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Bosnia Post-Bihac (Mid-Nov. - Early Dec. 1994) [5]

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. note	Handwritten notes, Bosnia Timeline. (3 pages)	n.d.	P1/b(1)
002a. paper	UK Non-Paper on Bosnia and the Contact Group. (4 pages)	11/28/1994	P1/b(1)
002b. draft	Memo for the President from Anthony Lake. Subject: Letter from Bosnian President Izetbegovic. (1 page)	n.d.	P1/b(1)
003a. memo	For Warren Christopher from Richard Holbrooke. Subject: Update on the Contact Group Talks. (2 pages)	11/1994	P1/b(1)
003b. memo	For Warren Christopher from Richard Holbrooke. Subject: Bosnian Equal Rights Dilemma. (1 page)	11/09/1994	P1/b(1)
004. draft	Duplicate of 002b. (1 page)	n.d.	P1/b(1)
005. report	Bosnia: Looking Beyond Bihac. (4 pages)	11/27/1994	P1/b(1)
006. cable	re: New British Thinking on Bosnia. (2 pages)	11/28/1994	P1/b(1)
007. report	Air Defense Threat over the Bihac Enclave. (4 pages)	11/04/1994	P1/b(1)
008a. memo	For Leon Fuerth, Leon Panetta, Kenneth Brill, et al. from William Itoh. Subject: Principals Committee Meeting on Bosnia. Record ID: 9421389. (1 page)	11/26/1994	P1/b(1)
008b. agenda	Principals Committee Meeting on Bosnia, November 28, 1994. Record ID: 9421389. (1 page)	11/26/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
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Bosnia Post-Bihac (Mid. - Nov.-Early Dec.) [5]

2013-0687-F

vz2613

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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009a. memo	For Anthony Lake from Don Kerrick. Subject: Principals Committee Meeting on Bosnia. Record ID: 9421396. (4 pages)	11/26/1994	P1/b(1)
009b. agenda	Duplicate of 008b. (1 page)	11/26/1994	P1/b(1)
009c. cable	re: Message from Prime Minister to the President of the United States. (2 pages)	11/23/1994	P1/b(1)
009d. draft	Response to Letter from British Prime Minister John Major. (2 pages)	11/1994	P1/b(1)
010. draft	U.S. Conditions on Sanctions Relief Under the Bold Approach. (5 pages)	11/1994	P1/b(1)
011. note	Intra-Alliance Understanding. [NATO] (1 page)	11/24/1994	P1/b(1)

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Don Herlihy^{P.11}
FYI

Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense
International Security Affairs
BOSNIA TASK FORCE

Date: November 30, 1994

Note For: Mr. Slocombe
Dr. Nye
Dr. Kruzel

Subject: Unilateral Lift Law

Policy on Bosnia is politicized now more than ever and if Senator Dole's recent pronouncements on Bosnia are correct, a unilateral lift law is almost a certainty this winter. The best outcome will be a stand-alone law which the President can veto.

My guess is that the actual legislative process will be far more complex than that. If proponents of unilateral lift are serious, the legislative package can be much more difficult than a yes/no vote. Obviously, they can attach language to a bill the President won't veto. A scenario more likely than a veto is some type of compromise which will tie the unilateral lift to a future event or defer it until the spring. The challenge after such a compromise will be stopping a UK/French withdrawal from UNPROFOR before we are ready. In that case, our commitment to help UNPROFOR withdraw could send us into Bosnia while everyone else is going in the opposite direction.

Recommendations: (1) We develop an interagency fall-back position to a veto, (2) we avoid a self-triggered commitment to help UNPROFOR withdraw before we are ready.



JIM PARDEW

INTERNATIONAL
SECURITY AFFAIRS

For Don Kendall

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

2400 DEFENSE PENTAGON
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301-2400



I-94/27060

MEMORANDUM FOR SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

THROUGH: UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR POLICY

FROM: ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR
INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS
Prepared by T. Walton, Bosnia Task Force, x56516

SUBJECT: Public Statements on "Confederation" Between Serb Entities -
INFORMATION MEMORANDUM

Ambassador Thomas, the U.S. representative to the Contact Group, called DASD Kruzal on November 29 regarding your comments on U.S. willingness to consider a "confederation" between the Bosnian Serbs and the rump Yugoslavia (Serbia/Montenegro).

We have discussed this with the NSC and the State Department, and the conclusion was that the terms "confederation" and "equal rights" when used in this context are lightning rods that should be avoided because they are perceived as implying concessions to the Serbs' quest for a greater Serbia. The consensus was that we should avoid taking a firm or precise stand on this issue.

and the NSC

In that regard, ~~State~~ believe that official U.S. public statements can acknowledge that there are two poles in the discussion over the relationship between Serb entities: (1) the Serb desire for a greater Serbia, and (2) the continued integrity of the Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In our negotiations on this issue, we are seeking to find a middle ground that will retain the Union while allowing a special relationship between the Bosnian Serbs and the rump Yugoslavia that is acceptable to all parties.

Reviewed by DASD EUR _____

Don
This is what
State gave me on
Confederation. OK with
you?
Jim Padgett

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Bosnia Talking Points

- We have been working to solve the Bosnian conflict for two administrations, without the success we had hoped.
- We have made some progress over the past year, including the negotiation of an agreement between Bosnia's Muslims and Croats and the development of an international peace plan through the Contact Group.
- But the fighting continues and Bihac clearly shows that we have much work yet to do.
- In looking at the options, there are three basic ways the United States could proceed.
- One option would be to become directly involved by deploying tens of thousands of U.S. combat forces in an effort to alter the outcome of the war on the battlefield.
 - o It is doubtful the American people would consider that to be wise or in U.S. interests. It could result in major warfare, with high American casualties, yet still fail to resolve the underlying ethnic hatreds that sparked the war in the first place.
- A second option would be more or less to disengage, unilaterally lifting the arms embargo and allowing the outcome to be decided on the battlefield.
 - o While we have long maintained the arms embargo is unfair to the victim in this conflict, we are strongly opposed to unilateral lift. It would cause a serious rift within NATO and with the Russians if the U.S. were to go it alone, and it would severely undermine respect for UN sanctions on countries like Iraq and Libya.
 - o Unilateral lift would have grave consequences on the ground, putting UNPROFOR troops at risk and leading to major losses for the Bosnians, including the overrunning of the eastern enclaves and potentially Sarajevo as well.
 - o If we are to lift the arms embargo in the future, we need to do it in concert or at least in coordination with our allies. While the implications of lift are great, they are more manageable if done multilaterally, in tandem with efforts to achieve a settlement of the conflict.
- A third option is to move forward with vigorous efforts to seek a negotiated settlement. Considering the risks associated with the other available options, this is the best course for the United States.
- Our actions must seek to end the fighting, prevent the spread of the fighting into a wider Balkan war, ease the humanitarian situation for the innocent civilians who have suffered far too long, and promote a negotiated settlement that restores a lasting peace to the region.

- Our renewed efforts will not produce overnight results, but in the long run, there is no better alternative than to press vigorously for acceptance of a settlement based on the Contact Group's territorial proposal -- the best framework for a solution that could ensure a viable future for all of Bosnia's peoples.

Next Steps

- This Friday, Secretary Christopher will meet with his Contact Group counterparts in Brussels to renew this effort.
- We will be discussing new measures to convince the Bosnian Serbs of the need to accept the Contact Group proposal.
- We will be discussing how to bring the current fighting to an end, and how to resecure the safe areas.
- We will look for ways to achieve a cessation of hostilities throughout Bosnia that will halt the killing and unblock humanitarian aid while we revitalize the negotiating track.

NATO's Role

- There is a serious crisis in Bosnia, to be sure, but there is not a crisis in NATO.
- NATO has done all it has been asked to do in Bosnia and continues to make clear its readiness to bring air power to bear in protecting UN safe areas and UNPROFOR troops.
- It is no secret that we have favored a more robust use of NATO air power, but since the UN is in charge on the ground, NATO must act in accordance with UN desires.
- Many of our allies form the backbone of UN peacekeeping troops in Bosnia. It was the concerns of our own allies about the safety of their troops that led to the dual-key arrangement requiring NATO to coordinate military operations with the UN commanders.
- U.S. strategic interests in Europe rest on NATO as the primary organization best suited for maintaining European security. No one should doubt our commitment or support: it is unwavering.

U.S. Position on Serb Confederation with Serbia-Montenegro

The central principle underlying the Contact Group proposal is the preservation of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a single state within its existing borders.

The constitutional principles establishing the relationship between the Bosniac-Croat Federation and the Bosnian Serb entity are subject to negotiation among the parties.

Among the issues to be addressed is the question of links between the entities forming the future Bosnian state and neighboring states. Any such links would have to be agreed upon by all the parties.

It is our view that such links should be consistent with the principle of balanced treatment for the two entities that will make up the future Bosnian state.

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November 29, 1994

Bosnia

- o Events at Bihac were a setback to our efforts to bring peace to Bosnia, and a human tragedy as well.
- o But NATO has done what it has been asked to do at Bihac, and stands ready to provide air support throughout Bosnia.
- o At the same time, Bihac demonstrates that the only alternatives for Bosnia are the continuation of a costly and bloody military stalemate or a negotiated solution.
- o Secretary Christopher will be meeting with his Contact Group counterparts on Friday in an effort to reinvigorate the negotiating track.
- o In those meetings, we will continue to stand by the Contact Group plan as the basis for a political settlement that can provide a viable future for all of Bosnia's peoples.

(If pressed on "new concessions" to the Serbs)

- o The Contact Group proposal's central principle is and remains to preserve Bosnia-Herzegovina as a single state within its existing borders.
- o The Contact Group plan would divide Bosnia along ethnic lines -- the Muslim-Croat Federation and a Bosnian Serb entity -- with the two parts linked in some kind of confederal arrangement.
- o While the Contact Group has presented its map on a take-it-or-leave-it basis, the constitutional arrangements were left to be negotiated between the parties. Moreover, the map could always be changed by mutual agreement.
- o Thus, we are not offering new concessions, but trying to end the fighting and get the parties to complete negotiations on a political settlement.

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BOSNIA: PRESS THEMES

Background

The Bihac situation remains precarious. Fighting has diminished slightly as the UN pushes for a last-ditch cease-fire. Up to 400 UNPROFOR personnel reportedly being held under some sort of house arrest by Serb forces. Negotiations ongoing for release. Media playing up Bihac and Bosnia in general as failure of UN and NATO, calling into question NATO's future. Contact Group and Ministers to meet later this week to discuss next steps.

Key Policy Points - Beyond Bihac

- Have been working to solve the Bosnian conflict for two administrations - without the success we had hoped.
- Fully recognize the shared frustration of Allies, Bosnian people, and our Congress about the inability of all our efforts to end the fighting and bring peace to Bosnia,
- Even though we have made progress, the fighting continues and Bihac has clearly shown that we have much work yet to do.
- It appears we have several basic ways to proceed in the next several months.
- One option would be to deploy tens of thousands of U.S. combat forces in an effort to alter the outcome of the war on the battlefield. Do not believe that would be smart or in the interests of the United States. Could result in major warfare, high American casualties, and fail to resolve the underlying ethnic hatreds that sparked the war in the first place.
- A second option is to unilaterally lift the arms embargo, withdraw UNPROFOR, and allow the outcome to be decided on the battlefield.
- This has been suggested by Senator Dole and others, and in my view would have grave consequences for the Bosnians (likely devastation of the eastern enclaves and Sarajevo), further strain NATO cohesion, risk a confrontation with Russia, and damage the effectiveness of sanctions against states like Libya and Iraq.

- If we are to lift the arms embargo in the future, we need to do it in concert with our allies. While the implications of lift are great, they are more manageable if done collectively, as part of efforts to achieve a settlement of the conflict.
- A third option is to move forward with efforts to seek a negotiated settlement. Considering the risks associated with other available options, the American people will understand why I will continue to do everything possible to achieve a negotiated settlement to the conflict, rather than taking steps now that could escalate the fighting and lead to wider war and deepened U.S. involvement.
- Our actions must prevent the spread of the fighting into a wider European war, ease the humanitarian situation for the innocent civilians who have suffered far too long, and promote a negotiated settlement that restores a lasting peace to the region.
- Have often reminded everyone that while restoring peace to Bosnia is not an easy process, in the long run, there is no better alternative than to press vigorously for acceptance of the Contact Group's territorial proposal as the best hope for achieving a negotiated settlement.

U.S. Efforts in Bihac

- Since we convened an emergency meeting of the UN Security Council two weeks ago in response to the deteriorating situation in Bihac, we have been pressing our allies to take stronger measures in defense of UN resolutions.
- NATO air power has proven effective in protecting the safe areas in the past, in Sarajevo and Gorazde.
- We still hope an exclusion zone, enforced by NATO air power, can be established by the UN to reestablish the safe area and protect the civilian population.
- Bihac shows the danger of reacting too slowly to attacks on the safe areas. At the same time, Bihac is a reminder that there are limits to what air power can do, especially given the need to ensure the safety of UNPROFOR troops.

Next Steps

- We continue to believe that the crisis in the former Yugoslavia must be settled on the negotiating table, not on the battlefield.

- We will continue to work with others in the five-nation Contact Group to find a formula for peace in Bosnia.
- Next Friday, Secretary Christopher will meet with this Contact Group counterparts in Brussels to renew the search for peace.
- We will look for new measures to convince the Bosnian Serbs of the need to accept the Contact Group proposal, which we continue to believe offers all the parties their best hope for peace.
- We will also be discussing with our partners how to bring the current fighting to an end, and how to resecure the safe areas.
- We will look for ways to achieve a cessation of hostilities which will stop the carnage while we seek to reinvigorate the negotiating track.
- While we will do everything possible to achieve a diplomatic solution, we also maintain that the arms embargo as it has been applied has unfairly penalized the victim in this struggle, the Bosnian government.

NATO Role and Future

- Do not share view that Bosnia is dealing death blow to NATO. NATO has done all it has been asked to do and continues to make clear its readiness to bring air power to bear in support of UN safe areas and in defense of UN troops.
- No secret that we have favored a more robust use of NATO air power, but since the UN is in charge on the ground, NATO must act in accordance with UN desires.
- UN has been in charge from the beginning, and despite our occasional frustration with their tactics, a dual-key arrangement mandates that NATO must coordinate military operations with UN commanders who have troops on the ground and are concerned about their safety.
- The United States remains fully supportive and committed to NATO as the primary organization best suited for maintaining European security.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
005. report	Bosnia: Looking Beyond Bihac. (4 pages)	11/27/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
OA/Box Number: 850

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia Post-Bihac (Mid. - Nov.-Early Dec.) [5]

2013-0687-F

vz2613

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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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
006. cable	re: New British Thinking on Bosnia. (2 pages)	11/28/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
OA/Box Number: 850

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia Post-Bihac (Mid. - Nov.-Early Dec.) [5]

2013-0687-F
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

**10/UNP**

11/28

UNCLASSIFIED FAX

ROUTINE

IMMEDIATE

URGENT

TEL. 647-0045

FAX: 647-0039

COVER • 3 PAGES**FROM:**

John W. Chamberlin

TO:

NSC - Don Kerrick/Sandy Vershbow - 456-9150

NSC - Susan Rice - 456-9360

OSD - John Klekas - 703-695-6506

JCS - Balkans Unit - 703-697-0180

SUBJECT: BOSNIA/BIHAC: TWO NAW-DRAFTED SC RESOLUTIONS**COMMENTS:** APPRECIATE COMMENT ASAP.

To:

Cameron Hunt
(by 21:03)

26 November, 1994

PP 1:- Concerned that the continuing conflict in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in particular, the assault against the Bihac safe area within the RBH constitutes a threat to international peace and security.

PP 2:- Alarmed that the so - called Croatian and Bosnian Serbs have continued their assault and occupation of the Bihac safe area.

PP 3:- Further alarmed that the so - called Croatian Serbs have attacked and invaded parts of the territory of the RBH, and specifically, in the Bihac pocket.

PP 4:- Determined to bring a halt to attacks on the safe area of Bihac, a withdrawal of the so - called Croatian and Bosnian Serb forces from the safe area, and a withdrawal of all so - called Croatian Serb forces from the RBH.

PP 5:- Expressing its commitment to a cease fire within the Bihac region to be thereafter expanded to the entire territory of the RBH in pursuit of the Contact Group peace plan.

PP 6:- Concerned about the limitation of movement and re supply imposed upon UNPROFOR and UNHCR by the so - called Croatian and Bosnian Serbs, and in particular, threats associated with such limitations.

PP 7:- Determined to mitigate the humanitarian situation within the Bihac pocket:

OP 1:- Reaffirms its support for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the RBH and the RC;

OP 2:- Reaffirms its previous resolutions with respect to the RBH and the RC and, in particular, 824 (1993), and 836 (1993);

OP 3:- Requests the Government of the RBH to consider to agree to demilitarize the Bihac safe by withdrawing all its weapons and armed personnel except for 500 policemen, who will cooperate with UNPROFOR in monitoring law and order within the safe area;

OP 4:- Demands that the so - called Croatian and Bosnian Serb forces cease immediately their assault upon, and withdraw their forces from, the Bihac safe area as currently defined by UNPROFOR and extending 10 KM north of Bihac to the village of Brekeleca.

OP 5:- Further demands that the so - called Croatian Serbs withdraw immediately from the RBH as required by Security Council resolution 947 (1994);

OP 6 Affirms its continuing support for the Contact Group peace plan and, once again, demands that the so - called Croatian and Bosnian Serbs unconditionally accept the plan;

OP 7: Calls for a cease fire, without preconditions, within and around the Bihac safe area and urges a cease fire for the entire R BiH in pursuit of the Contact Group Peace Plan.

SENT BY: LN NYK HQ

:11-28-94 : 11:08 :

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OP 8: Supports all measures by UNPROFOR, and if necessary, in conjunction with relevant regional organization, to fully implement this and previous Resolutions with respect to the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina;

OP 9: Commends the efforts of UNPROFOR and of other UN mandated forces in executing their mandate, and in particular, the courageous commitment of the UNPROFOR contingent and UN personnel within and around the Bihac safe area.

OP 10 Demands unhindered movement and re supply for all of UNPROFOR and UNHCR, and in this context, demands that the so called Bosnian Serbs immediately cease any impediments of threats to the freedom of movement of UNPROFOR forces throughout the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina;

OP 11: Requests the Secretary General to provide within 2 weeks a report to the Security Council regarding the progress of the implementation of this Resolution as well as to propose measures by which UNPROFOR could monitor the border in the Bihac region between the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the UNPA zones within the Republic of Croatia in order to deter cross border violations of the territorial integrity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republic of Croatia;

OP 12: Decides to remain seized of the matter.

The Security Council.

PP1 Concerned about the continuing threat to international peace and security by the conflict in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and by the situation in the United Nations Protected Areas (UNPAs) in the Republic of Croatia;

PP2 Taking note of the Report of the Secretary-General (S/1994/1246) dated 3 November 1994,

PP3 Recalling all its previous relevant resolutions concerning the area of former Yugoslavia, in particular resolution 820 (1993),

PP4 Deplored the continued denial of humanitarian assistance to the Bihać region in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the continuous blocking of humanitarian convoys, including those of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), designated for the Bihać region, on access routes through territories controlled by the Bosnian Serb forces within the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and local Serb paramilitary forces within the Republic of Croatia,

PP5 Gravely concerned by the military activities by the local Serb paramilitary forces in the UNPAs on the territory of the Republic of Croatia against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and, in particular, the Bihać "safe area",

PP6 Determined to ensure full respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia,

PP7 Acting under the Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, . .

OP1 Demand that only humanitarian relief directed for the UNPA zones in the Republic of Croatia be allowed to proceed across the border between the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), and strictly under terms consistent with the paragraph 12. of the Security Council resolution 820 (1993);

OP2 Emphasizes the importance of continuous and unimpeded flow of humanitarian assistance to all the areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia, where such help is needed;

OP3 Calls upon all parties and others concerned to ensure UNHCR and the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) personnel unimpeded access throughout the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia in performance of their mandate;

OP4 Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
007. report	Air Defense Threat over the Bihac Enclave. (4 pages)	11/04/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
OA/Box Number: 850

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia Post-Bihac (Mid. - Nov.-Early Dec.) [5]

2013-0687-F
vz2613

RESTRICTION CODES

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
008a. memo	For Leon Fuerth, Leon Panetta, Kenneth Brill, et al. from William Itoh. Subject: Principals Committee Meeting on Bosnia. Record ID: 9421389. (1 page)	11/26/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
OA/Box Number: 850

FOLDER TITLE:

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
008b. agenda	Principals Committee Meeting on Bosnia, November 28, 1994. Record ID: 9421389. (1 page)	11/26/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
OA/Box Number: 850

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia Post-Bihac (Mid. - Nov.-Early Dec.) [5]

2013-0687-F
vz2613

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

21389
REDO

November 25, 1994

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL BERGER

THROUGH: ALEXANDER VERSHBOW *W*

FROM: DON KERRICK *(K)*

SUBJECT: Principals Meeting on Bosnia, November 28, 1994

With Contact Group Ministers to meet next week, Principals should review the Bosnia situation and agree to next steps prior to the Ministerials. Attached at Tab A is a proposed agenda. The memorandum to the agencies is attached at Tab I.

RECOMMENDATION

That you schedule a Principals meeting on Bosnia for Monday, November 28, and authorize Will Itoh to sign the memorandum to the agencies at Tab I.

Br
Approve *for SRB* Disapprove
11/26/94
W/changes

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the Agencies

Tab A Agenda

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines,

September 11, 2006

By *VZ* NARA, Date *5/20/2014*

2013-0687-1

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~SECRET~~

21389

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

November 25, 1994

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL BERGER

THROUGH: ALEXANDER VERSHBOW *AV*
FROM: DON KERRICK *PK*
SUBJECT: Principals Meeting on Bosnia, November 29, 1994

With Contact Group Ministers to meet next week, Principals should review the Bosnia situation and agree to next steps prior to the Ministerials. Sandy Vershbow and Tony Lake have spoken and Tony agrees a PC is needed. A Principals meeting should be scheduled and the agenda with official tasking for papers should be circulated today. Madeleine requests the meeting be held in the morning before any UNSC meetings are likely to take place. Attached at Tab A is a proposed agenda. The memorandum to the agencies is attached at Tab I.

RECOMMENDATION

That you schedule a Principals meeting on Bosnia for Tuesday, November 29, and authorize Will Itoh to sign the memorandum to the agencies at Tab I.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the Agencies
Tab A Agenda

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

By *VZ* NARA, Date *5/20/2014*

2013-0687-F

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Declassify on: OADR

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
009a. memo	For Anthony Lake from Don Kerrick. Subject: Principals Committee Meeting on Bosnia. Record ID: 9421396. (4 pages)	11/26/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
OA/Box Number: 850

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia Post-Bihac (Mid. - Nov.-Early Dec.) [5]

2013-0687-F

vz2613

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
009b. agenda	Duplicate of 008b. (1 page)	11/26/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
OA/Box Number: 850

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia Post-Bihac (Mid. - Nov.-Early Dec.) [5]

2013-0687-F
vz2613

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
009c. cable	re: Message from Prime Minister to the President of the United States. (2 pages)	11/23/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
OA/Box Number: 850

FOLDER TITLE:

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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009d. draft	Response to Letter from British Prime Minister John Major. (2 pages)	11/1994	P1/b(1)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
OA/Box Number: 850

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia Post-Bihac (Mid. - Nov.-Early Dec.) [5]

2013-0687-F
vz2613

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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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.

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Revised

BOSNIA

- We completely share your concern about the situation which has developed around Bihac.
- As you know, we have done everything we can do within NATO and with UN, with limited results. We do not believe the possibility of wider air strikes to deter the Serbs now exists, given the very real dangers this could create for UNPROFOR troops.
- Under the circumstances, we fully support your efforts to get a cessation of hostilities throughout Bosnia, as well as a ceasefire around Bihac.
- We share your view that a cessation of hostilities should not be seen as an armistice that in any way codifies ~~that~~ ^{The} status quo and that it should be of a defined time period. It should be linked to renewed efforts to achieve a negotiated solution.
- We recognize that a cessation of hostilities will be followed by intense diplomatic activities.
- We want to assure you that in that context, we will continue to express our full support for the Contact Group plan and map as the basis for any settlement. We will be taking that position with our CG partners and all other parties.
- We understand that the Bosnian Serbs are pressing for an international conference. We would not support such a conference unless it is properly prepared and implementation of the CG plan is the central item on the agenda.
- We recognize that we are entering into a difficult period. We want to assure you of our full support in the days ahead.
- While dealing with the crisis at hand, we also are pointing toward the December Contact Group Ministerial and believe we need clear agreement with you on what we need to achieve in Brussels.
- We support your position on cessation of hostilities and want to know what you have in mind in that regard and your requirements.
- We believe we need to continue to push for the reconstitution of the Bihac Safe Area plus demilitarization and humanitarian measures.
- As well as agreement on the centrality of the Contact Group plan and map, we believe that before any international conference could be held, there has to be progress on Bihac and the credible establishment of a cessation of hostilities.

There must be special attention paid to Sarajevo and the free flow of humanitarian assistance in the winter months.

- We believe we need to reach agreement with you on these points to counter those who will feel that the purpose of diplomatic activities in the months ahead is merely to ratify the status quo on the ground.

SEEUR 2506

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
010. draft	U.S. Conditions on Sanctions Relief Under the Bold Approach. (5 pages)	11/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
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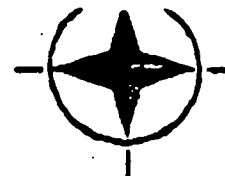
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U.S. MISSION TO NATO
BRUSSELS, BELGIUM
TEL: 32-2-726-4580



UNCLASSIFIED FAX		OPERATORS USE	Date sent	Time sent	From
To:	NAME STATE DEPT OPS CTR	ORGANIZATION STATE	UNCLASSIFIED FAX NUMBER 202 - 647-1811		
From:	NAME BOB CLARKE, PDL	OFFICE/EXTENSION X 3144	USNATO UNCLASS FAX NUMBER 32-2-726-5796		
Precedence:	Routine Priority Immediate	Priority Priority	Date: 11/24	TIME: 2105	
Date:	NOV 24, 1994	Total Number of Pages Including Cover	4	Approval:	NO: JSL COATO
SPECIAL NOTES AND INSTRUCTIONS					

11/24 NAC DECISION

CC: S, D, P,
 SSU, SIS,
 SWO, USOA
 WATCH

- ① 11 - PMAA DEC WILL BE MADE PUBLIC
 - ② IAU IS INTRA-ALLIANCE ONLY.
- HANDLE CAREFULLY.

PLEASE PASS TO USUN. THANKS.



UNCLASSIFIED TEXT ONLY

ATTACH UNCLASSIFIED ONLY

The Council:

- (1) condemns the recent attacks on the UN safe area of Bihac by Bosnian Serb and Krajina Serb forces; calls for an immediate ceasefire and the withdrawal of these forces; and supports the ongoing UN negotiating efforts to this end;
- (2) supports ongoing diplomatic efforts to create an effective stabilization in and around Bihac, and would be ready to consider how to assist the United Nations in implementing these objectives once they have been agreed;
- (3) strongly supports diplomatic approaches to the parties by the Contact Group, which reflect the Alliance's firm commitment to a negotiated settlement;
- (4) recalls its decision of 22nd April 1994 that if any Bosnian Serb attacks involving heavy weapons were carried out on UN designated safe areas, including Bihac, these weapons and other Bosnian Serb military assets, as well as their direct and essential support facilities, including but not limited to fuel installations and munition sites, would be subject to NATO air strikes, in accordance with the procedural arrangements worked out between NATO and UNPROFOR following the Council decisions of 2nd and 9th August 1993;
- (5) recalls also its decision of 19th November 1994 authorising air strikes in response to attacks against or which threaten the UN safe areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina launched from the UN protected areas in Croatia;
- (6) decides that, in addition, attacks on the safe areas from within Bosnia involving heavy weapons of forces other than Bosnian Serbs will also be subject to NATO air strikes, in accordance with the existing arrangements for coordination with UNPROFOR;
- (7) recalls its decision of 22nd April 1994 concerning the designation of military exclusion zones around UN safe areas, including Bihac; and declares its readiness to use NATO air power in support of that decision should the NATO and UNPROFOR commanders on the ground designate any further exclusion zones pursuant to it;
- (8) declares its readiness to carry out air strikes in pursuit of these decisions, subject to agreement with UNPROFOR;
- (9) decides that NATO air power may be used, under the provisions of SCR 958, against aircraft flying in Croatian

- 2 -

air space which have been engaged in attacks on or which threaten UN safe areas, subject to making arrangements with the Croatian authorities;

- (10) tasks the NMAs to advise on the feasibility and advisability of establishing a no-fly zone in the UN protected areas of Croatia;
- (11) tasks the NMAs to report as soon as possible on the means by which the Alliance with its member states can contribute to UNPROFOR in the performance of its mission.

3

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
011. note	Intra-Alliance Understanding. [NATO] (1 page)	11/24/1994	P1/b(1)

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European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
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Elements for a Stabilization of the Bihac Area

-- The UN agrees to expand the northern border of the Bihac safe area to include the village of Brekeica. The UN currently defines the safe area as extending seven kilometers to the north of Bihac town. Brekeica is 10 kilometers north of Bihac with a prewar population that was 99 per-cent Muslim.

-- All Serb troops (both Bosnian and Krajina) would be forced to withdraw from the safe area. If they did not, the Serbs would be subject to NATO air strikes as described below. The Bosnian government military presence within the safe area would be restricted to 500 "policemen" whose weapons would be restricted so that they do not pose an offensive military threat. All other members of the Fifth Corps would be given the choice of continuing the war in areas of the Bihac pocket outside the safe area, or to receive UN free passage with their weapons to other government controlled territory.

-- NATO and the UN would agree that any Bosnian Serb or Krajina Serb presence within the safe area would lead immediately to NATO air strikes against strategic targets including those lying outside the Bihac area. The air strikes would follow existing procedures, with an understanding that they would be robust enough to deter further violations of the safe area. Targets would be agreed to in advance between UNPROFOR and NATO.

-- The Security Council would fully support UNPROFOR's efforts to arrange a cease fire in the rest of the Bihac pocket.

-- The Council would continue to explore ways to increase pressure on the Krajina Serbs in response to their violation of the Bosnia/Croat border.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

November 23, 1994

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

FROM: ALEXANDER VERSHBOW *AV*SUBJECT: Summary of Conclusions for the Principals
Committee Meeting on Bosnia, November 17, 1994

Attached at Tab A for distribution to Principals is the Summary of Conclusions from the Principals Committee meeting on Bosnia held November 17, 1994.

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 VZ NARA, Date 5/20/2014

2013-0687-#

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, Principals Committee Meeting on Bosnia,
November 17, 1994 (S)

Please pass to the Principals 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 VZ NARA, Date 5/20/2014
2013-0687-F

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

Summary of Conclusions
Meeting of NSC Principals Committee

DATE: November 17, 1994
LOCATION: White House Situation Room
TIME: 9:00 - 10:30am

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

PARTICIPANTS:

Chair
Anthony Lake

CIA
Admiral William Studeman
Norman Schindler

OVP
Leon Fuerth

JCS
General John Shalikashili
LTG Wesley Clark

State
Peter Tarnoff
Robert Frasure

White House
Leon Panetta
Samuel Berger
Nancy Soderberg

DOD
John Deutch
William Slocombe

NSC
Alexander Vershbow

UN
Ambassador Madeleine Albright
David Scheffer

Summary of Conclusions

Measures to Deal with the Bihac Situation

1. The Principals agreed on the need to move forward in an expeditious but deliberate manner to gain support for actions to prevent Bihac from being overrun and to stabilize the situation, in order to return the focus to obtaining a negotiated settlement..
2. Principals approved the following set of triggers (action-forcing mechanisms) and potential responses as a basis for bilateral discussions with the British and French before taking further action in the NAC.

TRIGGERS

- o Serb offensive captures more territory in the Bihac area than held prior to the Bosnian Government offensives.
- o Serious artillery attacks on Bihac City.
- o Serious attacks against the Bangladeshi Battalion.
- o Bihac City suffers strangulation.

MENU OF OPTIONS

- o Establish exclusion zone (Dimensions negotiable).
- o Close Air Support in defense of UNPROFOR (Requires TACP insertion -- no new UN or NAC decisions required).
- o Close air support in response to artillery attacks from Croatia (NAC has approved; requires Croatian approval).
- o Extend Deny Flight ROE to permit attacking air defense assets in Croatia displaying hostile intent (Requires decisions at UN and NATO).
- o Modify existing authorities to authorize "hot pursuit" of aircraft attacking targets in Bosnia from Croatian airfields.

Implementing Nunn-Mitchell

3. The Principals reviewed progress on implementing Nunn-Mitchell and directed that efforts continue with Congressional members after refinement of the briefing by DoD to ensure that Congressional lift advocates fully understand the implications of lift. Our aim is to ensure that they are prepared to provide the required political and financial support if and when multilateral lift becomes necessary. Principals agreed that we remain opposed to unilateral lift.