the war has continued. The European role, and our cooperation with Europe, has been central to what has been achieved to moderate the suffering in Bosnia and prevent a wider war. The UN for all its limitations, has saved thousands of lives by its military and civilian efforts. UNPROFOR, for all its problems, has been the necessary element for the large scale delivery of food, and for support of the Sarajevo and Gorazde exclusion zones. NATO cooperation has been essential for enforcement of the "No Fly Zone," the heavy weapons exclusion zones, and the economic sanctions against Serbia. The Contact Group, which includes Russia, as well as key European allies, has been the principal instrument for seeking a negotiated solution.

Maintaining that cooperation and avoiding a fundamental break with our NATO allies over the Bosnian issue is, of course, also essential to our broader national interests in European and international security. Virtually every European nation opposes lifting the arms embargo at this time. Thus U.S. unilateral action would be undertaken in the face of vehement opposition of most NATO allies. The resulting rift would undermine consensus underlying NATO's unified military command and deeply damage the alliance and the U.S. ability to lead it.

Additionally, hopes of a cooperative relationship with Russia on European security would be seriously jeopardized by actions that Russians of all political stripes would see as U.S. intervention not just against the Bosnian Serbs, but against the Belgrade Serbs as well. Russia would likely counter U.S. action by arming the Serbs, thereby raising the ante and reviving U.S.-Russian confrontation.

Finally, while it is fashionable in some circles these days to ridicule the UN and all its works, the U.S. has an important interest in nations not taking unilateral action in contravention of UN resolutions. Such actions not only undermines both international law and internationally sanctioned peacekeeping operations. It also undercuts the U.S. interest in international sanctions being observed. One of the main pressures on the Serbs is the UN embargo on their trade. If the U.S. unilaterally dropped the part of the UN sanctions it finds objectionable, the front line states -- Serbia and the Bosnian Serbs which they claim has cost them billions of dollars already.

Nor would the effects on sanctions regimes we support be confined to the Balkans. If the U.S. acted alone in this matter, other nations would claim the right to ignore UN embargo resolutions that we strongly favor such as those that pertain to Iraq and other pariah states.

In sum, Congressional action mandating unilateral U.S. action to lift the arms embargo on Bosnia would be a tragic and short-sighted mistake. It would mean the Americanization of the war, for unilateral action entails unilateral responsibility for the consequences of that action. We should be under no illusion that the U.S. could responsibly simply lift the arms embargo and walk away. Nor should we do the only thing that would really produce the Bosnian victory many lift proponents understandably think the only just and fair outcome -- commit U.S. ground forces to solve the problems of Bosnia.

What we must do instead, therefore, is continue to work within the international community to limit the scale of fighting, provide humanitarian relief, prevent a wider war, and seek to achieve an early agreed settlement to this tragic war. That settlement will not be ideal. But it will be far better than the consequences of expanded war, division from our allies, and likely U.S. combat involvement that unilateral lifting of the arms embargo would bring.

~~SECRET~~

20025

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

January 9, 1995

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL BERGER

THROUGH: ALEXANDER VERSHBOW AV

FROM: DON KERRICK DK

SUBJECT: Summary of Conclusions for the Deputies Committee Meeting on Bosnia, January 6, 1995

Attached at Tab A for distribution to Deputies is the Summary of Conclusions from the Deputies Committee meeting on Bosnia held January 6, 1995.

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize Will Itoh to sign the memo to agencies at Tab I.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachments
Tab I Memo to the Agencies
Tab A Summary of Conclusions

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines,
September 11, 2006
By KDE NARA, Date 04/01/15
2012-0798-F

~~SECRET~~
Declassify on: OADR

~~SECRET~~ 20025

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

MEMORANDUM FOR

MR. LEON FUERTH
Assistant to the Vice President
for National Security Affairs

MR.KENNETH C. BRILL
Executive Secretary
Department of State

COL. ROBERT P. MCALEER
Executive Secretary
Department of Defense

AMBASSADOR RICK INDERFURTH
Office of the Representative of
the U.S. to the United Nations

MR. LEON E. PANETTA
Chief of Staff to the President
of the United States

MR. DOUGLAS F. GARTHOFF
Executive Secretary
Central Intelligence Agency

COL. T. R. PATRICK
Secretary
Joint Chiefs of Staff

SUBJECT: Summary of Conclusions, Deputies Committee Meeting on Bosnia
January 6, 1995 (S)

Please pass to the Deputies the Summary of Conclusions attached at Tab A. (S)

William H. Itoh
Executive Secretary

Attachment
Tab A Summary of Conclusions

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines,
September 11, 2006
By KDE NARA, Date 04/01/15
2012-0798-F

~~SECRET~~
Declassify on: OADR

~~SECRET~~ 20025

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

Summary of Conclusions
Meeting of NSC Deputies Committee
DATE: January 6, 1995
LOCATION: White House Situation Room
TIME: 3:10 - 4:15pm

SUBJECT: Summary of Conclusions of Deputies Committee Meeting on Bosnia ~~(S)~~

PARTICIPANTS:

Chair
Samuel Berger

OVP
Leon Fuerth
Richard Saunders

State
Peter Tarnoff
Robert Frasure

DOD
Walter Slocombe
Joseph Kruzel

WHITE HOUSE
Nancy Soderberg

CIA
Douglas MacEachin
Norman Schindler

JCS
LTG Wes Clark
BG John Walsh

UN
David Scheffer
James O'Brien

NSC
Alexander Vershbow
Donald Kerrick
Bill Danvers

Summary of Conclusions

Sanctions

1. The Deputies reviewed the Interagency Working Group's analysis, conclusions, and recommendations on the inter-Serbian border closure and approved the IWG recommendation to extend sanctions relief for another 100 days, with a positive vote needed to extend and a clause to terminate sanctions relief should Serbian performance deteriorate. The Deputies authorized the IWG to develop a list of minimum essential requirements and supporting objectives for inclusion in a guidance cable for USUN use in developing a new UNSCR. Action: OVP/NSC and State.

~~SECRET~~
Declassify on: OADR

2. The Deputies discussed the options for consulting with Congress on the sanctions relief extension decision and agreed that calls to key members should be made Monday, January 9, before the afternoon meeting at the UN. The Deputies directed that talking points be prepared. Action: NSC

Diplomatic Strategy

3. The Deputies discussed the progress of ongoing Contact Group efforts to restart the negotiations. The Deputies requested that a list of options be developed for influencing the negotiations toward a positive outcome. This should be part of a diplomatic roadmap from now until April 30. The paper should be circulated by COB January 10 for comment prior to another Deputies meeting later in the week. Action: State.

Congressional and Public Affairs Strategy

4. The Deputies discussed next steps in dealing with Congress on Bosnia and agreed that a single comprehensive briefing on Bosnia should be prepared for use during the sessions next week. Action: State, in coordination with OSD, JCS and NSC.

5. The Deputies discussed timing for publication of the Secretary Perry/General Shalikashvili op-ed, deferring decision until a later date. The Deputies also agreed to develop a list of witnesses outside the Administration to speak on behalf of Administration Bosnia policy. Action: NSC

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002a. memo	Don Kerrick to Anthony Lake, re: Silajdzic Meeting with the Vice President (1 page)	01/30/1995	P1/b(1)

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Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
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FOLDER TITLE:
PC/DC [Principals Committee/Deputies Committee]Meetings on Bosnia, January 1995
[1]

2012-0798-F
ke3030

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002b. paper	Re: Measures for the Continuation of the Peace Process (4 pages)	01/00/1995	P1/b(1)

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NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9520104
RECEIVED: 25 JAN 95 18

TO: AGENCIES

FROM: ITOH

DOC DATE: 27 JAN 95
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA
SOC

DC

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines,
September 11, 2006
By VDE NARA, Date 04/02/15
2012-0198-F

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS FOR 25 JAN DC MTG ON BOSNIA

ACTION: REED SGD MEMO TO AGENCIES DUE DATE: 28 JAN 95 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: KERRICK LOGREF: 9520090

FILES: IFM NSCP: CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO
BAKER JANE
DARBY
KERRICK
LAKE
NSC CHRON
RICE
SODERBERG
VERSHBOW

COMMENTS:

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2012-0198-F

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
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LOG 9520104
DATE 27 JAN 95

SUBJECT: SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS FOR 25 JAN DC MTG ON BOSNIA
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AMBASSADOR RICK INDERFURTH U.S. MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS USUN/W - ATTN: DAVID SCHEFFER ROOM 6333, DEPARTMENT OF STATE 2201 C STREET NW WASHINGTON, DC 20520-6319	_____	_____	_____ PRINT LAST NAME: _____ COPY: VIA FAX
MR. DOUGLAS F. GARTHOFF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT ROOM 7E12, HEADQUARTERS WASHINGTON, DC 20505	_____	_____	_____ PRINT LAST NAME: _____ COPY: VIA FAX

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DATE 27 JAN 95

SUBJECT: SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS FOR 25 JAN DC MTG ON BOSNIA
DOCUMENT CLASSIFICATION: ~~SECRET~~

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WASHINGTON, DC 20318-0001

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2012-0798-F

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DTG: _____

MESSAGE NO.: _____ CLASSIFICATION: ~~SECRET~~ TOTAL: 6 (PAGES INCLUDING COVER)

FROM: NSC WEST WING DESK (NAME) (202) 456-9425 (PHONE NUMBER) WH SITROOM (ROOM NO.)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION: SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS FOR 25 JAN DC MTG ON BOSNIA

NSC LOG # 20104

TO (AGENCY)	DELIVER TO	DEPT/ROOM NO.	PHONE NUMBE
STATE	EXECUTIVE SECRETARY		
USUN/STATE	OFFICE OF THE AMBASSADOR		
DOD	EXECUTIVE SECRETARY		
JCS	SECRETARY		
CIA	EXECUTIVE SECRETARY		

REMARKS:

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003a. fax	Fax Coversheet [partial] (1 page)	01/00/1995	b(7)(C)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Drew, Nelson/Bremner, Sue)
OA/Box Number: 697

FOLDER TITLE:
PC/DC [Principals Committee/Deputies Committee]Meetings on Bosnia, January 1995
[1]

2012-0798-F
ke3030

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DATE/TIME: _____

MESSAGE #: _____

NSC LOG # 20104

FROM: National Security Council (MH) PHONE: 202-456-2291 ROOM: WHSR

SUBJECT: Notice of Meeting SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS PAGES: 6

PLEASE DELIVER TO:

DEPT/AGENCY	NAME/OFFICE	PHONE	SECURE FAX
USUN New York	Mr. Rick Inderfurth	212-415-4016	(b)(7)c [003a]

SPECIAL DELIVERY INSTRUCTIONS/REMARKS

Eyes Only for Rick Inderfurth for hand delivery to Ambassador Madeline Albright.
If Mr. Inderfurth is not available please deliver to Nancy Buss.

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Initials: VDE Date: 04/09/15
2012-0198-F

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SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

January 27, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR

MR. LEON FUERTH
Assistant to the Vice
President for National
Security Affairs

MR. KENNETH C. BRILL
Executive Secretary
Department of State

COL. ROBERT P. MCALEER
Executive Secretary
Department of Defense

DR. GORDON M. ADAMS
Associate Director for
National Security &
International Affairs
Office of Management and
Budget

AMBASSADOR RICK INDERFURTH
Office of the Representative
of the U.S. to the United
Nations

MR. DOUGLAS F. GARTHOFF
Executive Secretary
Central Intelligence Agency

COL. T. R. PATRICK
Secretary
Joint Chiefs of Staff

SUBJECT: Summary of Conclusions, Deputies Committee Meeting on Bosnia, January 25, 1995 ~~(S)~~

Please pass to the Deputies the Summary of Conclusions attached at Tab A. ~~(S)~~

James W. Rudd

William H. Itoh
for Executive Secretary

Attachment
Tab A Summary of Conclusions

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines,
September 11, 2006
By KDE NARA, Date 04/02/15
2012-0798-F

~~SECRET~~
Declassify on: OADR

Tab A

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003b. memo	Re: Summary of Conclusions for Meeting of the NSC Deputies Committee [partial] (1 page)	01/25/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Drew, Nelson/Bremner, Sue)
OA/Box Number: 697

FOLDER TITLE:
PC/DC [Principals Committee/Deputies Committee]Meetings on Bosnia, January 1995
[1]

2012-0798-F
ke3030

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20104

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D C 20506

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E.O. 13526

Summary of Conclusions for
Meeting of the NSC Deputies Committee
DATE: January 25, 1995
LOCATION: White House Situation Room
TIME: 12:30-1:35 p.m.

SUBJECT: Summary of Conclusions of Deputies Committee Meeting on Bosnia and Croatia (S)

PARTICIPANTS:

Chair:
Samuel R. Berger

OVP:
Leon Fuerth
Richard Saunders

State:
Peter Tarnoff
Robert Frasure

DOD:
Joseph Nye
John Klekas

OMB:
Gordon Adams
John Burnim

UN:
David Scheffer
James O'Brien

CIA:
Douglas MacEachin
Norman Schindler

JCS:
LTG Wesley Clark
BG John Walsh

White House:
Nancy Soderberg

NSC:
Alexander Vershbow
Donald L. Kerrick
Susan Rice

Summary of Conclusions

Bosnia: Contact Group Strategy

1. Deputies reviewed the results of the ongoing Contact Group efforts in Bosnia and prospects for renewed negotiations on a political settlement. They agreed to defer discussion of the territorial and constitutional issues that will come up in those negotiations until next week. Deputies requested that, when the Contact Group is engaged, a daily one-page SITREP on Contact Group activities [redacted] and reports from Ambassador Thomas be circulated for Deputies. **(Action: State/ CIA)**

~~SECRET~~
Declassify on: OADR

UNPROFOR Augmentation

2. Deputies considered options for moving forward with augmenting UNPROFOR and agreed to:

A) Continue efforts to strengthen UNPROFOR in Bosnia, including support for the additional 6500 troops requested by the UN.

B) Urge the United Nations to conduct a serious review of UNPROFOR operations aimed at economizing wherever possible.

C) Press for a redefinition of the UNPROFOR mandate in Croatia, along the lines proposed by the U.S., which could produce eventual offsets to planned plus-ups in Bosnia. **(Action: USUN should begin to encourage the UN Secretariat to focus on a modified mandate)**

3. Deputies briefly discussed UNPROFOR funding, noting that the Peacekeeping Deputies would meet on that subject and requested that a plan be prepared for dealing with Congress on funding UNPROFOR. **(Action: State)** Deputies also requested the preparation of talking points highlighting the value of UNPROFOR in Bosnia and the logic of strengthening it. **(Action: JCS)**

Croatia: Tudjman's decision to terminate UNPROFOR's mandate

4. Deputies discussed a strategy to respond to President Tudjman's decision to terminate UNPROFOR's mandate in Croatia when it expires on March 31. They endorsed the three-pronged approach outlined in the State Croatia strategy paper: seek to maintain the essential functions of UNPROFOR in Croatia; launch a negotiating process between Serbs and Croats on a political settlement; and prepare to respond to the worst-case scenario of renewed hostilities. State will flesh out its paper with results of next week's Zagreb-4 diplomatic efforts and a concept for securing Croatian agreement to a redefined UNPROFOR mandate. **(Action: State)**

Pol/Mil Aspects of Supporting UNPROFOR Withdrawal from Croatia

5. Deputies reviewed the ongoing planning at the UN and NATO regarding UNPROFOR withdrawal from Croatia. Deputies requested the following work for a follow-up meeting during the week of January 30:

A) An independent intelligence assessment of the threat to UNPROFOR forces withdrawing from Croatia. **(Action: JCS/CIA)** (Due within 48 hours)

B) An options paper, built on the threat assessment, that includes options ranging from full NATO involvement similar to what is envisaged in Bosnia to more limited options involving air and logistical support. The paper should include the pros/cons of extending to Croatia the President's decision-in-principle to provide U.S. ground forces and an in-depth review of associated prepositioning issues. **(Action: JCS, with input from State)** (Due Monday, January 30).

Congressional and Public Affairs Strategy

6. Deputies discussed the upcoming Silajdzic visit, endorsed the approach outlined in the State paper and agreed to ensure he departs with a better understanding of the tepid support for unilateral lift, together with renewed assurances of our support so that Bosnia can confidently engage in negotiations.

7. Deputies decided to defer publishing Secretary Perry's op-ed until after the Silajdzic visit.

8. Deputies agreed to provide the unclassified version of LTG Clark's Congressional remarks on lift to Congress before the Silajdzic visit.

~~SECRET~~ 20104

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

January 26, 1995

Deputy Natl Sec Advisor has seen
NOTED

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL BERGER

THROUGH: ALEXANDER VERSHBOW, JV

FROM: DON KERRICK (K)

SUBJECT: Summary of Conclusions for the Deputies Committee Meeting on Bosnia, January 25, 1995

Attached at Tab A for distribution to Deputies is the Summary of Conclusions from the Deputies Committee meeting on Bosnia held January 25, 1995.

Concurrence by: Susan Rice (IV)

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize Will Itoh to sign the memo to agencies at Tab I.

Approve ok w changes Disapprove _____

Attachments
Tab I Memo to the Agencies
Tab A Summary of Conclusions

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines,
September 11, 2006
By VDS **NARA, Date** 04/02/15
2012-0198-F

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003c. note	Handwritten notes from Deputies Committee Meeting (7 pages)	01/25/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
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European Affairs (Drew, Nelson/Bremner, Sue)
OA/Box Number: 697

FOLDER TITLE:
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004a. memo	Don Kerrick to Samuel Berger, re: January 25 Deputies Meeting on Bosnia (5 pages)	01/24/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Drew, Nelson/Bremner, Sue)
OA/Box Number: 697

FOLDER TITLE:
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DEPUTIES COMMITTEE MEETING ON BOSNIA
DATE: January 25, 1995
LOCATION: White House Situation Room
TIME: 1:00pm - 2:00pm

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines,
September 11, 2006
By YDE NARA, Date 04/02/15
2012-0198-F

Agenda

I. Diplomatic Strategy .....State

-- Analysis of Parties Positions on Negotiating Issues (CIA Paper completed)

-- Mid-Term Diplomatic Strategy (State Should Circulate Tasked Paper NLT Jan 23)

II. UNPROFOR Augmentation.....All

-- Status of Efforts to Strengthen UNPROFOR.....JCS

-- UNPROFOR Strengthening vs UNPROFOR Funding (NSC Paper to be Circulated NLT January 24)

III. Croatia Strategy.....State

-- Status of Zagreb-4 Diplomacy.....State

-- Diplomatic Strategy to Respond to Tudjman's UNPROFOR Decision (State Should Circulate Paper NLT January 24.....State

-- Political Aspects of Supporting UNPROFOR Withdrawal from Croatia (State Should Circulate Paper NLT January January 24).....State

-- Military Aspects of Supporting UNPROFOR Withdrawal from Croatia (JCS Should Circulate Paper NLT January 24).....JCS

IV. Congressional and Public Affairs Strategy.....All

-- Strategy to Defeat Unilateral Lift Vote.....State

-- Silajdzic Visit Strategy (State Should Circulate Paper NLT January 24).....State

-- Timing of Bill Perry Op-Ed.....OSD

Declassify on: OADR

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004b. paper	re: Likely Sticking Points in Bosnian Peace Talks (3 pages)	01/24/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004c. paper	re: Bosnia - If We Move Into a Negotiation (6 pages)	01/00/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Drew, Nelson/Bremner, Sue)
OA/Box Number: 697

FOLDER TITLE:
PC/DC [Principals Committee/Deputies Committee]Meetings on Bosnia, January 1995
[1]

2012-0798-F
ke3030

RESTRICTION CODES

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004d. letter	Alija Izetbegovic to the Secretary of State (1 page)	01/22/1995	P1/b(1)

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004e. paper	Re: UNPROFOR Augmentation Issues Paper (3 pages)	01/24/1995	P1/b(1)

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004f. list	Re: Troops Offered to UNPROFOR (1 page)	01/23/1995	P1/b(1)

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004g. paper	Re: Croatia Strategy (4 pages)	01/00/1995	P1/b(1)

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004h. paper	Re: Political and Military Options for Supporting an UNPROFOR Withdrawal from Croatia (3 pages)	01/24/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Drew, Nelson/Bremner, Sue)
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004i. paper	Re: Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic Visit to Washington (4 pages)	01/00/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
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National Security Council
European Affairs (Drew, Nelson/Bremner, Sue)
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
005a. memo	Don Kerrick to Anthony Lake, re: CPL Lunch Item - Bosnia (2 pages)	01/31/1995	P1/b(1)

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
005b. paper	[duplicate of 002b] (4 pages)	01/00/1995	P1/b(1)

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3D DISTRICT, NEW MEXICO
WASHINGTON:
2349 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515
(202) 225-6190
WHIP OFFICE:
H-166 U.S. CAPITOL
WASHINGTON, DC 20515

BILL RICHARDSON
CHIEF DEPUTY MAJORITY WHIP

CHAIRMAN, SUBCOMMITTEE ON NATIVE AMERICAN AFFAIRS
COMMITTEES:
ENERGY AND COMMERCE
NATURAL RESOURCES
SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE
HELSINKI COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

→ Vershbow/Kerrick

Congress of the United States

What do you think? Need to call Bill back TUES.

January 30, 1995

TO: Sandy Berger

FROM: Bill Richardson

@
cc: TL

Subject: Invitation from Milosevic

This morning I received a visit from Chris Spirou, a former Democratic State Chairman from New Hampshire and a Serb lobbyist (although he is of Greek extraction), and Tony Podesta (brother of John), a respected D.C. lobbyist and Clinton Administration insider type. They brought the attached letter to me from President Milosevic of Serbia.

According to Spirou, Milosevic gave him this letter this weekend in Belgrade to deliver to me. Spirou made the following points about what Milosevic told him -

1. that Milosevic wanted me to come to talk to him in the next ten days about a plan he had to "end the Balkan War in thirty days." Milosevic wanted this to be a secret visit; that his people would pick me up in Athens and then fly me to Milosevic's resort home for a proposal that the "Clinton Administration should hear because I am tired of this war also."

2. that Milosevic is disappointed in the results of the Carter visit and wants to transmit a message to the U.S. through a fellow politician with stature (the "man on CNN that negotiated in North Korea and Haiti and is close to Clinton"). Milosevic, according to Spirou, does not "want to talk with anyone who has consul rank and has only two people working for him."

Spirou said that Milosevic has a concrete proposal to put forward to me but that all deals are off if this letter becomes public.

On the political side, Spirou said that his main objective is to get this Bosnia monkey off President Clinton's back.

Needless to say, I told Spirou that I would not undertake any effort without the Administration's concurrence and blessing. If you think I can be constructively helpful, please let me know. At the very least, I should get back to Spirou soon. Please feel free to discuss this with anyone you see fit.

Rest assured that I didn't solicit this letter nor do I have a specific agenda on this issue. I've supported Administration policy in the past on Bosnia but have a relatively limited involvement on this issue.

*According to Spirou, he put Milosevic and Carter together. Spirou did show me a recent picture of Milosevic, Carter, and himself.

REPUBLIC OF SERBIA
PRESIDENT

Belgrade, January 26, 1995.

To Congressman Bill Richardson,

I have learned from our mutual good friend, Chris Spirou, that you are interested in and concerened about problems facing the Balkans.

I have asked Cris to let you know that I would welcome the opportunity for you to visit Belgrade to discuss with you our efforts to solve the problems in the region.

Slobodan Milošević

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006. paper	Re: Implementing a Croatia Strategy (1 page)	01/00/1995	P1/b(1)

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