

FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title:

Bosnia - July 1994 [4]

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. letter	Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev to Warren Christopher. [English Translation] (1 page)	07/19/1994	P1/b(1)
001b. letter	Unknown to Unknown. [Russian Translation] (3 pages)	07/19/1994	P1/b(1)
002. cable	re: Contact Group NATO Reps on NMA Planning. (4 pages)	07/18/1994	P1/b(1)
003. email	White House Situation Room to Kathleen Witowsky, Alexander Vershbow, Don Kerrick et al. Subject: July 5 Bosnia Ministerial Meetings. (8 pages)	07/08/1994	P1/b(1)
004. cable	re: Bosnia: Planning to Implement Contact Group Proposals. (5 pages)	07/10/1994	P1/b(1)
005a. note	Alexander Vershbow to Samuel Berger. (1 page)	07/06/1994	P1/b(1)
005b. paper	Bosnia: Lifting the Arms Embargo. (10 pages)	07/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
OA/Box Number: 851

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - July 1994 [4]

2013-0687-F

vz2640

RESTRICTION CODES

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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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BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINAWHAT IS THE U.S. INTEREST?

- o While the Bosnia conflict does not pose an immediate threat to our security or warrant unilateral U.S. involvement, we do have interests involved which demand that we lead the way to a workable peace agreement and to help enforce it. Our interests include:
 - preventing the spread of the fighting into a broader European war that could threaten both Allies and the stability of newly democratic states in Central and Eastern Europe, and lead to serious rifts with Russia;
 - proving that NATO can still be a credible force for peace in the post-Cold War era, in this first ever involvement of NATO outside a NATO country;
 - stemming the destabilizing flow of refugees from the conflict and helping to stop the slaughter of innocents.

WHAT ARE WE DOING?Politically...

- o On July 5, the Contact Group we established in March (composed of U.S., Russian, EU, and UN representatives) presented the Bosnian side with a territorial package that would form part of a settlement preserving Bosnia as a single union within internationally recognized borders.
 - The package, which would place 51 percent of Bosnia under the control of the Bosniac-Croat Federation and 49 percent under the control of the Bosnian Serbs, contains incentives for both sides to encourage acceptance of peace.
 - Incentives for the Federation, should it accept the plan, include international assistance with settlement implementation and help with reconstruction.
 - Incentives for the Bosnian Serbs, should they accept the plan and pull back to within 49 percent of the Bosnian territory, include phased suspension of UN economic sanctions against Serbia.
 - If the Serbs reject the map, Ministers agreed to apply gradually escalating pressure through extension of exclusion zones to other safe areas, new exclusion zones, and stricter enforcement of existing zones.

- They also agreed that as a last resort, a decision by the Security Council to lift the arms embargo could become unavoidable.
- o The efforts of the Contact Group that led up to the July Ministerial include a preliminary Ministerial in May, which set out agreed principles and parameters to guide a Bosnia settlement and served as a demonstration of international unity and resolve to bring about peace in the region.
- o In February and March, we brokered the Federation agreement between the Bosnian government and members of the Bosnian Croat minority. The Federation Agreement has improved the prospects for an overall settlement, helped end the fighting in central Bosnia, and reopened humanitarian convoy routes.
- o Working with and through the UN Security Council, we are helping to maintain one of the most thorough sanctions regimes in history on Serbia.
- o We are committed to seeing that those responsible for war crimes are brought to justice.

Strategically...

- o We have long indicated our willingness, under certain conditions, to help implement a final peace settlement in Bosnia.
- o We have taken a leadership role in all key NATO decisions on the Bosnian crisis. Specifically, we led the way on:
 - the June 10, 1993 decision to provide close air support to UNPROFOR troops under attack;
 - the August 9, 1993 decision to threaten the use of air power in the event of Serb strangulation of Sarajevo and other safe areas;
 - the February 9, 1994 decision to establish an exclusion zone around Sarajevo;
 - the April 22, 1994 decision to establish an exclusion zone around Gorazde.
- o We have deployed troops to the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia as part of the UNPROFOR force in the area to prevent spillover of the conflict.
- o We have warned Milosevic that we will respond in the event of Serb-inspired violence in Kosovo.

07-18-94 10:59 0101 047 0555 LCR:LL 2004

On the humanitarian front...

- o We have provided the largest quantity of humanitarian assistance to the region of any nation.
- o To date, the U.S. Government has contributed over \$530 million in humanitarian assistance since our efforts to assist the former Yugoslavia began in FY 1991. The U.S. is the major single-nation food donor, has performed over three-quarters of all airdrops, and has transported over 30,000 metric tons of aid by airlift to Sarajevo.
- o We also participate in a medical evacuation program which has brought 264 patients (204 adults and 60 children) with 152 family members to the United States, and have admitted over 5000 Bosnians as part of our refugee resettlement program.
- o On the other hand, we recognize that Bosnia is a first and foremost a European problem on which our European allies have quite properly taken the lead. Our negotiating initiative is based on earlier EU efforts to reinvigorate the settlement process and produce a final settlement.

Is aid getting through? What are humanitarian conditions like?

- o Since the Federation Agreement was signed in March, humanitarian conditions have improved in much of the areas controlled by the Bosnian government and the Bosnian Croats. Relief convoys are reaching territory held by the government and the Bosnian Croats from the Croatian coast with only minor difficulties.
- o Conditions are less stable in isolated areas. Although fairly well-supplied now, access to Sarajevo and the eastern enclaves (Goražde, Trebrenica and Žepa) is controlled by the Bosnian Serbs who can and do periodically prevent aid from getting through as they did during their assault upon Goražde in April.
- o All areas of Bosnia appear to have sufficient food to meet basic subsistence needs.
- o Relief efforts by air are also coordinated by UNHCR. Airlift operations continue to Sarajevo. Airdrops have been scaled down due to the increasing availability of relief commodities delivered by road to nearly all areas and are currently being conducted on an as-needed basis.

- 07-10-94 11:00 2101 047 0000 LTR-EE
- o Work continues on the repair of public utilities in Sarajevo, and nearly all of the city's residents now receive water, electricity and natural gas for several hours each day.

Why not just lift the arms embargo on Bosnia?

- o Unilaterally lifting the arms embargo would be a tragic mistake that would undermine the settlement process. This step would break the cohesion of the NATO Alliance, risk a confrontation with Russia, and erode the effectiveness of other UN sanctions against states like Libya and Iraq. We may well reach the point where the international community decides to lift the arms embargo, but now is not the time.
- o The Senate's decision to reject the Dole amendment was a wise move that has already bolstered our diplomatic efforts.

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AID/ENI/EUR/FY:WErdahl
AID/BHR/OFDA:TDolan
EUR/RPM:DMcElhaney
PA:PBass
P:DRussell
S/P:SFlanagan

Vershbow, Alexander R.

From: Jonathan H Spalter
To: VERSHBOA
Cc: RECORDS@A1@OEOB
Subject: new bosnia guidance
Date: Thursday, July 21, 1994 2:42PM

KOREA

New Developments

- US officials will meet with North Korean representatives at 11:00am in New York to discuss date for resumption of talks.
- Bob Gallucci is in Seoul, and will be visiting Tokyo, Beijing and Moscow for consultations on North Korea. Met with President Kim, and other senior leaders.
- Dan Poneman briefed President Ford yesterday in Colorado.
- There is action on the Hill through Dole/Murkowski amendment and Stark amendment to constrain US flexibility in dealing with North Korea. Guidance to come.

Key Themes

- Based on North Korea's commitment to freeze major elements of its nuclear program during a new round of talks between our nations, we agreed to resume talks on July 8.
- The death of Kim Il Sung adds a new element of uncertainty to the picture.
- We will have discussions today with the North Koreans through the New York channel on a date to resume the talks.
- We shall continue to be steady, persistent and pragmatic in proliferation regime.
- We will continue to press for full North Korean compliance with the NPT, IAEA and the North-South denuclearization agreement in the context of our overall settlement.
- At the same time, we will continue to ensure that we meet our security commitments to the Republic of Korea. We will take whatever prudent measures are necessary for the

defense of our forces in South Korea and to assist in the defense of that nation.

On New York Talks

- State Department officials are meeting this morning with North Korean representatives in New York to discuss a date for resumption of talks. I have no read-out at this time.

On Succession

- There is no reason to believe that there will not be a transition to Kim Jong il.

@

- We hope that North Korea will quickly resume the dialogue they had begun with us under Kim il Song.

On supplying a new reactor to North Korea

- In the second round of talks with the United States last graphite nuclear technology to light-water technology. Recently, North Korea has reiterated this position.
- We welcomed that proposed shift to a nuclear program less suited to nuclear weapons production, and plan to address this issue in the third round.

(If Pressed)

- We have never said that the United States would supply North Korea a reactor, rather that we would help them make the transition to a less dangerous technology.

On North-South Dialogue

- We understand that the summit has been delayed and that the two sides will need to work out the details.

(If Pressed)

- Obviously this is a period of uncertainty but it is in everyone's interest to see that dialogue continue.

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BOSNIA

New Developments

- The Bosnian Serb response is generally being viewed as a "no" by the Contact Group.
- Bosnian President Izetbegovic, according to Reuters, told a

news conference that his government has withdrawn its unconditional acceptance in light of Serb's refusal to accept the plan. We are seeking clarification.

- The Contact Group will report to their foreign ministers on the responses. The report and next steps will be discussed in a ministerial which will convene on or near July 30th.
- We understand the Russians will continue to work with the Bosnian Serbs over the next ten days to urge them to reconsider.
- In Sarajevo, on July 21, a US C-141 aircraft participating in the UNHCR-led airlift of humanitarian aid was hit by a single shot of small arms fire. Damage was minor. Aircraft continued on to Split. Expect airlift to continue after normal suspension.

On the Parties Responses

- Bosnian Serbs have regrettably not accepted the plan.
- We are seeking clarification of recent reports Izetbegovic is withdrawing his unconditional acceptance.

(If Pressed)

- We understand the Russians will continue to urge the Bosnian Serbs to reconsider their response before the ministerial convenes on the 30th.
- We certainly hope the Serbs will accept the Contact Group proposal before the ministers meet. It is up to the Serbs.

On Next Steps

- We intend to continue the course we have charted with our Contact Group partners, with the proposed map remaining the basis for an agreement.
- Now the issue is being referred to the foreign ministers of the Contact Group, who will meet on the 30th to consider next steps.
- As we have said, there will be consequences for rejecting the plan.
- Our Contact Group representatives will continue to work on the incentives and disincentives package so that the ministers will be able to make decisions on next steps when they meet at the end of the month.

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- The necessary planning is underway at the UN and in NATO so that we will be in a position to implement the ministers' decisions.

On the Attack on the US C-141 in Sarajevo.

- Initial reports indicate that one American was injured. No further information is available at this time. Responsibility for the attack is not known.
- UN investigation is underway.
- Condemn senseless acts that impede a humanitarian mission and endangers lives of crews.

Key Themes

- United States, Germany, Britain, France and Russia -- members of the Contact Group -- agreed on a realistic territorial proposal as a basis for a political settlement to the Bosnian conflict.
- The proposal would preserve Bosnia-Herzegovina as a single union within its internationally recognized borders, while providing viable territory for the Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats.
- It would significantly roll back Bosnian Serb territorial gains and "ethnic cleansing," while providing a reasonable territory for the Serb people within Bosnia.
- The proposal is not perfect but we shouldn't make the best the enemy of the good. If war continues, there will be more killing, more ethnic cleansing and more human suffering.
- Contact Group Foreign Ministers agreed on incentives and disincentives to encourage the parties to accept the proposal and make clear the serious consequences if they do not.
- The Bosnian Serbs could now face increased pressure, including as a last resort, a lifting the arms embargo against the Bosnian Government.
- We hope they will both seize this opportunity for peace.

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July 5 Bosnia Ministerial

- o Very encouraged by results of Tuesday's Ministerial meeting on Bosnia. Peace process has reached a decisive point.
- o United States, European Union and Russia -- members of the Contact Group -- agreed on a realistic territorial proposal as a basis for a political settlement to the Bosnian conflict.
 - Proposal would preserve Bosnia-Herzegovina as a single union within its internationally recognized borders, while providing viable territory for the Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats.
 - It would significantly roll back Bosnian Serb territorial gains and "ethnic cleansing," while providing a reasonable territory for the Serb people within Bosnia.
- o In addition to approving the proposed territorial solution, Ministers also agreed on a range of incentives and disincentives for the parties to encourage them to accept the proposal, and to make clear the serious consequences if they do not.
 - In the event the Bosnian Serbs reject the proposal, it was agreed that they would face increased pressure to reconsider, including the option, as a last resort, of lifting the arms embargo against the Bosnian Government.
 - Unprecedented international solidarity underpinning this effort.
- o The Contact Group presented the proposal to the parties today (Wednesday) in Geneva, and they have two weeks to consider it. We hope they will both seize the opportunity for peace.

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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]
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]

BOSNIA: CONTACT GROUP PROPOSAL

Q: The Contact Group has presented a take-it-or-leave-it plan to the Bosnian parties -- a plan that basically ratifies ethnic cleansing in several areas. Could you explain how you're thinking shifted on this, how you came to believe that stopping the war was more important than taking the moral high ground?

A: We have said from the very beginning that the Bosnian tragedy can only be ended at the negotiating table and not on the battlefield. This has always meant that there would have to be a compromise of some kind.

But we have also said from the start that the Bosnian Government -- and the Bosnian Muslims in particular -- have been the main victims in this war, and that a settlement has to meet their needs as a first priority.

The Contact Group proposal is consistent with these principles:

- It would preserve Bosnia-Herzegovina as a single union within its internationally recognized borders.
- It would provide an economically viable territory for the Muslim-Croat Federation, including access to the sea.
- It would significantly roll back Bosnian Serb territorial gains and ethnic cleansing. The Serbs, who now occupy over 70 percent of Bosnia, would have to settle for 49 percent of the land.
- Most areas which had a Muslim or Croat majority under the 1991 census would be within the Muslim-Croat Federation.

No, the proposal isn't perfect. Some ethnic cleansing would not be reversed. But this would have been the case under the Bosnian Government's own proposals of last fall, which accepted the idea of a territorial compromise with separate Muslim, Croat and Serb entities.

The fact that President Izetbegovic and Prime Minister Silajdzic have recommended approval of the proposal by their Parliament indicates that the Bosnians themselves recognize it is a reasonable and realistic compromise.

It is also important to remember that this is the first peace plan that is supported strongly by the U.S.,

Russia and the European Union, and is backed up by a commitment to strong action to see the process through.

- If the parties agree to the plan, we have pledged to help implement the settlement and to contribute to Bosnia's reconstruction.
- In the event the Bosnian Serbs reject the plan, however, we, the Russians and the Europeans have agreed that the Serbs will face increased pressure to reconsider. This includes the option, as a last resort, of lifting the arms embargo against the Bosnian Government.

We shouldn't make the best the enemy of the good. If the war continues, there will be more killing, more ethnic cleansing, more human suffering for the besieged peoples of Bosnia. And we don't think the Bosnian Government could achieve as good a result by military means, even if the arms embargo were lifted.

In sum, the Contact Group proposal represents a good deal for the Bosnian Government, one that rolls back a lot of Serb ethnic cleansing. And it is the first international proposal that includes the leverage to encourage the parties to accept. We are encouraged by the Bosnian Government's positive reaction, and call on the Serbs to seize the opportunity for peace.

CC: Records
CC: Alexander R. Vershbow

(RECORDS)
(VERSHBOW)

Contact Group's Peace Plan Compared to Areas of Control, July 1994



Contact Group's Peace Plan Compared to Areas of Control, July 1994

