

FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title:

Bosnia - February 1995 [6]

Staff Office-Individual:

European Affairs-Vershbow, Alexander

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Section:

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1

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V

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. note	From German Political Director Juergen Chrobog. [10 U.S.C. § 130c] (4 pages)	02/13/1995	P3/b(3)
002. memo	For the President from Anthony Lake. Subject: Former Yugoslavia. Record ID: 9500878. (3 pages)	02/10/1995	P1/b(1)
003. paper	UNPROFOR and NATO Deployments. (7 pages)	02/13/1995	P1/b(1)
004. paper	Bihac Food Shortages Prompt Starvation Claims. (2 pages)	02/15/1995	P1/b(1)
005. memo	For Tony Lake from Leon Fuerth. Subject: The "Back Door". (1 page)	02/15/1995	P1/b(1)
006. memo	For Tony Lake from Leon Fuerth. Subject: PC On Bosnia. (2 pages)	02/10/1995	P1/b(1)
007. memo	For the President from Anthony Lake. Subject: Principals' Decision on Bosnia and Sanctions Relief. Record ID: 9520192. (3 pages)	02/13/1995	P1/b(1)
008. draft	Memo for the President from Anthony Lake. Subject: Former Yugoslavia. Record ID: 9500878. (2 pages)	02/08/1995	P1/b(1)
009a. memo	For Anthony Lake from Don Kerrick. Subject: February 7 Principals Meeting on Bosnia/Croatia. Record ID: 9520154. (6 pages)	02/06/1995	P1/b(1)
009b. agenda	Principals Committee Meeting, February 7, 1995. (1 page)	02/06/1995	P1/b(1)
009c. paper	Mutual Recognition. (2 pages)	02/06/1995	P1/b(1)
009d. paper	Contact Group Meeting on February 5, 1995. (1 page)	02/06/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - February 1995 [6]

2013-0687-F

vz2674

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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009e. draft	Croatia Strategy Follow-Up. (3 pages)	02/06/1995	P1/b(1)
009f. paper	Issues for Principals Decision. (1 page)	02/06/1995	P1/b(1)
009g. paper	Pre-Positioning for Bosnia Contingencies. (4 pages)	02/01/1995	P1/b(1)
009h. paper	The Balkans. (3 pages)	02/06/1995	P1/b(1)
009i. paper	If the Process Breaks Down. (2 pages)	02/06/1995	P1/b(1)

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Embassy
of the Federal Republic of Germany

Washington, February 16, 1995
4645 Reservoir Road, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007-1998
USA

Phone: (202) 298-4000
Fax: (202) 298-4249

FAX

Priority: RTE	Serial No.:	No. of pages: 6
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(including front page)

From: Gerd Wagner

FAX-No.: (202) 456-9150

To: Alexander Vershbow
Special Adviser to the President and
Senior Director
National Security Council, Room 368

Ref.No.:

Subject:

Ref:

Dear Sandy,

We sent the enclosed note inofficially to the State Department yesterday at working level; Ambassador Stabreit will give it to Strobe Talbott personally as soon as a date can be arranged. I thought it would be useful for you to have it straightaway as well.

I'll be out of town next week on important business (skiing). Good luck with the Mamedov visit.

Gerd

DAN F.
CHIP B.
JOHN B.

German account of Mamedov
meeting with Chrobov - I see one
problem: Mamedov seems to expect
NATO-Russia agreement being concluded
at the end of 1995. Also, Chrobov says
no decisions on next steps this year - not
quite right.

SANDY

Juergen Chrobog
Political Director
Foreign Office
Bonn/Germany

Bonn, February 13, 1995

The Honorable
Strobe Talbott
Deputy Secretary of State
The Department of State
Washington, DC 20520

cc: The Honorable
Peter Tarnoff
Under Secretary for Political Affairs
The Department of State
Washington, DC 20520

cc: The Honorable
Richard Holbrooke
Assistant Secretary for European and Canadian Affairs
The Department of State
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Strobe:

On February 8th, I had consultations with Vice-Foreign Minister Mamedov in Moscow. We had a vivid exchange on NATO expansion and on the relationship between Russia and NATO. In preparing for your own meeting with Mamedov later this month, you may be interested in his ideas on a "security arrangement" between NATO and Russia, as he developed them in the discussion with me. Therefore, I enclose a read-out on the exchange I had with Mamedov on this topic.

It will be crucial in the coming months to strike the right balance between the enlargement debate and the parallel development of relations between NATO and Russia (as well as Ukraine). We should continue to keep in close touch on these subjects.

Very sincerely,
signed Juergen Chrobog

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TALKING POINTS

MUTUAL RECOGNITION AND SANCTIONS RELIEF

- Since the cessation of hostilities agreement was signed in late December, our goal has been to use the four months to push forward a steady political process aimed at achieving a permanent resolution of the Bosnian conflict.
- On this basis we pursued an intense round of shuttle diplomacy with all the parties, including Karadzic, to win acceptance of the Contact Group plan as the basis for negotiations.
- At the same time we have worked to strengthen the foundations of the Bosnian-Croat Federation. This process was advanced considerably by the successful meeting hosted by Assistant Secretary Holbrooke in Munich on February 5.
- Regrettably, despite intense consultations and efforts by the Contact Group, the Pale Serbs have failed to use the opportunity of the cessation of hostilities agreement to move toward acceptance of the Contact Group plan and peace.
- The Contact Group has agreed that Pale's unwillingness to cooperate with the international community warrants additional measures to bring them to acceptance of the Contact Group plan.
- All Contact Group countries agree -- as does Bosnian President Izetbegovic -- that the best way to move the process forward at this time is to pursue with Milosevic full recognition of Bosnia and other former Yugoslav states in return for a suspension of sanctions for a limited period of time. This must be accompanied by a significant tightening of the Serbian Border and would be conditional and renewable.
- This package would provide a firm foundation of Bosnian sovereignty for the peace plan, would build a process of cooperation with Serbia, and would undercut Pale Serb claims of legitimacy.
- At the same time other international sanctions involving such items as assistance from the IMF, World Bank, and European Union, granting of a UN seat to Serbia, and readmission to OSCE, would remain firmly in place.
- In addition steps must be taken to further isolate Pale through even tougher sanctions enforcement.

- In line with this initiative our Contact Group representative, Ambassador Robert Frasure, agreed with his other Contact Group colleagues in Paris yesterday to offer Milosevic full suspension of economic sanctions subject to U.S. proposed conditions.
- The Bosnian Government supports the steps we have taken.
- This is a conditional offer that is fully in line with the Contact Group goals of the past six months. It in no way changes our commitment to the Contact Group plan or the sovereignty and unity of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

U.S. Position in Contact Group Discussions of
Mutual Recognition and Sanctions Relief

- Over the past weeks, we and our partners in the Contact Group have been discussing how to promote a political settlement in the former Yugoslavia in the wake of the Bosnian Serbs' refusal to accept the Contact Group plan.
- We have agreed that it would be an important step forward if Serbian President Milosevic could be convinced to recognize Bosnia, Croatia and the other states of the former Yugoslavia within their existing borders.
- This would represent the abandonment of his ambitions for a Greater Serbia and further isolate the leaders of the Bosnian Serbs and the Krajina Serbs.
- Together with Milosevic's closure of the border with Bosnia and cut-off of economic support for his fellow Serbs, it could increase the pressure on those rebel groups to accept political settlements that preserve the territorial integrity of Bosnia and Croatia.
- We have insisted on a fully-monitored closure of the inter-Serbian border to cut off economic and military support in order to isolate the Bosnian and Krajina Serb leadership.
- We and our Contact Group partners have agreed that, if Milosevic were to agree to mutual recognition -- a politically risky step for the Serbian leader -- we should be prepared to offer him relief from sanctions.
- But because Milosevic could easily renege on his commitments, we have insisted that any sanctions relief be quickly reversible and subject to a series of stringent conditions.
- Our Contact Group representative, Ambassador Robert Frasure, is seeking agreement on such an approach today in Paris.
- The Bosnian Government supports the steps we are taking.
- In consultations with President Izetbegovic and his colleagues, we learned that the Bosnians would favor offering Milosevic a total suspension of sanctions in order to induce him to recognize Bosnia and the other former Yugoslav states, as long as this were for a limited, renewable period and if it were accompanied by a significant tightening of the closure of the Serbian border.
- Therefore, Ambassador Frasure is stating our readiness to offer full suspension of economic sanctions, subject to the following conditions:

- o that Milosevic's recognition of Croatia, Bosnia, Macedonia and Slovenia in their internationally recognized borders be genuine and unequivocal;
 - o that sanctions be suspended for 2-month periods, with an affirmative vote by the UN Security Council required to renew each time (the U.S. could veto an extension if necessary);
 - o that the sanctions enforcement regime against Serbia-Montenegro (in particular, the sanctions monitors in neighboring states) remain in place, so that sanctions can be reimposed on short notice;
 - o that restrictions going beyond UNSC resolutions be kept in force: no assistance from the IMF, World Bank or European Union; no granting of a UN seat to Serbia-Montenegro; and no readmission to OSCE;
 - o that there be a significant toughening up of the monitoring regime on the Bosnia/Serbia and Croatia/Serbia borders, including several hundred more monitors plus equipment such as radars to help deal with the helicopter problem;
 - o that the sanctions relief not go into effect until after the border is more tightly closed and the Europeans have deployed the additional monitors required;
 - o that there must be continued firm adherence by Milosevic to the Contact Group plan for Bosnia;
 - o that Milosevic must endorse the principles in the Zagreb-4 peace plan for Croatia, i.e. the reintegration of the Serb-occupied areas under Croatian sovereignty, with local autonomy for Serbs in areas where they have historically had a majority; and
 - o that nothing should be done that in any way affects the commitment to the War Crimes Tribunal.
- We will also make clear to Croatian President Tudjman that, if we succeed in obtaining Serbian recognition of Croatia, we would expect him to reconsider his decision to terminate the mandate for UN forces in Croatia at the end of March.
- We believe that this approach, if successful, could substantially alter the strategic equation in the former Yugoslavia and serve as the catalyst for renewed negotiations on a political settlement.

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Sandy Vershbow,

This is the CIA memo I called you about. They would like to send it to their normal Bosnia/Balkans audience, or at least to the Principals, Deputies, and CINCEUR. Let me know what you think.

Thanks

Samuel Pearl

X 69341

Angels +

AV.

DK

RC

SR

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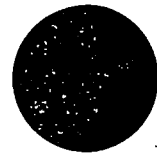
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~~SECRET~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

20198

February 14, 1995



ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE
THROUGH: ALEXANDER VERSHBOW *AV*
FROM: DON KERRICK *(K)*
SUBJECT: Summary of Conclusions for the Principals
Committee Meeting on Bosnia and Croatia,
February 13, 1995

Attached at Tab A for distribution to Principals is the Summary of Conclusions from the Principals Committee meeting on Bosnia and Croatia held February 13, 1995.

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize Andrew Sens 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 *VR* NARA, Date *5/28/2014*
2013-0687-E

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~SECRET~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

20198

MEMORANDUM FOR

MR. LEON FUERTH
Assistant to the Vice
President for National
Security Affairs

AMBASSADOR RICK INDEFURTH
Office of the Representative
of the U.S. to the United
Nations

MR. KENNETH C. BRILL
Executive Secretary
Department of State

MR. DOUGLAS F. GARTHOFF
Executive Secretary
Central Intelligence Agency

COL. ROBERT P. MCALEER
Executive Secretary
Department of Defense

COL. T.R. PATRICK
Executive Secretary
Joint Chiefs of Staff

DR. GORDON M. ADAMS
Associate Director for
National Security &
International Affairs
Office of Management and
Budget

SUBJECT: Summary of Conclusions, Principals Committee Meeting on
Bosnia and Croatia, February 13, 1995 (8)

Please pass to the Principals the Summary of Conclusions attached
at Tab A. (8)

Andrew Sens
Executive Secretary

Attachment
Tab A Summary of Conclusions

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines,

September 11, 2006

By 172 NARA, Date 5/28/2014

203-0687-f

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

Summary of Conclusions for
Meeting of the NSC Principals Committee

DATE: February 13, 1995

LOCATION: White House Situation Room

TIME: 6:00 - 7:00pm

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

PARTICIPANTS:

Chair

Anthony Lake

CIA

Douglas MacEachin

OVP

Leon Fuerth

JCS

Admiral William Owens

State

Peter Tarnoff

White House

Samuel Berger

Nancy Soderberg

DOD

Dr. William Perry

NSC

Alexander Vershbow

USUN

Ambassador Madeleine Albright

Summary of Conclusions

1. Principals met to review the U.S. position on additional sanctions relief for Milosevic in return for Serbian recognition of Bosnia, Croatia, and other former Yugoslav republics within their existing borders. While they agreed that mutual recognition, in itself, will not lead to political settlements, the potential of recognition to alter the strategic equation and to head off a new war in Croatia justified the risks of our support. Therefore, Principals authorized our Contact Group representative to agree to offer a total suspension of sanctions on the FRY in return for mutual recognition, subject to the following conditions:

**DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526**

12 10/1/2013

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Declassify on: OADR

A. Conditions proposed by State:

- that Milosevic's recognition of Croatia, Bosnia, Macedonia and Slovenia in their internationally recognized borders be genuine and unequivocal;
- that sanctions be suspended for 2-month periods, with a positive vote by the UN Security Council required to renew each time;
- that the sanctions enforcement regime against the FRY remain in place, so that sanctions can be reimposed on short notice;
- that the "outer wall" of sanctions be kept in place, i.e. measures going beyond UNSC resolutions: no assistance from the IFIs or the EU; no granting of a UN seat to the FRY; and no readmission to OSCE (for our part, we would not recognize the FRY at this time);
- that there be a significant toughening up of the monitoring regime on the Bosnia/Serbia and Croatia/Serbia borders, including several hundred more monitors plus equipment such as radars to help deal with the helicopter problem;
- that there must be continued firm adherence by Milosevic to the Contact Group plan for Bosnia;
- that Milosevic must endorse the principles in the Zagreb-4 peace plan for Croatia, i.e. the reintegration of the occupied areas under Croatian sovereignty, with autonomy for historically Serb-majority areas; and
- that nothing should be done that in any way affects the commitment to the War Crimes Tribunal.

B. Additional conditions added by Principals:

- that before we pursue Milosevic's recognition of Croatia, we insist that Tudjman agree that he will extend UNPROFOR's mandate in return for recognition.
- that the sanctions relief not go into effect until after the inter-Serbian border is more tightly closed and the Europeans have deployed the additional monitors required; and

-- that we secure from Tudjman his agreement to terminate economic relations with the Krajina Serbs, since this could undermine the effects of Milosevic's cut-off of support to the Krajina and permit the Bosnian Serbs to receive support through the back door.

2. Principals directed our Contact Group representative to put down a marker that, if this initiative fails and the war resumes, our partners will reciprocate our flexibility by supporting the kinds of coercive measures against the Bosnian Serbs that they agreed to previously, but never implemented. We would not, however, make their commitment to such measures a quid pro quo.

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

February 13, 1995

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

FROM: ALEXANDER VERSHBOW *AV*

SUBJECT: Memorandum to the President on Bosnia and
Sanctions Relief

Attached is your memorandum to the President on today's
Principals' Committee decision on sanctions relief in the context
of mutual recognition. Madeleine Albright has cleared on the
description of her position.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached memorandum.

Attachment
Tab I Memorandum to the President

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

By *VZ* NARA, Date *5/21/2014*

2013-0687-F

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
007. memo	For the President from Anthony Lake. Subject: Principals' Decision on Bosnia and Sanctions Relief. Record ID: 9520192. (3 pages)	02/13/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - February 1995 [6]

2013-0687-F
vz2674

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)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
008. draft	Memo for the President from Anthony Lake. Subject: Former Yugoslavia. Record ID: 9500878. (2 pages)	02/08/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - February 1995 [6]

2013-0687-F
vz2674

RESTRICTION CODES

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2/13
Bosnia PC

- We are willing in Paris to agree with the Europeans--and Izetbegovic--on full sanctions relief, if our views on the following points are fully taken into consideration.
- We insist on genuine recognition by Milosevic of Croatia, Bosnia, Macedonia and Slovenia in their internationally recognized borders.
- We insist that the sanctions regime against the FRY remains in place, with a strong positive renewal clause on relief, i.e. the UNSC would have to agree each two months on renewal. SAMS should remain in place for the foreseeable future.
- We insist that an outer wall of "sanctions" be kept in place, including nothing from the IFI's, the EU, no ~~UN~~ UN seat, nothing on OSCE, etc. We would not recognize the FRY at this point.
- There must be a significant toughening up of the ICFY line on the Bosnia/Serbia and Croatia/Serbia borders, including several hundred more monitors plus equipment such as radars.
- Nothing that is done should in any way affect the commitment to the war crimes tribunal.
- There must be continued firm adherence of Milosevic to the CG plan for Bosnia.
- Milosevic must endorse the principles in the Z-4 plan.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
009a. memo	For Anthony Lake from Don Kerrick. Subject: February 7 Principals Meeting on Bosnia/Croatia. Record ID: 9520154. (6 pages)	02/06/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - February 1995 [6]

2013-0687-F
vz2674

RESTRICTION CODES

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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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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
009b. agenda	Principals Committee Meeting, February 7, 1995. (1 page)	02/06/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - February 1995 [6]

2013-0687-F
vz2674

RESTRICTION CODES

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
009c. paper	Mutual Recognition. (2 pages)	02/06/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - February 1995 [6]

2013-0687-F
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RESTRICTION CODES

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
009d. paper	Contact Group Meeting on February 5, 1995. (1 page)	02/06/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - February 1995 [6]

2013-0687-F
vz2674

RESTRICTION CODES

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
009e. draft	Croatia Strategy Follow-Up. (3 pages)	02/06/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - February 1995 [6]

2013-0687-F

vz2674

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
009f. paper	Issues for Principals Decision. (1 page)	02/06/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - February 1995 [6]

2013-0687-F

vz2674

RESTRICTION CODES

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Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
009g. paper	Pre-Positioning for Bosnia Contingencies. (4 pages)	02/01/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - February 1995 [6]

2013-0687-F

vz2674

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
009h. paper	The Balkans. (3 pages)	02/06/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - February 1995 [6]

2013-0687-F

vz2674

RESTRICTION CODES

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
009i. paper	If the Process Breaks Down. (2 pages)	02/06/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - February 1995 [6]

2013-0687-F

vz2674

RESTRICTION CODES

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