

# FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title:

Bosnia 1994: Lift [Arms Embargo] [1]

Staff Office-Individual:

European Affairs-Vershbow, Alexander

Original OA/ID Number:

1073

Row:

34

Section:

2

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3

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3

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# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                                                                    | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 001. paper               | Options Paper: Lifting the Arms Embargo. (8 pages)                                               | 08/11/1994 | P1/b(1)     |
| 002. paper               | Duplicate of 001. (8 pages)                                                                      | 08/11/1994 | P1/b(1)     |
| 003. cable               | re: Congressional Actions on the Arms Embargo. (5 pages)                                         | 08/13/1994 | P1/b(1)     |
| 004. paper               | Background on Bosnia. (2 pages)                                                                  | n.d.       | P1/b(1)     |
| 005. email               | Alexander Vershbow to Anthony Lake. Subject: Update: Study of Lifting the Arms Embargo. (1 page) | 08/10/1994 | P1/b(1)     |
| 006. paper               | Options Paper: Lifting the Arms Embargo. (7 pages)                                               | 08/09/1994 | P1/b(1)     |
| 007. cable               | Message from British Prime Minister John Major to Bill Clinton. (3 pages)                        | 08/03/1994 | P1/b(1)     |
| 008. cable               | re: Message from Roderic Lyne to Anthony Lake. (2 pages)                                         | 08/03/1994 | P1/b(1)     |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)  
OA/Box Number: 1073

### FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia 1994: Lift [Arms Embargo] [1]

2013-0687-F

vz2625

### 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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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 10, 1994

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I am writing to reaffirm my Administration's support for lifting the international arms embargo on Bosnia and Herzegovina imposed by United Nations Security Council Resolution 713 of September 25, 1991. It has been my long-held view that the arms embargo has unfairly and unintentionally penalized the victim in this conflict and that the Security Council should act to remedy this injustice.

At the same time, I believe lifting the embargo unilaterally would have serious implications going well beyond the conflict in Bosnia itself. It could end the current negotiating process, which is bringing new pressure to bear on the Bosnian Serbs. Our relations with our Western European allies would be seriously strained and the cohesiveness of NATO threatened. Our efforts to build a mature and cooperative relationship with Russia would be damaged. It would also greatly increase American responsibility for the outcome of the conflict. The likelihood of greater U.S. military involvement in Bosnia would be increased, not decreased.

The July 30 Contact Group ministerial was an important step in our strategy of giving negotiations a chance and, at the same time, building an international consensus in support of multilateral action on the arms embargo, should the Bosnian Serbs continue to reject the Contact Group's proposal.

Contact Group unity has been key to the effectiveness of our approach to date, which has brought new pressure to bear on the Bosnian Serbs. This unity will be especially critical as we approach the Contact Group's final option of lifting the arms embargo. As Secretary Christopher made clear in Geneva, we will not allow the process leading to a Security Council decision on the arms embargo to be delayed indefinitely.

In this regard, if by October 15 the Bosnian Serbs have not accepted the Contact Group's proposal, of July 6, 1994, it would be my intention within two weeks to introduce formally and support a resolution at the United Nations Security Council to terminate the arms embargo on Bosnia and Herzegovina. Further, as my Administration has indicated previously, if the Security Council for some reason fails to pass such a resolution within a reasonable period of time, it would be my intention to consult with the Congress thereafter regarding unilateral termination of the arms embargo.

I hope this clarification of my Administration's policy and intentions is helpful. I would consult promptly with the Congress should unforeseen circumstances arise. I also want to express my gratitude for your leadership and support on this important issue which affects our national security.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Bill Clinton". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the word "Sincerely,".

The Honorable Sam Nunn  
Chairman  
Committee on Armed Services  
United States Senate  
Washington, DC 20510



08-10-94 11:03AM FROM SENATE ARMD SERV COM TO 45651

P002/004

*Muan***SEC. BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA**

(A) **PURPOSE.**-To express the sense of Congress concerning the international efforts to end the conflict in Bosnia and Hercegovina, and to establish a process to end the arms embargo on the Government of Bosnia and Hercegovina.

(B) **STATEMENT OF SUPPORT.**-The Congress supports the efforts of the so-called "contact group" composed of representatives of the United States, Russia, France, Britain, and Germany to bring about a peaceful settlement of the conflict in Bosnia and Hercegovina based upon the contact's group proposal of July 6, 1994 that has been agreed to by the Government of Bosnia and Hercegovina and rejected by the Bosnian Serb faction.

(C) **SENSE OF THE CONGRESS.**-It is the sense of the Congress that:

(1) The United States should work with the NATO Member nations and other permanent Members of the United Nations Security Council to bring about a peaceful settlement of the conflict in Bosnia and Hercegovina which maintains the territorial integrity of Bosnia and Hercegovina.

(2) A peaceful settlement of the conflict must preserve an economically, politically and militarily viable Bosnian state capable of exercising its rights under the United Nations Charter as part of a peaceful settlement, including the lifting of the arms embargo on the Government of Bosnia and Hercegovina so that it can exercise the inherent right of a sovereign state to self-defense.

(3) The acceptance of the contact group's peace proposal by the Government of Bosnia and Hercegovina should lead to the lifting of the international arms embargo on that Government.

(4) In providing weapons to the Bosnian Government or taking other actions, care should be taken to provide for the safety of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and the civilian personnel working for the United Nations or non-governmental volunteer organizations.

(5) The United States should immediately seek to organize an international effort to provide assistance to the nations bordering Serbia and Montenegro to bring about more effective enforcement by those nations of the international

08-10-94 11:03AM FROM SENATE ARMD SERV COM TO 45651

P003/004

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economic sanctions on the Government of Serbia and Montenegro.

(D) POLICY.-- The United States should exercise leadership within the international community to cause the Bosnian Serb faction to accept the contact's group's proposal. Such action should be taken on separate but complimentary international and unilateral tracks. Accordingly:

(1) International: If the Bosnian Serbs have not accepted the contact group's proposal of July 6, 1994 within 10 days after the enactment of this Act or by October 15, 1994, whichever is later, the President or his representative should formally introduce and support a resolution in the United Nations Security Council, within fourteen (14) days thereafter, to terminate the international arms embargo on the Government of Bosnia and Hercegovina. The termination of the arms embargo on the Government of Bosnia and Hercegovina may be accomplished in stages but should result in a lifting of the arms embargo no later than December 1, 1994.

(2) Unilateral: If the United Nations Security Council has not voted to lift the international arms embargo on the Government of Bosnia and Hercegovina in accordance with paragraph 1 within 15 days after the President or his representative has formally introduced such a resolution or by November 15, 1994, whichever is earlier, and the Bosnian Serbs have not accepted the contact group's proposal of July 6, 1994 by that date:

(a) None of the funds available to the Department of Defense for any fiscal year shall thereafter be used for the purpose of participation in, support for, or assistance to the enforcement of the arms embargo on the Government of Bosnia and Hercegovina but the President may waive this provision in the case of U.S. military personnel serving in NATO headquarters staff positions. Nothing in this provision is intended to impede sanctions enforcement against Serbia;

(b) The President shall submit a plan to and consult with the Congress on the manner in which the armed forces of the United States and other friendly nations would provide training to the armed forces of the Government of Bosnia and Hercegovina outside of the territory of Bosnia and Hercegovina; and

(c) The President shall submit a plan to and consult with the Congress regarding unilateral lifting by the United States of the arms embargo on the Government of Bosnia and Hercegovina.

08-10-94 11:03AM FROM SENATE ARMD SERV COM TO 45651

P004/004

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(3) Interim: If the Bosnian Serb faction attacks the United Nations declared safe areas, the President or his representative should promptly introduce and support a resolution in the United Nations Security Council that authorizes a selective lifting of the arms embargo on the Government of Bosnia and Hercegovina to provide defensive weapons, such as anti-tank weapons, counter-battery radars, and mortars, to enable the forces of the Government of Bosnia and Hercegovina to defend the safe areas.

103rd CONGRESS  
2nd Session

AMDT -----

Statement of Purpose: To *improve the bill*

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IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

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MR. DOLE, for himself, and Mr. *Lieberman, McCain, Moynihan,*  
*DeConcini*  
submitted the following amendment:

=====

Viz: At the appropriate place, add the following:

Sec. Termination of Arms Embargo. -

(1) Termination. - The President shall terminate the United States arms embargo of the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina no later than November 15, 1994 so that Government may exercise its right of self-defense under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter.

(2) Definition. - As used in this section, the term 'United States arms embargo of the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina' means the application to the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina of -

(A) the policy adopted July 10, 1991, and published in the Federal Register of July 19, 1991 (58 F.R. 33322) under the heading 'Suspension of Munitions Export Licenses to Yugoslavia'; and

(B) any similar policy being applied by the United States Government as of the date of receipt of the request described in paragraph (1) pursuant to request described in paragraph (1) pursuant to which approval is denied for transfers of defense articles and defense services to the former Yugoslavia.

(3) Rule of construction. - Nothing in this section shall be interpreted as authorization for deployment of United States force in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina for any purpose, including training, support, or delivery of military equipment.

DRAFT

BOSNIA: PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO SENATOR NUNN

- The President wrote to Senator Nunn on Wednesday explaining the Administration's views on the lifting of the arms embargo on Bosnia-Herzegovina, as the Senate was completing consideration of various amendments to the DoD authorization bill dealing with this issue.
- The letter was aimed at encouraging Congressional action that would reinforce our efforts in the Contact Group to achieve a negotiated settlement to the conflict, and to set the stage for a multilateral lifting of the arms embargo if the Bosnian Serbs continue to reject peace.
- The President affirmed that we continue to favor lifting the arms embargo, which has unfairly penalized the victim in this conflict, but explained why we have serious reservations about lifting the embargo unilaterally.
- The President noted that the recent Contact Group Ministerial was an important step in building an international consensus in support of multilateral action on the arms embargo, should other forms of pressure fail to persuade the Bosnian Serbs to accept the Contact Group proposal.
- The President underscored the importance of Contact Group unity as we approach the final option of lifting the arms embargo, as well as our determination not to allow the process leading up to Security Council action to be delayed indefinitely.
- In this regard, the President stated his intention, if the Bosnian Serbs have not accepted the Contact Group proposal by October 15, to introduce and support a UN Security Council resolution to terminate the arms embargo on Bosnia within two weeks of that date.
- He also reiterated that, if the Security Council for some reason failed to pass such a resolution within a reasonable period of time, his intention would be to consult with the Congress regarding unilateral termination of the arms embargo.
- (If asked) Our Contact Group partners and other allies were informed in recent days of our thinking about the timing of UNSC action on the arms embargo if the Bosnian Serbs continue to reject the Contact Group proposal.

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OA/Box Number: 1073

### FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia 1994: Lift [Arms Embargo] [1]

2013-0687-F

vz2625

### 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]  
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]  
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]  
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]  
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]  
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]  
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]  
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]  
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]  
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]  
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]