

FOIA MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Folder Title:

PC/DC [Principals Committee/Deputies Committee] Meetings on Bosnia, May 1995 [6]

Staff Office-Individual:

European Affairs-Drew, Nelson/Bremner, Sue

Original OA/ID Number:

696

Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:	Stack:
33	2	6	1	V

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. talking points	Re: Talking Points for Congressional Briefings OPLAN 40104 (4 pages)	05/00/1995	P1/b(1)
002a. memo	Don Kerrick to Samuel Berger, re: May 4 Deputies Meeting on Bosnia and Croatia (4 pages)	05/03/1995	P1/b(1)
002b. cable	Re: May 2 Contact Group Meeting (4 pages)	05/03/1995	P1/b(1)
002c. memo	Leon Fuerth to Anthony Lake, re: Contact Group's Failure to Reach Agreement (2 pages)	05/03/1995	P1/b(1)
002d. email	Richard Saunders ot Donald Kerrick and Alexander Vershbow, re: Comment on Leon's Menmo on the Contact Group (1 page)	05/04/1995	P1/b(1)
002e. paper	Re: Croatian Crisis: Diplomatic Strategy (2 pages)	05/02/1995	P1/b(1)
002f. report	Re: [Croatia] (6 pages)	05/03/1995	P1/b(1)
003a. paper	[duplicate of 002c] (2 pages)	05/00/1995	P1/b(1)
003b. email	Donald Kerrick to APNSA Special Assistants and the National Security Advisor, re: C-P-L Item: Croatia (1 page)	05/02/1995	P1/b(1)
004. talking points	[duplicate of 001] (4 pages)	05/00/1995	P1/b(1)
005. fax	Fax Coversheet [partial] (1 page)	05/00/1995	b(7)(C)
006a. memo	Don Kerrick to Samuel Berger, re: May 9 Deputies Meeting on Bosnia and Croatia (5 pages)	05/08/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Drew, Nelson/Bremner, Sue)
OA/Box Number: 696

FOLDER TITLE:

PC/DC [Principals Committee/Deputies Committee] Meetings on Bosnia, May 1995 [6]

2012-0798-F

kc3056

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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.

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]

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
006b. cable	Re: Meeting with Milosevc - Still Demands Sanctions Lift (5 pages)	05/07/1995	P1/b(1)
006c. cable	Re: Holbrooke Meeting with President Tudjman: May 7, London (4 pages)	05/07/1995	P1/b(1)
006d. cable	Re: Sarajevo Airport (2 pages)	05/04/1995	P1/b(1)
006e. talking points	[duplicate of 001] (4 pages)	05/00/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Drew, Nelson/Bremner, Sue)
OA/Box Number: 696

FOLDER TITLE:

PC/DC [Principals Committee/Deputies Committee] Meetings on Bosnia, May 1995 [6]

2012-0798-F

ke3056

RESTRICTION CODES

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TO: LAKE

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines,

September 11, 2006

FROM: KERRICK
VERSHBOW

DOC DATE: 08 MAY 95
SOURCE REF:

By KDE NARA, Date 04/13/15
2012-098-F

KEYWORDS: BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA
UN
DEFENSE POLICY

CROATIA
NATO
CONGRESSIONAL

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: JCS TALKING POINTS FOR CONGRESSIONAL BRIEFING RE OPLAN 40104

ACTION: LAKE APPROVED RECOMS

DUE DATE: 11 MAY 95 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: KERRICK

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

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

DANVERS
KERRICK
NSC CHRON
VERSHBOW

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSJDA

CLOSED BY: NSMEC

DOC 1 OF 1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

RECORD ID: 9503499

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 LAKE
001

Z 95050820 FOR DECISION
X 95051516 LAKE APPROVED RECOMS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

National Security Council
The White House

PROOFED BY: _____ LOG # 3499
 URGENT NOT PROOFED: _____ SYSTEM PRS NSC INT
 BYPASSED WW DESK: _____ DOCLOG _____ A/O _____

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Reed	_____	_____	_____
Dohse	_____	_____	_____
Sens	_____	_____	_____
Soderberg	_____	_____	_____
Berger	_____	_____	_____
Lake	_____	_____	_____
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____
West Wing Desk	<u>5</u>	<u>ARS 5/15</u>	<u>N</u>
NSC Secretariat	<u>6</u>	_____	<u>N</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

A = Action	I = Information	D = Dispatch	R = Retain	N = No Further Action
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cc: Worshbow _____

Kerrick
Danner
 COMMENTS: _____

*WWD -
 Please use & put
 as original*

Exec Sec Office has diskette _____

National Security Council
The White House

Exec Sec Office has diskette Yes LOG # 3499 A/O _____
DOCLOG 18N SYSTEM: PRS NSC INT

	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL /DATE	DISPOSITION
Harmon			
Dohse	<u>1</u>	<u>8</u>	
Sens			
Soderberg			
Berger	<u>2</u>	<u>ML</u>	
Lake	<u>3</u>		
Situation Room			
West Wing Desk	<u>4/5</u>	<u>MON 5/8</u>	
NSC/Rm			

A = Action I = Information D = Dispatch R = Retain N = No Further Action

cc:

COMMENTS:

5/8 Fax to Lake (via Vest)
about AF-1 w/ SRB note

Special Dispatch Instructions:

Return original
to Ex Sec. w/
~~return~~
copy covered

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON D C 20506

3499

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines,

September 11, 2006

By KDE NARA, Date 04/13/15 May 8, 1995
2012-098-F
ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: ALEXANDER VERSHBOW/V
FROM: DON KERRICK @
SUBJECT: JCS Talking Points for Congressional OPLAN 40104
Briefing

JCS drafted talking points for OPLAN 40104 attached for clearance. Have included NSC suggested changes. Deputies will preview at next DC.

Larger issue: Principals intention was to engage and seek Hill views on difficult policy questions we are grappling to answer. Peter Tarnoff and Wes Clark are recommending briefing be a military only briefing which would limit amount of policy interchange that would occur. We prefer the State/OSD/JCS tiger team approach with emphasis on military planning, but with State/OSD presence to field policy issues.

Concurrence by: Bill Danvers¹⁰

RECOMMENDATION

That you clear talking points.

Approve 12 Disapprove _____

That you approve State/OSD/JCS team approach rather than military only.

Approve 12 Other _____

Attachment
Tab A JCS Talking Points

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

TIME OF TRANSMISSION

TIME OF RECEIPT

WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM

PRECEDENCE: IMMEDIATE
PRIORITY
ROUTINE

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS
Initials: KDE Date: 8/11/315
2012-098-F

RELEASER: _____

DTG: _____

MESSAGE NO.: _____

CLASSIFICATION: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ TOTAL: 7
(PAGES INCLUDING COVER)

FROM: NSC WEST WING DESK
(NAME)

(202) 456-9425
(PHONE NUMBER)

WH SITROOM
(ROOM NO.)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION: JCS Talking Points for Congressional OPLAN
40104 Briefing NSC LOG # 3499

TO (AGENCY)	DELIVER TO	DEPT/ROOM NO.	PHONE NUMBE
<u>AFI</u>	<u>~~T. Lake~~</u>	_____	_____
_____	<u>K. Veit</u>	_____	_____
_____	<u>M. Emery</u>	_____	_____
_____	<u>B. Darby</u>	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

REMARKS:

R-

5/8

We'll review at 10 tomorrow
on Bosnia if you have any
comments.

I don't think JCS can
go up alone. Purpose of
this, in part, is to engage
Congress on hard issues,
which requires State/OSD.
Tell me if you disagree.

(S)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

3499

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

White House Guidelines,

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

September 11, 2006

By KDE NARA, Date 04/13/15

May 8, 1995

2012-0198-F

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: ALEXANDER VERSHBOW *lv*

FROM: DON KERRICK *@*

SUBJECT: JCS Talking Points for Congressional OPLAN 40104 Briefing

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Concurrence by: Bill Danvers *W*

RECOMMENDATION

That you clear talking points.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

That you approve State/OSD/JCS team approach rather than military only.

Approve _____ Other _____

Attachment

Tab A JCS Talking Points

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Drew, Nelson/Bremner, Sue)
OA/Box Number: 696

FOLDER TITLE:

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2012-0798-F

kc3056

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~~SECRET~~
NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9520623
RECEIVED: 12 MAY 95 15

TO: AGENCIES

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines,
September 11, 2006

FROM: SENS

DOC DATE: 13 MAY 95
SOURCE REF:

By VDE NARA, Date 04/13/15
2012-098-F

KEYWORDS: BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA
DC

CROATIA
PC

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: RPT ON CONTACT GRP MTG

ACTION: DOHSE SGD MEMO TO AGENCIES

DUE DATE: 16 MAY 95 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: KERRICK

LOGREF:

FILES: NS

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

BASS
BERGER
JOSHI
KERRICK
KRECZKO
LAKE
NSC CHRON
SODERBERG
VERSHBOW

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSMBN

CLOSED BY: NSJDA

DOC 2 OF 2

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

RECORD ID: 9520623

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 LAKE	Z 95051508 FOR DECISION
001	X 95051508 SODERBERG APPROVED RECOM
002	X 95051508 DOHSE SGD MEMO TO AGENCIES

DISPATCH DATA SUMMARY REPORT

<u>DOC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>DISPATCH FOR ACTION</u>	<u>DISPATCH FOR INFO</u>
002	950513	FUERTH, L	
002	950513	BRILL, K	
002	950513	ADAMS, G	
002	950513	PANETTA, L	
002	950513	MCALEER, R	
002	950513	INDERFURTH, K	
002	950513	GARTHOFF, D	
002	950513	PATRICK, T	

~~SECRET~~

Read 6:12 pm 5/12

**National Security Council
The White House**

Exec Sec Office has diskette WFO

LOG #

20623

A/O

DOCLOG

WFO

SYSTEM:

WFO

NSC

INT

	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL /DATE	DISPOSITION
Harmon			
Dohse	<u>1 / 3</u>	<u>WFO</u>	
Sens			
Soderberg			
Berger	<u>2</u>	<u>WFO</u>	
Lake			
Situation Room			
West Wing Desk	<u>4</u>	<u>WFO 5/15</u>	<u>N</u>
NSC/Rm			

Deputy Natl Sec Advisor
has seen

A = Action I = Information D = Dispatch R = Retain N = No Further Action

cc:

COMMENTS:

Contact Group
Report for use at
Bosnia / Croatia PC
May 16

Special Dispatch Instructions:

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
DISTRIBUTION RECEIPT

Initials: VDE Date: 04/13/15
2012-0728-F

LOG 9520623
DATE 13 MAY 95

SUBJECT: RPT ON CONTACT GRP MTG
DOCUMENT CLASSIFICATION: ~~SECRET~~

EXTERNAL DISTRIBUTION:

DATE TIME SIGNATURE

MR. LEON FUERTH
OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
VIA LARRY BRANSCUM
ROOM 290, OEOB
WASHINGTON, DC 20506

PRINT LAST NAME: _____

COPY: 1

MR. KENNETH C. BRILL
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
ROOM 7224, MAIN STATE
2201 C STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520

PRINT LAST NAME: _____

COPY: 1

DR. GORDON M. ADAMS
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT & BUDGET
ROOM 238
OLD EXECUTIVE OFFICE BLDG
WASHINGTON, DC 20503

PRINT LAST NAME: _____

COPY: 1

MR. LEON E. PANETTA
WHITE HOUSE
1ST FLOOR, WEST WING
WASHINGTON, DC 20500

PRINT LAST NAME: _____

COPY: 1

DATE, TIME, SIGN THE RECEIPT AND RETURN TO: NSC SECRETARIAT, ROOM 379 OEOB

PAGE 01 OF 01 PAGES

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS
Initials: LD Date: 04/13/15

TIME OF TRANSMISSION

202-098-F

TIME OF RECEIPT

WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM

PRECEDENCE: IMMEDIATE
PRIORITY
ROUTINE

EYES ONLY

RELEASER: _____

DTG: _____

MESSAGE NO.: _____

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET

TOTAL: 4
(PAGES INCLUDING COVER)

FROM: NSC WEST WING DESK
(NAME)

(202) 456-9425
(PHONE NUMBER)

WH SITROOM
(ROOM NO.)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION: RPT ON CONTACT GROUP
MTU NSC LOG # 20623

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:

EYES ONLY

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

20623

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines,
September 11, 2006

May 13, 1995

By YDE NARA, Date 04/13/15
2012-098-F

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 UN

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

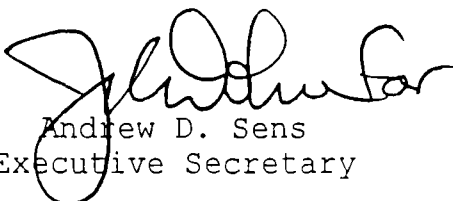
MR. LEON PANETTA
Chief of Staff to the President

MR. DOUGLAS F. GARTHOFF
Executive Secretary
Central Intelligence Agency

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

SUBJECT: Report on Contact Group Meeting (S)

Request you pass the attached close-hold, State Department report on the May 12 Contact Group meeting to your Deputy and Principal. The report will be discussed at the Principal's Committee meeting on Bosnia and Croatia on May 16, 1995. (S)


Andrew D. Sens
Executive Secretary

Attachment
Tab A State Memorandum

~~SECRET~~
Declassify on: OADR

~~SECRET~~



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

May 12, 1995

INFORMATION MEMORANDUM

S/S

~~SECRET~~ NODIS
~~DECL:OADR~~

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

TO: The Secretary

THROUGH: Acting Secretary Tarnoff

FROM: EUR - Robert C. Frasure *RCF*

SUBJECT: Contact Group Consensus in Frankfurt -
Next Stop is Belgrade

The Contact Group reached a full consensus in Frankfurt on May 12 on a Bosnia recognition/border/sanctions suspension package that should be fielded with Milosevic in Belgrade next week and with the Bosnians.

On sanctions suspension, the following points were agreed:

- There would be a six-month suspension of designated sanctions with a positive UNSC renewal mechanism.
- There will be no actual lift until Pale accepts the CG package. At that point, Phase One sanctions -- airport, sports, and culture which are now suspended -- would be lifted. Other than that agreed point, it was felt that additional lift must be calibrated to implementation of the plan. This framework can be developed later.
- Financial transactions will be freed up, as the Europeans wanted. However, assets will remain frozen and the UNSC resolution will specifically state that credits cannot be provided against frozen assets. (The Bundesbank believes no banks will do so, in that event.)
- The difference was split between the UN and EU lists on strategic trade definitions. To the EU list were added equipment for energy production and petrochemicals. The EU list plus these items will not be suspended. Oil is the key item that remains forbidden. (The traffic jams in Belgrade don't provide much confidence that this is effective.)

~~SECRET~~

-2-

There was considerable interest in the OSCE package that I had suggested to Milosevic. It was agreed that we should actively pursue it in the following manner:

- The FRY and FYROM (a new element, they are now only observers) should get OSCE seats. This would step over the FRY successor state issue and also do something for Gligorov. It will also help us on our small-package diplomacy with the FYROM.
- OSCE takes over the enhanced ICFY border monitoring mission. (The Germans have now matched our pledge for fifty monitors.) In the meantime -- until the OSCE elements are in place -- the ICFY role will continue with certification by the head of mission to be passed directly through Owen to the UN Secretary General.
- The OSCE Long Duration Mission will return to Kosovo, Sandzak, and the Vojvodina.

It should be noted that the Frankfurt meeting was functionally a Quad. Zotov couldn't get there from Moscow. The Germans are to brief the Russians in Bonn this afternoon. We think the Russians will be sufficiently on board with this approach that they will not cause trouble.

It was agreed that I should go to Belgrade early next week on behalf of the CG and explore the packages with Milosevic. My visit would not be publicly announced and the substance of the packages should be closely held.

On the Bosnian side, Sacirbey was in Frankfurt and will be in touch with Izetbegovic. Sacirbey was especially enthusiastic about the OSCE aspect. German CG rep Steiner will go to Mostar for a Federation meeting and will brief Ganic on the packages.

There was great concern about the rapidly deteriorating situation inside Bosnia, especially in Sarajevo. (We always need to be aware of the possibility that we are playing diplomatic word games with ourselves while the war spins out of control.) All sides agree that something must be done about the airport, and air strikes might be necessary. It was agreed that we should warn both the Bosnians and Mladic (via Milosevic) to pull back from the precipice.

We all recognize that this is all a long shot venture. But with the Frankfurt meeting, we seem to be off to a good start.

SEEURRCF 194

~~SECRET~~

20623

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines,

September 11, 2006

May 12, 1995

By KDE NARA, Date 04/13/15

2012-0798-F

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: ALEXANDER VERSHBOW TC

FROM: DON KERRICK TC

SUBJECT: Bob Frasure's Contact Group Report

Bob Frasure's memo to the Secretary on the Contact Group meeting in Frankfurt is attached. Bob will attend the Tuesday PC before heading to Belgrade to see Milosevic.

While the outcome appears to be positive, Principals should review one last time before sending Bob off to see Milosevic. Bob agrees we should circulate the memo to Deputies and Principals.

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize Andrew Sens to sign the memorandum to the agencies at Tab I.

Approve *nr* Disapprove

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to Agencies

Tab A State Memorandum

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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National Security Council
European Affairs (Drew, Nelson/Bremner, Sue)
OA/Box Number: 696

FOLDER TITLE:

PC/DC [Principals Committee/Deputies Committee] Meetings on Bosnia, May 1995 [6]

2012-0798-F
ke3056

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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)]

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~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines,

September 11, 2006

20577

By KDE NARA, Date 04/13/15

2012-0798-F

DEPUTIES COMMITTEE MEETING ON BOSNIA AND CROATIA

DATE: May 4, 1995

LOCATION: White House Situation Room

TIME: 1:30-2:30pm

Agenda

I. Sanctions

Strategy for Dealing with the Contact Group
Deadlock on Degree of Sanctions Relief to Offer
Milosevic for Recognition of Bosnia.....OVP

II. Croatia Crisis

Strategy for Preventing Escalation.....State

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002b. cable	Re: May 2 Contact Group Meeting (4 pages)	05/03/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Drew, Nelson/Bremner, Sue)
OA/Box Number: 696

FOLDER TITLE:

PC/DC [Principals Committee/Deputies Committee] Meetings on Bosnia, May 1995 [6]

2012-0798-F
ke3056

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002c. memo	Leon Fuerth to Anthony Lake, re: Contact Group's Failure to Reach Agreement (2 pages)	05/03/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Drew, Nelson/Bremner, Sue)
OA/Box Number: 696

FOLDER TITLE:

PC/DC [Principals Committee/Deputies Committee] Meetings on Bosnia, May 1995 [6]

2012-0798-F
ke3056

RESTRICTION CODES

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002d. email	Richard Saunders ot Donald Kerrick and Alexander Vershbow, re: Comment on Leon's Menmo on the Contact Group (1 page)	05/04/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Drew, Nelson/Bremner, Sue)
OA/Box Number: 696

FOLDER TITLE:

PC/DC [Principals Committee/Deputies Committee] Meetings on Bosnia, May 1995 [6]

2012-0798-F
kc3056

RESTRICTION CODES

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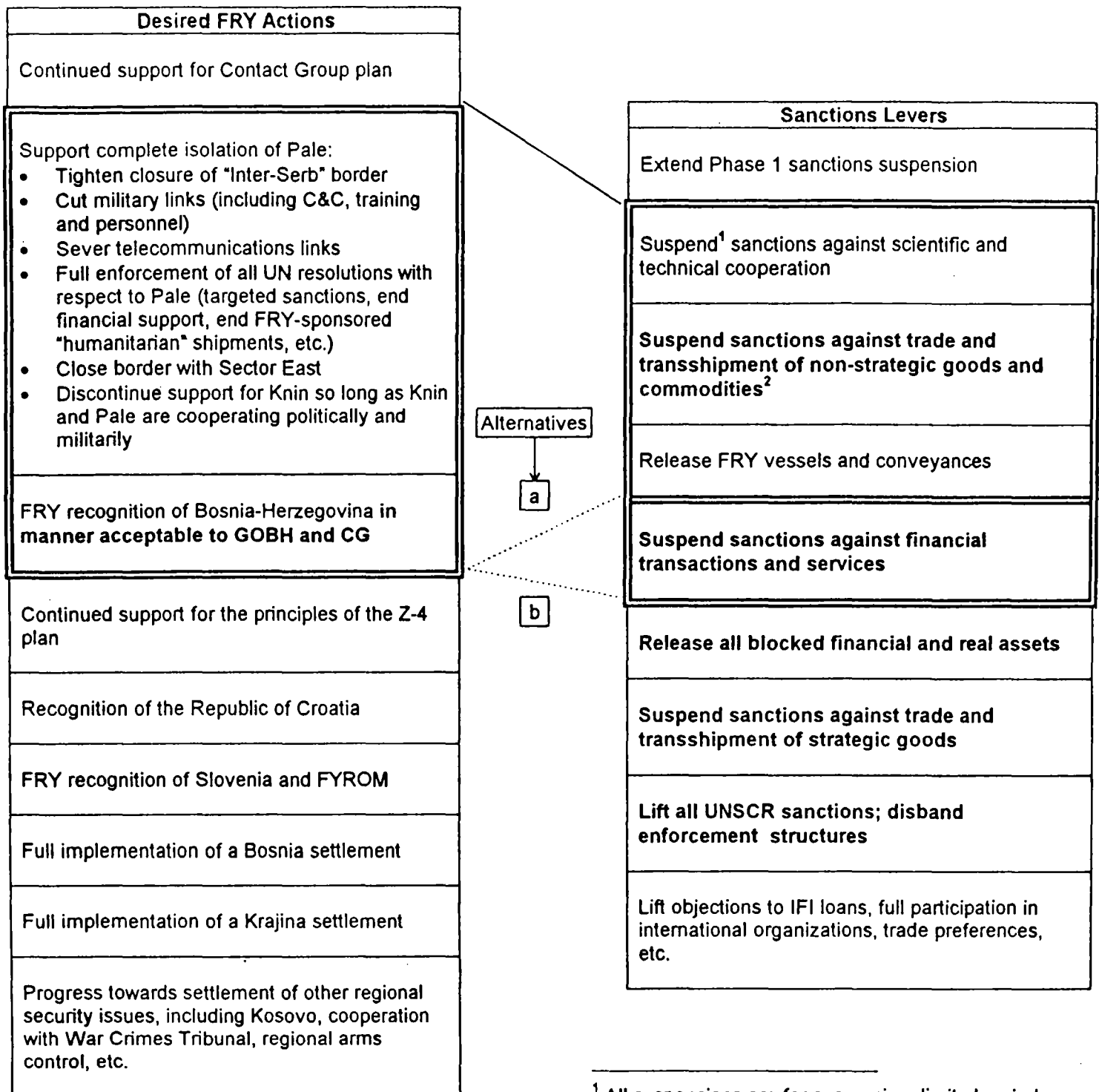
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Sanctions Relief in Return for Tighter Border Closure and Bosnian Recognition



¹ All suspensions are for successive, limited periods. UNSC action required to extend suspensions.

Continuation of suspensions to depend on continued progress toward negotiated settlement of the conflicts.

² Strategic goods include crude oil, petroleum products, coal, energy-related equipment, iron, steel, other metals, chemicals, rubber, tires, vehicles, aircraft, and motors of all types.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002e. paper	Re: Croatian Crisis: Diplomatic Strategy (2 pages)	05/02/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Drew, Nelson/Bremner, Sue)
OA/Box Number: 696

FOLDER TITLE:

PC/DC [Principals Committee/Deputies Committee] Meetings on Bosnia, May 1995 [6]

2012-0798-F
ke3056

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TO BE PROVIDED

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002f. report	Re: [Croatia] (6 pages)	05/03/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Drew, Nelson/Bremner, Sue)
OA/Box Number: 696

FOLDER TITLE:

PC/DC [Principals Committee/Deputies Committee] Meetings on Bosnia, May 1995 [6]

2012-0798-F
ke3056

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20596

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

May 8, 1995

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines,

September 11, 2006

By KOE NARA, Date 04/13/15
2012-0798-F

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL BERGER

THROUGH: ALEXANDER VERSHBOW *AV*
FROM: DON. KERRICK *(16)*
SUBJECT: Deputies Meeting on Bosnia and Croatia,
May 9, 1995

Attached at Tab A is the agenda for the Deputies Meeting on Bosnia and Croatia to be held May 9, 1995. The memorandum to the agencies is attached at Tab I.

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize Andy Sens to sign the memorandum to the agencies at Tab I.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the Agencies

Tab A Agenda

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~SECRET~~

20596

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines,

September 11, 2006

By VDE NARA, Date 04/13/15

2012-0798-F

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 and International
Affairs
Office of Management and Budget

AMBASSADOR RICK INDERFURTH
Office of the Representative
of the U.S. to the UN

MR. DOUGLAS F. GARTHOFF
Executive Secretary
Central Intelligence Agency

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

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

There will be a Deputies Committee meeting on Bosnia and Croatia on May 9, 1995, 1:00p.m.- 2:30pm, in the White House Situation Room. Attendance will be principals plus one. The agenda is attached at Tab A. (S)

Andrew D. Sens
Executive Secretary

Attachment
Tab A Agenda

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526

20596

White House Guidelines,

September 11, 2006

By KDE NARA, Date 04/13/15
2012-0718-F

NSC DEPUTIES COMMITTEE MEETING ON BOSNIA AND CROATIA

DATE: May 9, 1995
LOCATION: White House Situation Room
TIME: 1:00-2:30pm

Agenda

- I. Near-Term Diplomatic Strategy
 - A. Contact Group Prospects/Next Steps.....State
 - B. Croatia: Situation Review/Next Steps.....State
- II. Strategy for Dealing with the Situation in Sarajevo
 - A. Intelligence Assessment.....CIA
 - B. Diplomatic Strategy.....State
 - C. Existing Mandates.....State
 - D. Military Options.....JCS
- III. OPLAN 40104: Unanswered Policy Questions
 - A. Post-UNPROFOR Withdrawal Strategy.....State
 - B. Unanswered Policy Questions: Dealing with Civilians; Delivery of Humanitarian Aid; Dealing with Warring Parties; Violations of Safe Areas and Exclusion Zones; Resolving Territorial and Equipment Disputes; Command and Control; Mission of the NATO Force.....State
- IV. OPLAN 40104 Approval Process
 - A. Congressional Briefings.....JCS
 - B. Funding Options Progress Report.....OMB

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003a. paper	[duplicate of 002e] (2 pages)	05/00/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Drew, Nelson/Bremner, Sue)
OA/Box Number: 696

FOLDER TITLE:

PC/DC [Principals Committee/Deputies Committee] Meetings on Bosnia, May 1995 [6]

2012-0798-F
ke3056

RESTRICTION CODES

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003b. email	Donald Kerrick to APNSA Special Assistants and the National Security Advisor, re: C-P-L Item: Croatia (1 page)	05/02/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Drew, Nelson/Bremner, Sue)
OA/Box Number: 696

FOLDER TITLE:

PC/DC [Principals Committee/Deputies Committee] Meetings on Bosnia, May 1995 [6]

2012-0798-F
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines,

September 11, 2006

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

3499

By KDE NARA, Date 04/13/15
2012-0987
ACTION

May 8, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: ALEXANDER VERSHBOW/V

FROM: DON KERRICK K

SUBJECT: JCS Talking Points for Congressional OPLAN 40104 Briefing

JCS drafted talking points for OPLAN 40104 attached for clearance. Have included NSC suggested changes. Deputies will preview at next DC.

Larger issue: Principals intention was to engage and seek Hill views on difficult policy questions we are grappling to answer. Peter Tarnoff and Wes Clark are recommending briefing be a military only briefing which would limit amount of policy interchange that would occur. We prefer the State/OSD/JCS tiger team approach with emphasis on military planning, but with State/OSD presence to field policy issues.

Concurrence by: Bill Danvers W

RECOMMENDATION

That you clear talking points.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

That you approve State/OSD/JCS team approach rather than military only.

Approve _____ Other _____

Attachment

Tab A JCS Talking Points

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004. talking points	[duplicate of 001] (4 pages)	05/00/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Drew, Nelson/Bremner, Sue)
OA/Box Number: 696

FOLDER TITLE:

PC/DC [Principals Committee/Deputies Committee] Meetings on Bosnia, May 1995 [6]

2012-0798-F
ke3056

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TO: AGENCIES

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines,
September 11, 2006

FROM: SENS

DOC DATE: 04 MAY 95
SOURCE REF:

By VDE NARA, Dat 04/13/15
2012-0798-F

KEYWORDS: BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA

PC

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: ADDL PRINCIPALS TASKING ON UNANSWERED POLICY QUESTIONS RELATING TO
OPLAN 40104

ACTION: DOHSE SGD MEMO TO AGENCIES

DUE DATE: 04 MAY 95 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: KERRICK

LOGREF:

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

BASS
BERGER
KERRICK
LAKE
NSC CHRON
SODERBERG
VERSHBOW

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSKDB

CLOSED BY: NSJDA

DOC 2 OF 2

~~SECRET~~

RECORD ID: 9520564

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 LAKE	Z 95050120 FOR DECISION
001	X 95050507 LAKE APPROVED RECOM
002	X 95050507 DOHSE SGD MEMO TO AGENCIES

DISPATCH DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC DATE DISPATCH FOR ACTION

DISPATCH FOR INFO

002	950504	FUERTH, L
002	950504	BRILL, K
002	950504	ADAMS, G
002	950504	MCALEER, R
002	950504	INDERFURTH, K
002	950504	PATRICK, T
002	950504	GARTHOFF, D

~~SECRET~~

Rec'd 5/1 9:30am
National Security Council
The White House

Exec Sec Office has diskette _____

LOG # 20564 A/O _____

DOCLOG MHC

SYSTEM: PRS NSC INT

	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL /DATE	DISPOSITION
Harmon	_____	_____	_____
Dohse	<u>1</u>	<u>D</u>	_____
Sens	_____	_____	_____
Soderberg	_____	_____	_____
Berger	<u>2</u>	<u>OK</u>	_____
Lake	<u>3</u>	_____	_____
~~Situation Room~~	<u>4</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>Tab-I</u>
West Wing Desk	<u>5</u>	<u>WWD 5/4</u>	<u>D</u>
NSC/Rm	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

A = Action I = Information D = Dispatch R = Retain N = No Further Action

cc:

COMMENTS:

WWD -
give Kernick
comeback cgy
ASAP

we have this been?
Better change deadline

Special Dispatch Instructions:

Tab I on g/l exec sec 2056405.00

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS
Initials: VDE Date: 04/13/15

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
DISTRIBUTION RECEIPT

2012-0728-F

LOG 9520564
DATE 04 MAY 95

SUBJECT: ADDL PRINCIPALS TASKING ON UNANSWERED POLICY QUESTIONS RELATING TO
DOCUMENT CLASSIFICATION: ~~SECRET~~

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PAGE 01 OF 01 PAGES

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

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION: ADDITIONAL PRINCIPALS TASKING ON UNANSWERED POLICY

QUESTIONS RELATING TO OPLAN 40104

NSC LOG # 20564

<u>TO (AGENCY)</u>	<u>DELIVER TO</u>	<u>DEPT/ROOM NO.</u>	<u>PHONE NUMBE</u>
<u>STATE</u>	<u>EXECUTIVE SECRETARY</u>		
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REMARKS:

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
005. fax	Fax Coversheet [partial] (1 page)	05/00/1995	b(7)(C)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Drew, Nelson/Bremner, Sue)
OA/Box Number: 696

FOLDER TITLE:

PC/DC [Principals Committee/Deputies Committee] Meetings on Bosnia, May 1995 [6]

2012-0798-F
ke3056

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

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2012-0798-F

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NSC LOG # 20564

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

SUBJECT: Notice of Meeting ADDITIONAL TASKING PAGES: 2

PLEASE DELIVER TO:

DEPT/AGENCY	NAME/OFFICE	PHONE	SECURE FAX
<u>USUN New York</u>	<u>Mr. Rick Inderfurth</u>	<u>212-415-4016</u>	<u>(b)(7)c</u>

[005]

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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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines,

September 11, 2006

May 4, 1995

By VDE NARA, Date 04/13/15

2012-0798-F

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 UN

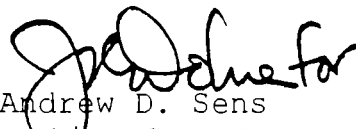
MR. DOUGLAS F. GARTHOFF
Executive Secretary
Central Intelligence Agency

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

SUBJECT: Additional Principals Tasking on Unanswered Policy
Questions Relating to OPLAN 40104 ~~(S)~~

Following a preliminary review at the Principals Meeting on
April 28 of the list of unanswered policy questions relating to
OPLAN 40104, Principals have provided additional guidance to
further focus IWG efforts. ~~(S)~~

Principals have requested that a post-UNPROFOR withdrawal
strategy be developed to guide the IWG's drafting of answers to
the policy questions. Accordingly, State Department is requested
to draft a post-UNPROFOR withdrawal political and diplomatic
strategy and circulate it to the Interagency by COB, Monday,
May 8. State is further requested to provide options for answers
to the policy questions by Tuesday, May 9. Principals will
review the strategy and answers after the Moscow Summit. ~~(S)~~


Andrew D. Sens
Executive Secretary

~~SECRET~~

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20564

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

White House Guidelines,

WASHINGTON, D C. 20506

September 11, 2006

By VDE NARA, Date 04/13/15
2012-098-F
ACTION

May 2, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: ALEXANDER VERSHBOW *N*

FROM: DON KERRICK *(K)*

SUBJECT: Additional Principals Tasking on OPLAN 40104
Unanswered Policy Questions

The Bosnia IWG is continuing to develop answers to the unanswered policy questions relating to OPLAN 40104. Attached memorandum formalizes Principals request for a post-UNPROFOR political and diplomatic strategy to focus IWG efforts.

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize Andrew Sens to sign the memorandum to the agencies at Tab I.

Approve *JS* Disapprove _____

Attachment

Tab I Memorandum to Agency Counterparts

~~SECRET~~

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20577

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

May 3, 1995

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines,

September 11, 2006

By VDE NARA, Date 04/13/15

2012-0798-F

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL BERGER

THROUGH: ALEXANDER VERSHBOW **AN**

FROM: DON KERRICK **(D)**

SUBJECT: Deputies Meeting on Bosnia and Croatia,
May 4, 1995

Attached at Tab A is the agenda for the Deputies Meeting on Bosnia and Croatia to be held May 4, 1995. The memorandum to the agencies is attached at Tab I.

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize Andy Sens to sign the memorandum to the agencies at Tab I.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the Agencies

Tab A Agenda

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

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White House Guidelines,

September 11, 2006

By VOE NARA, Date 04/13/15
2012-0798-F

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 UN

MR. DOUGLAS F. GARTHOFF
Executive Secretary
Central Intelligence Agency

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

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

There will be a Deputies Committee meeting on Bosnia and Croatia on May 4, 1995, 1:30-2:30pm, in the White House Situation Room. Attendance will be principals plus one. The agenda is attached at Tab A. (S)

Andrew D. Sens
Executive Secretary

Attachment
Tab A Agenda

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White House Guidelines,

September 11, 2006

20577

by KDE NARA, Date 04/13/15
2012-0798-F

DEPUTIES COMMITTEE MEETING ON BOSNIA AND CROATIA

DATE: May 4, 1995
LOCATION: White House Situation Room
TIME: 1:30-2:30pm

Agenda

I. Sanctions

Strategy for Dealing with the Contact Group
Deadlock on Degree of Sanctions Relief to Offer
Milosevic for Recognition of Bosnia.....OVP

II. Croatia Crisis

Strategy for Preventing Escalation.....State

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
006a. memo	Don Kerrick to Samuel Berger, re: May 9 Deputies Meeting on Bosnia and Croatia (5 pages)	05/08/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Drew, Nelson/Bremner, Sue)
OA/Box Number: 696

FOLDER TITLE:

PC/DC [Principals Committee/Deputies Committee] Meetings on Bosnia, May 1995 [6]

2012-0798-F
ke3056

RESTRICTION CODES

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White House Guidelines,

September 11, 2006

20596

By VDE NARA, Date 04/13/15
2012-0798-F

NSC DEPUTIES COMMITTEE MEETING ON BOSNIA AND CROATIA

DATE: May 9, 1995
LOCATION: White House Situation Room
TIME: 1:00-2:30pm

Agenda

- I. Near-Term Diplomatic Strategy
 - A. Contact Group Prospects/Next Steps.....State
 - B. Croatia: Situation Review/Next Steps.....State
- II. Strategy for Dealing with the Situation in Sarajevo
 - A. Intelligence Assessment.....CIA
 - B. Diplomatic Strategy.....State
 - C. Existing Mandates.....State
 - D. Military Options.....JCS
- III. OPLAN 40104: Unanswered Policy Questions
 - A. Post-UNPROFOR Withdrawal Strategy.....State
 - B. Unanswered Policy Questions: Dealing with Civilians;
Delivery of Humanitarian Aid; Dealing with Warring
Parties; Violations of Safe Areas and Exclusion Zones;
Resolving Territorial and Equipment Disputes; Command
and Control; Mission of the NATO Force.....State
- IV. OPLAN 40104 Congressional Briefings.....JCS

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
006b. cable	Re: Meeting with Milosevc - Still Demands Sanctions Lift (5 pages)	05/07/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Drew, Nelson/Bremner, Sue)
OA/Box Number: 696

FOLDER TITLE:

PC/DC [Principals Committee/Deputies Committee] Meetings on Bosnia, May 1995 [6]

2012-0798-F
ke3056

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
006c. cable	Re: Holbrooke Meeting with President Tudjman: May 7, London (4 pages)	05/07/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Drew, Nelson/Bremner, Sue)
OA/Box Number: 696

FOLDER TITLE:

PC/DC [Principals Committee/Deputies Committee] Meetings on Bosnia, May 1995 [6]

2012-0798-F
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***TO BE
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Bosnia Diplomatic Strategy: Sarajevo Airport

The Problem

After their successful challenge to the French at the illegal Sierra-4 checkpoint and their even more humiliating treatment of Contact Group representatives at Sarajevo airport, the Bosnian Serbs know they can keep bullying the United Nations and get whatever they want. The UN has no fall-back position for its talks with Karadzic; it long-ago ruled out the option of enforcing its control of the airport and the environs of Sarajevo. In his initial report on the situation, the Secretary General made it clear that the airport could be kept open only with the parties' agreement.

Referring to nonexistent precedents and claiming that the airport is Serb territory merely managed by the UN, Karadzic and his minions have threatened to fire on UN aircraft carrying anything but UNPROFOR military personnel. On April 27, the Serb commander overseeing the airport turned back a plane with civilians aboard and Karadzic announced that he will never allow foreign diplomats to land at Sarajevo, "especially diplomats from hostile nations, like Iran and the United States."

Prognosis: Humiliation and Strangulation

In the end, the UN may be able to maintain the airport as a logistical base for its own severely limited activities, but unless the UN can persuade the Bosnian Serbs otherwise, Sarajevo will lose its air link to the outside world. The GOBH will be isolated and the city will be strangled by closure of land routes.

And the Serbs may go further. In recent weeks, the Bosnian Serb Army has made obvious preparations for a massive attack on Sarajevo -- digging tank emplacements, replacing wooden and sandbag revetments encircling the city with reinforced concrete, etc. General Smith has said he expects the Serbs to "pick off the enclaves one-by-one" and then go for "the real prize enclave -- Sarajevo itself."

In response to these moves, the GOBH is certain to take into its own hands the future of its capital city. The B-H Army has already engaged in probing actions north and south of the city -- possibly setting the stage for an all-out offensive to punch one or two corridors into Sarajevo from nearby government-controlled territory. As Bosnian Vice President Ganic has stated, "We want UNPROFOR to stay in Bosnia and do its job while the Serbs want UNPROFOR to stay in Bosnia and not do its job." In the case of Sarajevo, the Bosnians will not long accept an UNPROFOR that is powerless to counter the Serbs.

Our Limited Options

The key to keeping UNPROFOR on the ground and to avoiding the deployment of U.S. ground troops in Bosnia is to take aggressive and decisive measures to keep Sarajevo Airport open for all traffic. The legal authority exists to do so and military options are being prepared.* But if we are truly serious, we must begin immediately to build a consensus among our allies and at the UN, threatening realistic consequences for inaction.

Among our options are the following:

- Using existing authority to permit NATO air activity of the following sorts:
 - 1) Close air support in defense of UNPROFOR troops at the airport, who have in recent days been shelled by the Bosnian Serbs;
 - 2) Air strikes based on the fact that Sarajevo is being strangled;
 - 3) Air strikes based on the fact that the exclusion zone is being violated.

Diplomatically, we could begin with the following steps:

- Consulting immediately with allies bilaterally, at NATO and at the UN on Serb non-compliance with relevant UNSC resolutions, which call for unhindered delivery of humanitarian assistance including "safe and secure access" to Sarajevo Airport, and provide for the use of force to protect the Sarajevo safe area. The UN Security Council is to act Wednesday to issue a Presidential Statement on the airport that will call for its re-opening in accordance with the 1992 Airport Agreement.
- Convening a meeting of the NAC to discuss military measures to ensure compliance with relevant UNSC resolutions.
- Arranging calls by the Secretary to Hurd, Juppe and Kozyrev, letting them know that a failure to open the airport on acceptable terms will make a Ministerial impossible.
- Raising the issue at the May 5 Contact Group meeting in Paris.

*See accompanying papers

EXISTING AUTHORITY FOR NATO AIR ACTIVITY
AROUND SARAJEVO AIRPORT

Within limitations, the UN and NATO have the authority to use air power in response to restrictions placed on the use of Sarajevo Airport, based on the following:

CLOSE AIR SUPPORT (CAS)

NATO Authority: Based on paragraph 1.1 of the Athens Ministerial Decision Sheet (June 10, 1993), which reads in part:

"Ministers decided ... to offer NATO's protective air power in case of attack against UNPROFOR"

NATO may respond to a UN request for NATO air power, without further action, to support UNPROFOR.

UN Authority: UNSC 836 Res. (June 4, 1993), reaffirmed by UNSC Res. 844 (June 18, 1993) provides that:

"... member states, acting ... through regional organizations, ... may take all necessary measures, through the use of air power, ... in and around safe areas, ... to support UNPROFOR in the performance of [certain aspects of] its mandate ..."

That mandate includes deterring attacks on the safe areas, and replying to obstruction of movement of UNPROFOR or humanitarian convoys throughout Bosnia. In addition, under UNSC Res. 770, the UN may request NATO to use force to facilitate delivery of humanitarian assistance to Sarajevo. These resolutions require that actions by member states and regional organizations be taken in "close cooperation" or in "coordination" with the UN, respectively.

AIR STRIKES IN RESPONSE TO STRANGULATION

NATO Authority: Based on NAC decisions of August 2 and 9, 1993, which read in part:

"...that the Alliance will make immediate preparations for undertaking, in the event of strangulation of Sarajevo and other areas ..., measures including air strikes ..."

NATO may conduct air strikes in response to the "strangulation" of safe areas.

The NAC decision also makes clear that "the first use of air power shall be authorized by the UN Secretary General." This has been termed the "dual key" arrangement.

UN Authority: As with CAS, implementing UN resolutions are 770, 836 and 844.

-2-

AIR STRIKES IN RESPONSE TO VIOLATIONS OF THE SARAJEVO
EXCLUSION ZONE

NATO Authority: Based on the NAC decision of February 9, 1994, which reads in part that NATO:

"... accepts ... the request of the UN Secretary General to launch air strikes, ... at the request of the United Nations, against artillery or mortar positions in or around Sarajevo ... which are determined by UNPROFOR to be responsible for attacks against civilians, ... and ... in response to artillery or mortar attacks on Sarajevo, ... and ... in response to the identification of any heavy weapons [inside] the exclusion zone [and not under UNPROFOR control] ..."

NATO may conduct air strikes, at the UN's request, if the Sarajevo exclusion zone is violated.

UN Authority: As with CAS, implementing UN resolutions are 770, 836 and 844.

In addition to the UN/NATO authorities, collective self-defense would authorize states to use air power at the request of the Bosnian Government. Such use of air power could be restricted by UN Security Council resolutions -- e.g., by the establishment of the no-fly zone over Bosnia.

NOTE: UN and NATO authority to use air power, as noted above, does NOT apply to restrictions on the use of Sarajevo Airport by diplomats or official delegations.

~~SECRET~~DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

1 May 1995

INFORMATION PAPER

Subject: Military Options for Reopening Sarajevo Airport (U)

1. (U) Purpose. To provide options to reopen Sarajevo airport for the delivery of humanitarian aid.
2. (U) Background. Sarajevo air operations have been periodically interrupted by the Bosnian Serbs since the beginning of the conflict. Bosnian Serb forces control the area surrounding the airport and the major land routes into Sarajevo. The Bosnian Serbs have the capability to attack aircraft in flight and while unloading on the airfield. Aircraft are threatened by both antiaircraft weapons and conventional direct and indirect ground systems. The Bosnian Muslims also have the capability, though to a lesser extent, to interdict air operations. UNPROFOR has documented numerous occasions of BiH fire.
3. (S) Discussion. The following options are available for consideration for the delivery of humanitarian aid into Sarajevo:

Assumptions:

- New UNSCR(s) required to implement a military option will be adopted by the Security Council.
- A parallel diplomatic effort to secure the opening of Sarajevo will be undertaken.

OPTION 1: Secure Sarajevo Airport - forcibly secure and maintain a DMZ around Sarajevo. Create a demilitarized zone (8-10km) around Sarajevo airfield which denies the Bosnian Serbs from employing weapons against aircraft that are in flight or on the ground. This option could require up to a division sized force to secure the airfield and remove the Bosnian Serb and Bosnian Muslim presence from the immediate area.

UNPROFOR Action:

- UNPROFOR seize (if necessary) and establish administrative control over the Sarajevo airport
- Secure airfield perimeter and approaches using a combination of troops equipped with means of acquisition for various types of attack. May include night vision devices, GPS, artillery acquisition battery.
- Take direct action to secure high terrain and buildings from belligerents. Move civilians outside of airport safe zone (2-3km). Combatants excluded inside 8-10km zone.

~~SECRET~~Classified by Multiple Sources
Declassify on OADR

~~SECRET~~

- Roving security patrols along approaches to the airport. Requires mounted and dismounted patrols monitoring out to 10 km from the airport.
- NATO Airborne AC-130 and helicopter response capability to attack sniper/mortar/artillery positions. Consider use of a ground quick reaction force.

Belligerent Reaction:

- "Administrative" harassment by Serbian officials at the airport.
- Threats from Bosnian Serb government in Pale, e.g., refusing to guarantee the safety of UN flights.
- Employ random sniping incidents due to the particular vulnerability of aircraft
- Small arms fire directed either at aircraft or ground personnel. Will be disruptive even if not directed at airport operations per se.
- Random or continuous mortar and artillery attacks designed to damage the airfield, aircraft or simply to disrupt operations.
- Employment of man portable IR surface to air missiles/AAA designed to directly attack aircraft.
- Employment of longer range systems (heavy artillery, SA-2s from ranges of 30-50kms).
- Horizontal escalation elsewhere in B-H; hostage taking, attacks on ground convoys, attacks on UN personnel, disruption of utilities into Sarajevo and other enclaves.
- BiH may target UNPROFOR attempting to blame the BSA in order to encourage a NATO response against the BSA.

Counteraction:

- Difficult if not impossible to counteract Bosnian Serb horizontal escalation/asymmetric responses.

Recommended Force Enhancements:

- Counterbattery radar, NODs, GPS, and other long range acquisition devices linked to means of reaction.
- Up to a brigade dedicated to airport security with heavy quick reaction force, up to a brigade sized force to remove combatants from the Sarajevo airport area.
- AC-130, CAS, and helicopter support
- Air assault capability (company sized)

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Pol-Mil Considerations:

- UNPROFOR/Allies unlikely to support "offensive" operation to open airport.
- Additional troop contributions to support new mission unlikely.
- Allies could call for large US troop and equipment contribution.
- Bosnian Serbs could advertise DMZ as form of ethnic cleansing.

Risk Assessment:

- Irrespective of any of the military measures taken, the absolute safety of transport/civilian aircraft cannot be guaranteed given the threat environment.
- Difficulty maintaining sophisticated equipment with limited logistics base.
- Cannot guarantee the survivability of aircraft (especially helicopters, transport, and AC-130s) in a semi-integrated air defense network.
- UNPROFOR would be required to redeploy forces to support this option which could create increased risk in other areas. Only French, UK, Dutch, Canadian forces capable of accomplishing tasks associated with this option.
- Without significant force enhancements, UNPROFOR forces outmatched by Bosnian Serb forces.
- Increased probability of UNPROFOR ground force casualties.
- Airport sits astride confrontation line; will be difficult to establish which party is responsible for firing.

OPTION 2: Use CAS and air strike packages to support delivery of humanitarian aid flights. Marshall significant NATO air package to suppress immediate threats around Sarajevo airport as aid is flown into and unloaded at the airfield. Package could include integration of target acquisition systems to assist in locating indirect firing systems. Given the nature of the threat surrounding the airfield, target acquisition (riflemen, AA gun, mortar) would be extremely difficult. As a consequence, the ability to deliver effective suppressive fire against these type targets would be extremely difficult.

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UNPROFOR Action:

- Deploy target acquisition system to Sarajevo airfield. Deploy TACPs to Sarajevo area.
- Package aid deliveries so that CAS/air strike packages support specified high density delivery periods.
- Clearly state intent to use NATO air support for protecting aid deliveries into Sarajevo.
- Specify target categories (high value, artillery pieces, headquarters in Sarajevo vicinity) that NATO may strike in response to Serb attack on humanitarian aid flights.

Belligerent Reaction:

- Continued "administrative" harassment by Serbian officials at the airport. Blocking aid outside airport.
- Threats from Bosnian Serb government refusing safety of flights.
- Hostage taking - placing hostages at weapons sites.
- Direct attack against humanitarian flights.
- BiH may manipulate NATO's intent to use air power to their advantage.

Counteraction:

- Direct attack against targets engaging aircraft.
- Direct attack against Bosnian Serb high value targets.

Recommended Force Enhancements:

- AC-130 aircraft.
- EW CAP (EA-6B, EF-111s).

Pol-Mil Considerations:

- Troop contributing nations unlikely to support air option due to concern for safety of deployed troops.
- "Dual key" arrangement remains key factor in control of air strikes.
- Could require significant US contribution in terms of air assets.
- Bosnian Serbs likely to use collateral damage as media weapon against US/NATO. Given this scenario, attempts to suppress sniper/mortar fires in an urban environment have a high potential for collateral damage.

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~~SECRET~~**Risk Assessment:**

- Air power alone insufficient to protect humanitarian aid flights and keep airfield open. Threat/target difficult to identify and acquire (snipers, mortars, urban environment, mountainous topography).
- Support aircraft (AC-130) at high risk in semi-integrated air defense network.
- Bosnian Serbs can react in ways (hostage taking, utility shut-down) which limit the effectiveness of air power options.
- High probability of collateral damage and fratricide.

OPTION 3: Open and maintain a road corridor from the Adriatic coast to Sarajevo (15km through Bosnian Serb held territory).

UNPROFOR Action:

- Enhance convoy ability to protect themselves by employing a graduated range of security responses from self protection through heavy force (armor/Infantry Fighting Vehicle) security escorts.
- UNPROFOR can create and employ a "Quick Reaction Force" consisting of heavy ground maneuver units, assault forces, and possibly helicopters.
- To counter interdiction efforts UNPROFOR can obtain and employ combat engineer units/assets moving with convoys or reacting to specific points.
- Provide each convoy with TACPs and continuous overhead air escort (helo/fixed wing).

Belligerent Reaction:

- Incidents of civil disobedience on the part of the population, e.g. crowds blocking roads.
- Halt and delay convoys with intent to delay aid delivery or steal ("tax") contents of the convoys.
- Sniping or other acts of random violence to intimidate and disrupt or stop convoys.
- Attacks on convoys to prevent delivery of aid or as a punitive measure in response to UNPROFOR (or opposing) belligerent actions.
- Belligerents may stop/delay aid by interdicting LOC.
 - Barricade roadway Mine road segments
 - Destroy bridges Block tunnels

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Counteraction:

- Difficult to counteract Bosnian Serb indirect responses - mining roads, destroying bridges (72 choke points on the Ploce - Sarajevo route).

Recommended Force Enhancements.

- Up to a brigade for route security (approx 15 km).
- Quick Reaction Force (mech and air assault).
- 1-2 engineer battalions.
- AC-130, CAS, and helicopter support.
- MP units.

Pol-Mil Considerations:

- Additional troop contributions to support new mission unlikely.
- UNPROFOR/NATO allies could call for significant US contribution.
- UNPROFOR unlikely to accept full enforcement of mandate.

Risk Assessment:

- Bosnian Serb indirect/asymmetrical responses can halt aid delivery.
- Current UNPROFOR forces not capable of providing robust ground escort package. Without enhancements, UNPROFOR forces would be outmatched by Bosnian Serb forces.
- Difficulty maintaining sophisticated equipment with limited logistics base.
- Cannot guarantee the survivability of aircraft (especially helicopters, AC-130s) in a semi-integrated air defense network.
- Increased probability of UNPROFOR ground force casualties.
- Routes parallel numerous hot spots near the active confrontation line. Convoys may encounter indirect fire from the fighting.

NOTE: These options were developed based on the assigned mission - reopen Sarajevo airport. The options are intentionally robust based on the threat capabilities and areas required to be secured. An air strike only package directed against high value targets throughout Bosnia was not considered. This approach could be perceived as purely offensive and unrelated to the

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direct opening of the airport at Sarajevo. The danger to relief operations and UNPROFOR troops could rise dramatically given this approach to reopening Sarajevo.

5. (S) Recommendation. The military options are high risk, high cost operations. Unless the US is willing to employ ground forces to support the securing of Sarajevo airfield and/or the coastal route to Sarajevo, it is unlikely that UNPROFOR or NATO will support a military option. At this time, the Joint Staff recommends against executing a military option.

Prepared by Balkans Working Group, J-5, EURDIV
X49435

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
006d. cable	Re: Sarajevo Airport (2 pages)	05/04/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Drew, Nelson/Bremner, Sue)
OA/Box Number: 696

FOLDER TITLE:

PC/DC [Principals Committee/Deputies Committee] Meetings on Bosnia, May 1995 [6]

2012-0798-F
ke3056

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]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
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- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
006e. talking points	[duplicate of 001] (4 pages)	05/00/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Drew, Nelson/Bremner, Sue)
OA/Box Number: 696

FOLDER TITLE:

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