

FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title:

Bosnia 1994: Principals Committee 8/10 [2]

Staff Office-Individual:

European Affairs-Vershbow, Alexander

Original OA/ID Number:

1073

Row:

34

Section:

2

Shelf:

3

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3

Stack:

V

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. cable	re: Military Committee Assessment. (4 pages)	08/03/1994	P1/b(1)
002. letter	Russian Foreign Minister Kzyrev to Warren Christopher. [English Translation] (4 pages)	08/08/1994	P1/b(1)
003. paper	Options Paper: Lifting the Arms Embargo. (6 pages)	08/04/1994	P1/b(1)
004. paper	Leveling the Battlefield in the Bosnian Conflict. (6 pages)	07/29/1994	P1/b(1)
005. paper	Lift and Strike Options. (4 pages)	07/29/1994	P1/b(1)
006. paper	Information Paper: Lifting the Arms Embargo on Bosnia. (6 pages)	08/03/1994	P1/b(1)
007. paper	NSC Tasker for Principals Committee Meeting on Bosnia, Annex III. (6 pages)	c. 08/1994	P1/b(1)
008. paper	Consequences for the Balkan Region of Lifting the Arms Embargo. (3 pages)	08/01/1994	P1/b(1)
009. paper	Consequences of Lifting the Arms Embargo on US Relations with the Allies. (4 pages)	08/01/1994	P1/b(1)
010. paper	Principals Committee Tasking on Bosnia - UNPROFOR II. (3 pages)	08/03/1994	P1/b(1)
011. paper	Sustaining the Bosnian Federation. (6 pages)	c. 08/1994	P1/b(1)
012. paper	Joint Staff Comments on Interagency Examination. (4 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: Principals Committee 8/10 [2]

2013-0687-F

vz2629

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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b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
013. paper	Issue Paper: Expansion of UNPROFOR. (6 pages)	08/03/1994	P1/b(1)
014. memo	For the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. (2 pages)	08/03/1994	P1/b(1)

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002. letter	Russian Foreign Minister Kzyrev to Warren Christopher. [English Translation] (4 pages)	08/08/1994	P1/b(1)
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003. paper	Options Paper: Lifting the Arms Embargo. (6 pages)	08/04/1994	P1/b(1)

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

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004. paper	Leveling the Battlefield in the Bosnian Conflict. (6 pages)	07/29/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
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FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia 1994: Principals Committee 8/10 [2]

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005. paper	Lift and Strike Options. (4 pages)	07/29/1994	P1/b(1)

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006. paper	Information Paper: Lifting the Arms Embargo on Bosnia. (6 pages)	08/03/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
OA/Box Number: 1073

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007. paper	NSC Tasker for Principals Committee Meeting on Bosnia, Annex III. (6 pages)	c. 08/1994	P1/b(1)

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008. paper	Consequences for the Balkan Region of Lifting the Arms Embargo. (3 pages)	08/01/1994	P1/b(1)
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
012. paper	Joint Staff Comments on Interagency Examination. (4 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: Principals Committee 8/10 [2]

2013-0687-F

vz2629

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.

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

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TALKING POINTS
BOSNIAN ARMS EMBARGO AMENDMENTS

- o --House and Senate conferees on the DOD Authorization Bill have reached agreement on language on the Bosnian Arms Embargo and Sen. Mitchell plans to introduce this language today as an amendment to the DOD appropriations bill.
 - It provides for a US effort in the Security Council to bring about multilateral lift by mid November. The President is committed to this effort.
 - If we are not successful in the Security Council, the amendment calls for unilateral US action to cease enforcement of the arms embargo against Bosnia, to prepare a plan for training Bosnians outside the country and for consultations with Congress on unilateral lifting of the embargo.
 - While this causes us problems, it is strongly preferable to Dole's new effort to force the President's hands by setting a date certain for unilateral action.
- o --We continue to strongly oppose unilateral lifting of the embargo for many reasons:
 - Unilateral US action puts the Contact Group process in jeopardy, and would undermine the entire UN Security Council system of sanctions, including on Serbia, Iraq, Libya and potentially North Korea;
 - Because of the consensus in the Contact Group we have been able to put additional pressure on the Bosnian Serbs -- our objective must continue to be a negotiated settlement. At the same time, our Contact Group strategy brings our allies and Russia closer to agreeing to lift the embargo; and
 - Unilateral action would rupture the international consensus, severely straining our ties with Russia and our closest allies who have said they would pull their troops out of Bosnia thus increasing our responsibility for the outcome of the conflict.
- o --Once again, we really need your support to pass the Mitchell, Nunn (and others) amendment to the DOD bill.
- o --(If committed to Dole). It would be particularly difficult for the Administration if Dole succeeds and Mitchell fails. A vote for both will help.
 - If you need further information, I have the attached background paper prepared by the State Department.

BOSNIA: UNILATERAL LIFTING OF THE ARMS EMBARGO

Background

- o The Administration has long supported lifting the arms embargo on Bosnia and agrees that the UN-imposed arms embargo has unintentionally and unfairly hurt the principal victim in the conflict.
- o In moral and legal terms, the Administration shares the prevailing view in Congress that the embargo has prevented the Bosnian government from acting in its own defense, a right provided by the UN Charter.
- o In support of this stand, the Administration has worked very hard in the Contact Group to bring our EU and Russian partners around to the view that if the Bosnian Serbs reject peace, we cannot in good conscience deny the government a chance to defend itself.
- o Our efforts in this regard are bearing fruit. The July 30 Ministerial in Geneva reiterated that pressure to lift the embargo multilaterally might become irresistible. We are coordinating with members of the Contact Group and others in the UN on this issue.
- o But despite the moral and legal arguments in favor of lifting the embargo, it is essential to remember that **lifting the embargo unilaterally would have a number of extremely negative consequences.** We urge the Congress to weigh them carefully before taking action.

Problems associated with Unilateral Lift

- o The Administration has made very clear in the past that **unilaterally lifting the arms embargo would put us into very serious conflict with our Allies and threaten the cohesiveness of NATO.**
 - Our European allies agree that lift could become unavoidable but convinced it will lead to an escalation of hostilities and a wider war.
 - In addition, unlike the U.S., many of our Allies (as well as the Russians) are UNPROFOR troop contributors and fear that a unilateral U.S. decision could precipitate reprisal attacks on their forces by the Bosnian Serbs.
 - Bosnia is the first meaningful test of whether NATO can provide stability for the new Europe. If the U.S. abandons the multilateral effort to bring peace to Bosnia, we will set a precedent that will seriously jeopardize NATO's ability to deter, and if necessary, meet, similar threats in the future.

- o **Unilateral lift would also damage our relations with Russia.**
 - The Russian parliament has strong pro-Serb sentiments and has already voted to lift the sanctions regime against Serbia unilaterally if the U.S. unilaterally lifts the arms embargo.
 - Yeltsin and his allies have taken a risk by cooperating with NATO's efforts in Bosnia. If those efforts succeed, it will vindicate and strengthen Russian reformers; it will encourage those in Russia who believe that their country's future lies with the West.
 - If, however, we abandon those multilateral efforts, it will vindicate and strengthen the other camp -- those who believe that Russia must play an aggressive, unilateral role in what they think of as "the near abroad."
- o **It would also undercut our efforts to resolve the Bosnian tragedy at the negotiating table.**
- o **You are all aware that were we to lift the embargo unilaterally, the U.S. would violate international legal obligations.**
 - Article 51 of the Charter, which provides a right of national self-defense, does not take precedence over Chapter VII obligations.
 - **If the U.S. claims a right to violate binding resolutions, so too could others.** Lifting the embargo unilaterally would send a signal to the Libyas, Iraqs and North Koreas of the world that they were free to violate UN decisions with which they did not agree.
 - **This could lead to the general collapse of UN sanctions as an effective instrument in international affairs, with all the consequences that this would entail.**
 - This would also undercut our ability to maintain an economic sanctions regime against Serbia, which is the only non-military means we now possess for bringing pressure to bear against Serbia to settle the conflict.
- o **Finally, we should not forget that unilateral lift will greatly increase U.S. responsibility for the outcome of the conflict.** Should the situation take an even more tragic turn, including a sharp deterioration of the humanitarian situation in Sarajevo, the U.S. would have to accept that our provision of weapons had increased injustice and suffering, not levelled the playing field.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
013. paper	Issue Paper: Expansion of UNPROFOR. (6 pages)	08/03/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
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OA/Box Number: 1073

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014. memo	For the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. (2 pages)	08/03/1994	P1/b(1)
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