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Folder Title:

Bosnia - October 1994 [Folder 2] [5]

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. paper	Bosnia: Next Steps. (2 pages)	10/07/1994	P1/b(1)
002. paper	Issue Paper: A "Build Down" Strategy for Bosnia. (2 pages)	10/18/1994	P1/b(1)
003. cable	re: U.N. Demotes Foreign Embassies in Sarajevo. (2 pages)	10/18/1994	P1/b(1)
004. cable	re: October 17 Draft of Croatian General Assembly Resolution. (3 pages)	10/18/1994	P1/b(1)
005a. letter	To Strobe Talbott from Lord David Owen. (2 pages)	09/14/1994	P1/b(1)
005b. memo	For the Secretary of State from Richard Holbrooke. Subject: Proposed Serb-Croat Agreement on Krajina. (2 pages)	09/14/1994	P1/b(1)
005c. draft	Draft Agreement on Krajina, Slovenia, Southern Baranja, and Western Sirmium. (36 pages)	09/12/1994	P1/b(1)
006. paper	Bosnia: Next Steps. (2 pages)	10/1994	P1/b(1)
007. memo	For Anthony Lake from Alexander Vershbow. Subject: Bosnia - Bottom Lines. (2 pages)	10/07/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - October 1994 [Folder 2] [5]

2013-0687-F

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RESTRICTION CODES

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United States Senate

OFFICE OF THE REPUBLICAN LEADER
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-7020

October 8, 1994

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

We are writing to express our serious concern over recent reports that your administration may have decided to delay introducing and supporting a U.N. Security Council resolution to terminate the illegal and unjust embargo on Bosnia and Herzegovina. Not only would such a decision put in question the commitment you personally made to the Congress in August, it would also place the United States squarely on the side of those countries that have appeased the Serb aggressors. Therefore, we urge you to act on your commitment and lead the international community to support Bosnia and Herzegovina's fundamental and sovereign right to self-defense.

Last week the Bosnian Government, in a good-faith effort, proposed a compromise that would seek a vote in the U.N. Security Council in October on a resolution that would immediately terminate the arms embargo in legal terms, but would delay implementation to a date certain six months from the time of the resolution's adoption. Some of our allies seem to be deliberately misinterpreting this compromise, describing it as a request to deter any action on the embargo for six months. It is clear that any resolution which is not passed promptly and which does not contain a date certain for the automatic lifting of the arms embargo would not meet the Bosnian Government's criteria.

During Senate consideration of the FY 1995 defense appropriations bill, you wrote to Senator Sam Nunn reaffirming your administration's support for lifting the international arms embargo on Bosnia and Herzegovina that has "penalized the victim in this conflict." Moreover, you stated that if by October 15 the Bosnian Serbs have not agreed to the Contact Group proposal of July, it would be your intention to support a resolution in the U.N. Security Council to terminate the arms embargo. It was this personal commitment that also provided the basis for a compromise in the House-Senate conference on the FY 1995 defense authorization bill and forestalled -- at the administration's request -- a termination of the U.S. arms embargo at a future date.

As supporters of Bosnia's right to self-defense, we believe that any U.S.-sponsored resolution that falls short of the

Bosnian Government's compromise position -- immediate action to lift, but implementation delayed for six months -- would not meet your commitment to the Congress.

Mr. President, your administration has an historic opportunity to end the policies of appeasement that have characterized the international community's approach to the brutal war of aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina. Both the House and the Senate have voted to terminate the arms embargo on Bosnia and Herzegovina unilaterally if a multilateral termination is not forthcoming. We expect the administration to argue energetically for U.N. Security Council adoption of a new resolution lifting the arms embargo on Bosnia. Should such a resolution fail or should a non-binding resolution be adopted, we will pursue further efforts to terminate the U.S. embargo upon our return next session.

We hope to hear from you soon on this critical issue.

Sincerely,

J. L. ...

Bob ...

Mont ...

Phil ...

Al ...

Don ...

Strom ...

Sam ...

Bob ...

Chris ...

Mike ...

John D'Amico

Malcolm Wallop

Jim Andley

Alfred Spector

Herb Kohl

Dennis DeConcini

Alfonse D'Amato

Joe Biden

John Chafee

Barack Pomeroy

James M. Jeffords

Dirk Kempthorne

Paul Simon

Don Riegle

Mike Tamm

Barbara Hatch

Tommy Franks

John Warner

Tim Wirth

Bob Packwood

Chris Hatch

Harry Reid

Richard Blumenthal

Jesse Helms

Bob Dole

Carl Albert

Richard Shelby

Bob Stevens

~~Chris F. Bennett~~

Duie Kail

Frank H. Tynall

Chuck Rabb

Paul Gruen

Chuck Gravelly

Frank Kline

Art Bond

Frank R. Lantieri

JOE Cohen

DRAFT

UNSC Resolution

The Security Council,

Reaffirming (list resolutions -- safe areas, air power, sanctions, etc.)

Reconfirms its determination, to achieve a peaceful settlement of the disputes that have arisen in the wake of the dissolution of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as set forth in the mandate of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia;

Determined to address in an orderly and comprehensive way questions related to the fact that, as decided by the General Assembly, the SFRY has ceased to exist;

Expressing its continued support for the ongoing efforts of the five-nation Contact Group to bring peace to the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and reiterating that acceptance of the Contact Group's plan remains central to the peace effort;

Welcoming the Bosnian Federation's acceptance of the proposal of the Contact Group ~~plan~~;

Noting with deep concern the continued unwillingness of the Bosnian Serb party to accept the Contact Group's ~~plan~~ ^{proposal};

Reiterating its determination to maintain a strict regime of sanctions against those parts of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina now controlled by the Bosnian Serbs, as long as the Bosnian Serbs continue to reject the Contact Group proposal.

Deeply concerned that provision of humanitarian assistance and supplies vital to the survival of tens of thousands of individuals has been disrupted by the Bosnian Serb party, and convinced that the strangulation of Sarajevo must not continue;

Commending the efforts of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) to close its border with the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, including the invitation to an international mission;

Recognizing international efforts to find a political settlement to the conflict in the Republic of Croatia, in keeping with the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic, and that resolution of this conflict is intertwined with resolution of the conflict in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and that progress in one area will help toward progress in the other;

Calling for the mutual recognition of all states of the former Yugoslavia within their international borders as an important step on the way to a peaceful and political settlement of the different conflicts;

Expressing its continuing support for the efforts of UNPROFOR to create conditions that, together with the efforts of the international community, might facilitate the achievement of a just, negotiated settlement of the conflict;

Expressing its support for robust enforcement of the Sarajevo and Gorazde exclusion zones;

At the same time, expressing its support for the urgent demilitarization of the Sarajevo area;

Determined to assure the safety of UNPROFOR personnel.

Conscious of the fact that the search for a negotiated settlement of the hostilities in the former Yugoslavia has been unfulfilled and that violence and aggression continue, representing a threat to international peace and stability;

Recalling that, as set forth in UNSC resolution 917, the Council has placed an arms embargo on all republics of the former SFRY in an effort to end the spread of violence;

Concerned that maintenance of the arms embargo has not brought about the peace and stability that had been the Council's stated intention in adoption of resolution 917, but rather has served to perpetuate an imbalance in power to the disadvantage of the Federation and the advantage of the Bosnian Serb party;

Convinced that an orderly lifting of the arms embargo is essential to redressing that imbalance and, along with other elements of the Council's previous actions and the efforts of the international community, can help to facilitate a peaceful conclusion to the conflict;

Emphasizing that all elements of ongoing actions should be seen as parts of an integrated and comprehensive approach toward bringing peace to the former Yugoslavia;

Decides that all aspects of this comprehensive approach will be reviewed carefully at monthly intervals for a period ending six months after adoption of this resolution;

Instructs/Decides...

*** See Options attached ***

Instructs the Secretary General to begin planning for the orderly and safe redeployment and/or withdrawal of UNPROFOR personnel in Bosnia-Herzegovina that, in the estimation of his Special Representative, may be necessitated if the arms embargo is abrogated.

Further instructs the Secretary General to report to the Council when plans for redeployment and/or withdrawal are completed;

Underscores its determination that, if necessary, all UNPROFOR forces in Bosnia shall have been redeployed and/or withdrawn within six months of adoption of this resolution;

Affirms that, notwithstanding actions that may be taken to abrogate the arms embargo on the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the arms embargo originally imposed by resolution 713 remains in effect for all other states of former Yugoslavia.

Option 1:

(Hardest Trigger)

Decides that, unless the Bosnian Serbs have formally accepted the Contact Group's plan by (date: six months from adoption of resolution), the provisions of UNSC resolution 917, as they apply to the arms embargo of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, will be rescinded on (date: six months plus one day).

Option 2:

(Not So Hard Trigger)

Instructs the Secretary General to report to the Council by (date: six months from adoption of resolution) on the progress of efforts to reach a political settlement of the current conflict within the context of the above-described comprehensive approach, specifically, acceptance by the Bosnian Serbs of the Contact Group's plan;

Decides that if, by that time, according to the judgment of the Security Council, these steps have not been fulfilled and progress has not been made toward a negotiated settlement, then the provisions of UNSC resolution 917, as they apply to the arms embargo of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, will be rescinded on (date: six months plus one day).

ELEMENTS FOR ACTION IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL

- Requirement that the Bosnian Serbs do not strangulate Sarajevo.
- Need for urgent demilitarisation of the Sarajevo area.
- Importance of strict enforcement of exclusion zones consistent with the safety of UNPROFOR troops.
- Recognition that, should the Bosnian Serbs continue to reject the territorial settlement as a last resort a decision to lift the arms embargo could become unavoidable.
- Recognition that a decision to lift would make it impossible for UNPROFOR to carry out its mandate and be incompatible with its continuing presence in Bosnia.
- Stress that action to ensure the safe withdrawal of UNPROFOR troops would be necessary before the decision to lift the arms embargo were implemented.
- Decision to review in six months the question of the continued application of the arms embargo if by then the Bosnian Serbs^{HAVE NOT} accepted the territorial settlement.

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001. paper	Bosnia: Next Steps. (2 pages)	10/07/1994	P1/b(1)

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DRAFT
The State Department

Statement by the Press Spokesman

Immediate Release

October 13, 1994

Support for the Former Yugoslav
Republic of Macedonia

The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) is experiencing a short-fall in its Balance-of-Payments projections which if not addressed could delay the release of badly needed funds from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

The U.S. considers the success and prosperity of the FYROM to be an essential element of stability in the Balkans. The FYROM has courageously embarked on a bold program of economic reform and renewal. Despite strong external economic pressures which have caused great hardship, its people have shown a determination to continue on the path to free market democracy.

The U.S. will work with other like-minded friends of the FYROM in the months ahead to try to successfully bridge the country's Balance-of-Payments gap so that the programs prepared by the IMF and World Bank can go forward.

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^NATO, UN unable to agree on Bosnia air strikes

By Evelyn Leopold

UNITED NATIONS (Reuter) - NATO and U.N. officials have completed the first round of negotiations over a tougher air strike policy in Bosnia with both sides maintaining their original positions.

A brief U.N. statement late Monday said there would be further consultations but "meanwhile there was no change in existing arrangements."

NATO wrote a letter to U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali Oct. 7, saying air strikes should be more timely, a criticism and goal the U.N. does not dispute.

But the two sides differ on whether air strikes should be extended to punitive strikes "or strategic targets" not directly related to the offense. NATO also wants a minimum of four targets chosen by both sides but with NATO pilots making the final decision on what to hit.

And despite overlapping membership between NATO members and nations sending troops to UNPROFOR, the dispute also centers on whether the United Nations or NATO in Bosnia sets the agenda on future military policy.

The NATO team, which returned to Brussels to report to the ambassadors on its North Atlantic Council after two hours of talks, was led by Anthony Cragg, NATO's Assistant Secretary-General for military affairs.

On the U.N. side were Kofi Annan, the undersecretary-general in charge of peacekeeping and General Bertrand de Lapresle, the French commander of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in the Balkans.

"On the broad principles there is no argument," said a military expert close to the talks. "They all agreed the response time should be quick."

But he said Lapresle wanted all targets to be in the area of the exclusion zones for heavy weapons around Sarajevo and Goradze and was not certain there would always be four targets available.

"He doesn't like strategic targets," the source said. "If you start touching them, you are playing in a different league."

Prime mover for a tougher air strike policy is the United States, which does not have ground troops in Bosnia. But the British and French foreign ministers recently also advocated a more "robust" air response to Bosnian Serb violations.

All three countries, along with Russia and Germany, are members of a five-nation contact group, whose experts met in New York Monday and will continue to meet for several days on how to proceed in Bosnia since the Serbs rejected a peace settlement.

"Essentially what is happening here is that the Contact Group's political requirement for more forceful action is sort of forcing water back down the pipe to UNPROFOR," said one envoy.

"NATO is showing the U.S. influence while Britain and France are trying not to expose huge gaps between their commanders in UNPROFOR and their ministers in NATO," he added.

Britain and French troops are among the largest contingents in Bosnia. Both countries are members of NATO and the Contact Group.

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - October 1994 [Folder 2] [5]

2013-0687-F
vz2660

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6050

ADMIN. OF. POLICE & ASS. DIRECTOR
ACCORD. BY. 1971. 11. 11. DIRECTOR. 1971. 11. 11. 1971. 11. 11.

The Honorable William J. Perry
Secretary of Defense,
The Pentagon
Washington D.C. 20301

September 30, 1994

Dear Bill:

We are writing to ask you to conduct an expedited policy review of the military impact of a build down strategy as an alternative to the lifting of the United Nations Arms Embargo on the government of Bosnia Herzegovina.

As you know, there is strong support in the Congress for reducing the disparities in defense capability among the parties involved in the conflict in Bosnia. Some members of Congress have supported a unilateral lifting of the embargo, others have favored a multilateral lifting that would involve our NATO allies who have troops on the ground with the UNPROFOR forces.

All versions of the lift strategy have the downside that the introduction of more arms, especially heavy armament, could increase the level of violence in Bosnia and thus run counter to the widely shared objective of ending the military conflict. Our allies have been particularly concerned about this prospect, and have stated their intention to withdraw their troops from UNPROFOR if the arms embargo on the Bosnian government is lifted. They are convinced that such a move would lead to a significant increase in violence in Bosnia including Serbian attacks on allied troops.

The recent change of policy by the government of Bosnia Herzegovina regarding the timing of a lift of the arms embargo, and the recent closing of the Serbian-Bosnian border has provided the opportunity for a new US approach which could lead to the leveling of the field in Bosnia we have sought, while also leading to a reduction in violence. This new approach would be to eliminate the heavy equipment held by all sides in Bosnia in a step by step process. We feel this approach warrants a serious and comprehensive review at the highest levels within the Department of Defense.

The build down concept is the flip side of the idea of lifting the arms embargo on the Bosnian government. The idea would be to level the ground by eliminating all or most of the heavy equipment on both sides by either destroying it or removing it from Bosnia. This could apply to all tanks, artillery, and

10-11-94 10:41 AM FROM SENATE ARMY SECRETARY TO SECRETARY

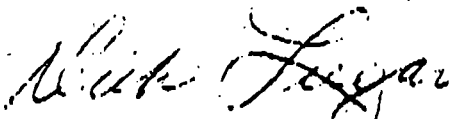
10-11-94

This strategy, like the strategy of lifting the arms embargo raises serious questions which merit your review. How would our NATO allies react to such a proposal? How would the factions in Bosnia likely react? Would such an approach be enforceable? Could we find economic incentives to make the proposal attractive to the factions?

If feasible, we believe a proposal along these lines could garner broad support in the Congress and could set the stage for renewed efforts to develop a negotiated settlement of the Bosnian crisis. We know that the lifting of the arms embargo has met with significant implementation obstacles. A build-down policy may have similar disadvantages. We therefore urge you to conduct an immediate policy review of such a strategy to assess its merit.

As you consider this alternative approach to the current legal requirement for the President to request a multilateral lifting of the arms embargo, we would also appreciate your assessment of the outcome of compliance with current law, in view of the recent changes of policy by the governments of Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Sincerely,



Richard C. Lugar
U.S. Senator



Sam Nunn
U.S. Senator

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
006. paper	Bosnia: Next Steps. (2 pages)	10/1994	P1/b(1)

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

21083

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

INFORMATION

September 14, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

ANTHONY LAKE

SUBJECT:

Principals Committee Review of Bosnia Policy

Principals met Tuesday afternoon to review planning for lifting of the arms embargo and our political strategy from now until mid-October, after which you have pledged to introduce a UN Security Council resolution to lift the embargo.

Principals agreed we should press forward with our current strategy aimed at maximizing pressure on the Bosnian Serbs to accept the Contact Group proposal. In addition to encouraging Milosevic's steps to isolate the Bosnian Serbs with limited sanctions relief, we will make an all-out effort to implement the disincentives agreed earlier by the Contact Group, in particular to carry out air strikes in response to violations of the exclusion zones. This will require pressuring Boutros-Ghali and reluctant allies (especially the UK) to override the objections of the UNPROFOR commanders to any use of air power.

Principals continue to see major risks in lifting the embargo, even if done multilaterally. They recognized that there may be factors arguing for delay when the October 15 deadline (now established in the DoD Authorization Bill) rolls around: Allies and the Russians may argue that more time is needed for other Contact Group measures to play out, and thus oppose a lift resolution in the Security Council in November; and the Bosnians themselves may prefer to wait till spring if there is no way to persuade UNPROFOR to remain after lift. Indeed, the JCS military planners have concluded that the rearmament program and air campaign that must accompany lift could be more effectively pursued if we delayed for 4-6 months.

Nevertheless, Principals agreed that we had to uphold our commitment to the Congress to act on multilateral lift after October 15, and that the prospect of lift provides important leverage vis-a-vis the Serbs and our Contact Group partners. If the Contact Group strategy shows promise in mid-October, we may be able to gain some flexibility on timing of lift from the Congress. (We will not, however, have much flexibility in implementing the Nunn amendment provision that DoD cease funding of enforcement of the arms embargo after November 15; but that is a far more limited action than unilateral lift in that we would at most be restricted from participating in aspects of NATO's sanctions enforcement in the Adriatic.)

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

~~SECRET~~

44-11111-10000
This needs to be done
94 SEP 14 P8: 4:00 PM

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
✓ 10/1/2013

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
007. memo	For Anthony Lake from Alexander Vershbow. Subject: Bosnia - Bottom Lines. (2 pages)	10/07/1994	P1/b(1)

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