

FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title:

Bosnia - March 1995 [5]

Staff Office-Individual:

European Affairs-Vershbow, Alexander

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1

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3

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V

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. paper	Working Papers from Holbrooke-Tudjman Meeting. (2 pages)	03/07/1995	P1/b(1)
002. cable	re: Ambassador Albright Briefs Undersecretary General Annan. (3 pages)	03/09/1995	P1/b(1)
003. draft	Talking Points for Calls to Members of Congress. (2 pages)	n.d.	P1/b(1)
004. paper	Issue Paper: Training. (2 pages)	03/1995	P1/b(1)
005. talking points	For Calls to Members of Congress. (2 pages)	03/07/1995	P1/b(1)
006. draft	Talking Points for Secretary's Telcon. (3 pages)	03/1995	P1/b(1)
007. paper	Duplicate of 001. (2 pages)	03/07/1995	P1/b(1)
008. paper	Easing U.S. Sanctions on Serbia-Montenegro. (2 pages)	03/09/1995	P1/b(1)
009. paper	Duplicate of 008. (1 page)	03/09/1995	P1/b(1)
010. email	Alan Kreczko to Donald Kerrick and Alexander Vershbow. Subject: Bosnia. (1 page)	03/09/1995	P1/b(1)
011. cable	re: Tudjman Agrees to Continued UN Presence. (5 pages)	03/09/1995	P1/b(1)
012. cable	re: Quad Meeting. (4 pages)	03/09/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
OA/Box Number: 898

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - March 1995 [5]

2013-0687-F

vz2681

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

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013. memo	For Samuel Berger from Leon Fuerth. Subject: Sanctions Policy Issues. (2 pages)	03/08/1995	P1/b(1)
014. cable	re: Milosevic-Karadzic Conflict. (4 pages)	03/08/1995	P1/b(1)
015. paper	Military Leverage on the Bosnian Serbs. (3 pages)	03/07/1995	P1/b(1)
016. cable	re: March 7 Meeting between Undersecretary General Annan. (2 pages)	03/08/1995	P1/b(1)
017. talking points	Points for Holbrooke to use with Tudjman. (3 pages)	03/1995	P1/b(1)
018. cable	re: Balkan Crisis. (2 pages)	03/07/1995	P1/b(1)
019. cable	re: Akashi Agrees to Border Controls. (3 pages)	03/07/1995	P1/b(1)
020. cable	re: Positive French Reaction. (2 pages)	03/06/1995	P1/b(1)

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**IO/UNP**

3/9

UNCLASSIFIED FAX

ROUTINE

IMMEDIATE

URGENT

TEL. 647-0045

FAX: 647-0039

COVER • 5 PAGES**FROM:**

John W. Chamberlin

TO:

NSC - Don Kerrick/Sandy Vershow - 456-9150

*ROGER CRESSEY*NSC - ~~Susan Rice~~ - 456-9360

OSD - John Klekas - 703-695-6506

JCS - Balkans Unit - 703-~~697-0180~~*614-0905***SUBJECT:** BOSNIA/CROATIA: USUN-DRAFT RESOLUTIONS**COMMENTS:** NEED RESPONSE ON SUBSTANCE + TIMINGASAP. USUN WOULD LIKE TO CIRCULATE AT 6:00PM TODAY.IS TEXT ACCEPTABLE?IS TIMING + DISTRIB. ACCEPTABLE?TO CG + ITALY ONLY

Resolutions for Mandate ExtensionResolution Number 1: Extending UNPROFOR's Mandate in Bosnia and Macedonia

The Security Council,

Recalling all its previous relevant resolutions on the conflicts in the territory of the former Yugoslavia and reaffirming in this context its resolution 947 (1994) of 30 September 1994, on the mandate of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR),

Having considered the report of the Secretary General of (date),

Affirming its commitment to the search for an overall negotiated settlement of the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia, ensuring the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all the States there within their internationally recognized borders, and stressing the importance it attaches to the mutual recognition thereof,

Welcoming the December 31, 1997 agreement by the Government of The Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Bosnian Serb party to a four month cessation of hostilities and the essential role UNPROFOR has played in facilitating implementation of that agreement, and stressing the importance it places therewith,

Welcoming also the continuing efforts of the Co-chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia,

Recognizing that major provisions of relevant Security Council resolutions still remain to be implemented,

Noting that UNPROFOR plays an essential role in preventing and containing hostilities in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, thus creating the conditions for achieving an overall political settlement,

Noting also the letter from the Permanent Representative of the Republic of Croatia of (date) regarding his government's views on the continued presence of UNPROFOR in the Republic of Croatia,

Paying tribute to the UNPROFOR personnel in the performance of the mandate of UNPROFOR, in particular in assisting the delivery of humanitarian assistance and monitoring the cease-fires,

-2-

Reaffirming its determination to ensure the security of UNPROFOR and its freedom of movement for all its missions, and to these ends, as regards UNPROFOR in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Welcomes the report of the Secretary General of (date);
2. Decides to extend UNPROFOR's mandate in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia for an additional period terminating on September 15, 1995;
3. Further decides to terminate UNPROFOR's mandate in the Republic of Croatia;
4. Authorizes the Secretary General to withdraw all UNPROFOR personnel and assets from the Republic of Croatia with the exception of those whose continued presence in the Republic of Croatia has been consented to by the Croatian government in the letter of (date) from the Permanent Representative of the Republic of Croatia;
5. Authorizes UNPROFOR to continue to perform activities essential to the implementation of the agreements of March 29, 1994 and December 2, 1994 between the government of the Republic of Croatia and the Croatian Serb party until the effective deployment of a new United Nations peacekeeping force on the territory of the Republic of Croatia or June 15 whichever is sooner;
6. Decides that every effort should be made to withdraw all UNPROFOR personnel and assets from the Republic of Croatia in a secure and orderly manner as soon as possible, but in any case before June 30, 1995;
7. Requests the Secretary General to take those actions necessary to protect the withdrawal of UNPROFOR personnel and assets including requesting assistance in the withdrawal of UNPROFOR personnel and assets, including equipment, from member states acting nationally or through regional organizations;
8. Emphasizes the responsibility of the parties and others concerned in the Republic of Croatia for the security and safety of UNPROFOR and in this context

-3-

strongly demands that all parties and others concerned refrain from any acts of intimidation or violence against UNPROFOR;

9. Demands that the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Bosnian Serb party comply with their commitment to observe a four month cessation of hostilities beginning on January 1, 1995, and cooperate with UNPROFOR's efforts to that end;

10. Affirms the right of all displaced persons from the territory of the former Yugoslavia to return voluntarily to their homes of origin in safety and dignity with the assistance of the international community;

11. Reaffirms its support for the established principle that all statements or commitments made under duress, particularly those regarding land and ownership, are null and void;

12. Reiterates its concern that the necessary arrangements, including, where appropriate, agreements on the status of forces and other personnel, have not yet been concluded by the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), and calls upon them to conclude such arrangements without delay;

13. Requests the Secretary General to keep the Council regularly informed on progress with regard to the implementation of UNPROFOR's mandate and to report, as necessary, on any developments on the ground and other circumstances affecting the mandate of the force;

14. Decides to remain seized of the matter.

Resolution Number 2: Creating a New UN Peacekeeping in Croatia

The Security Council,

Recalling all its previous relevant resolutions on the conflicts in the territory of the former Yugoslavia,

Having considered the report of the Secretary General of (date),

-4-

Affirming its commitment to the search for an overall negotiated settlement of the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia ensuring the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all the States there within their internationally recognized borders, and stressing the importance it attaches to the mutual recognition thereof,

Welcoming also the continuing efforts of representatives of the United Nations, the European Union, the Russian Federation and the United States to facilitate a negotiated solution to the conflict in the Republic of Croatia,

Recognizing that major provisions of relevant Security Council resolutions related to the conflict in the Republic of Croatia, in particular resolutions 871 and 947, still remain to be implemented,

Noting also the letter from the Permanent Representative of the Republic of Croatia of (date) regarding his government's views on the establishment of a United Nations peacekeeping operation in the Republic of Croatia,

Recalling its primary responsibility under the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security,

Reaffirming its determination to ensure the security and freedom of movement of personnel of United Nations peacekeeping operations in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, and to these ends, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Welcomes the report of the Secretary General of (date), and in particular paragraph X;
2. Decides to establish, under its authority and consistent with standard principles of United Nations peacekeeping, a United Nations Force in Croatia (UNFIC) in accordance with paragraph X of the above mentioned report for a period terminating on September 15, 1995, and requests the Secretary General to take the measures necessary to ensure its earliest possible deployment;
3. Notes that in accordance with paragraph X of the report of the Secretary General, UNFIC's mandate shall include facilitating implementation of the agreements of

-5-

March 29, 1994 and December 2, 1994 between the government of the Republic of Croatia and the Croatian Serb party, and controlling, to the extent possible, the international borders between the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) with a view to preventing the flow of military equipment across those borders,

4. Recalls that the force should be an interim arrangement to create the conditions that will lead to a negotiated settlement consistent with the territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia;

5. Invites the Secretary General to report as appropriate and not less than every six months on progress towards a peaceful political settlement and the situation on the ground including UNFIC's ability to implement its mandate as described above, and undertakes in this connection, to examine without delay any recommendations that the Secretary General may make in his reports and adopt appropriate decisions;

6. Affirms the right of all displaced persons from the territory of the Republic of Croatia to return voluntarily to their homes of origin in safety and dignity with the assistance of the international community;

7. Reaffirms its support for the established principle that all statements or commitments made under duress, particularly those regarding land and ownership, are null and void;

8. Stresses the importance of the necessary arrangements, including agreements on the status of forces and other personnel, be concluded by the Republic of Croatia, and calls upon them to conclude such arrangements without delay;

9. Urges the Bosnian Serb party to fully to respect the territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia and to refrain from any actions that are threatening its security;

10. Decides to remain seized of the matter.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
009. paper	Duplicate of 008. (1 page)	03/09/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
OA/Box Number: 898

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - March 1995 [5]

2013-0687-F
vz2681

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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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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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
010. email	Alan Kreczko to Donald Kerrick and Alexander Vershbow. Subject: Bosnia. (1 page)	03/09/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
OA/Box Number: 898

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - March 1995 [5]

2013-0687-F

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
011. cable	re: Tudjman Agrees to Continued UN Presence. (5 pages)	03/09/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
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OA/Box Number: 898

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - March 1995 [5]

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
012. cable	re: Quad Meeting. (4 pages)	03/09/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
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European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
OA/Box Number: 898

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - March 1995 [5]

2013-0687-F
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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013. memo	For Samuel Berger from Leon Fuerth. Subject: Sanctions Policy Issues. (2 pages)	03/08/1995	P1/b(1)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
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OA/Box Number: 898

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Bosnia - March 1995 [5]

2013-0687-F
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
014. cable	re: Milosevic-Karadzic Conflict. (4 pages)	03/08/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
OA/Box Number: 898

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Bosnia - March 1995 [5]

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
015. paper	Military Leverage on the Bosnian Serbs. (3 pages)	03/07/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
OA/Box Number: 898

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - March 1995 [5]

2013-0687-F

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^BC-YUGOSLAVIA-COMPROMISE

^Croats might let U.N. troops stay, say diplomats
By Davor Huic

ZAGREB, March 8 (Reuter) - Under pressure from the United States and other allies, Croatia is ready to allow U.N. troops to stay on its soil but is setting a high price, Western diplomatic sources said on Wednesday.

They said talks were on to find a compromise which would let Croatian President Franjo Tudjman save face while he withdraws a threat to expel all 12,000 peacekeepers.

Tudjman has ordered the U.N. contingent, mostly deployed on territory held by Croatia's rebel Serb minority, to leave by the end of June.

The United States and European governments fear their departure could lead to renewed fighting between Croats and Serbs.

The sources said Tudjman appeared ready to let some peacekeepers stay, although their number would be more than halved.

``There seems to be more flexibility on the Croatian side, more room for a compromise," the source said.

An unnamed government official told the Zagreb weekly Globus on Wednesday that Croatia was ready for a compromise, ``since a total war and break-off of cooperation with the United States is not in Croatia's state interest."

The change of mood apparently came after a visit on Monday by U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke, who aimed to persuade Tudjman to change his mind.

Initial media reports, based on the Croatian account of the meeting, indicated the mission failed but Washington sources later said ways of maintaining a U.N. presence were discussed.

In return for concessions, Tudjman wants the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) to change its name, arguing that it implies the U.N.'s mission in Croatia is to protect the Serb rebels occupying almost one third of the country.

He also demands that troops be deployed along Croatia's international borders with Serbia and Bosnia in order to cut off the supply of arms to the Serbs.

The majority of U.N. soldiers are based inside the rebel-held Krajina region, patrolling the 1100 km (700 mile) separation line.

Tudjman said earlier he wanted NATO troops on the borders, but the idea was rebuffed by the alliance and the European Union

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which fear getting sucked into fighting with Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia.

"The Croatian government realised it would not get a NATO, European Union or CSCE (Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe) force here," the diplomatic source said.

International mediator Lord Owen hinted on Tuesday that the U.N. might change its mandate to accommodate "legitimate Croatian demands."

A U.N. source said the Krajina Serbs, left out of the present round of negotiations on the mandate renewal, would probably oppose any changes damaging their vital interest -- unhindered links with Bosnian Serbs and Serbia.

Although the U.N. does not consider the rebel Serb authorities an equal partner with the Croatian government, it is not prepared to enforce a solution against the will of either party.

Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic admitted on Tuesday Croatia faced huge pressure from the international community, even threats of freezing all relations.

He said Croatia was prepared to risk diplomatic retaliation and stick by its decision, but his remarks seemed designed for domestic consumption.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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016. cable	re: March 7 Meeting between Undersecretary General Annan. (2 pages)	03/08/1995	P1/b(1)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
OA/Box Number: 898

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - March 1995 [5]

2013-0687-F
vz2681

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
017. talking points	Points for Holbrooke to use with Tadjman. (3 pages)	03/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
OA/Box Number: 898

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - March 1995 [5]

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
018. cable	re: Balkan Crisis. (2 pages)	03/07/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
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019. cable	re: Akashi Agrees to Border Controls. (3 pages)	03/07/1995	P1/b(1)

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- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
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SV_

State Dept
in Chair to respond
to Hamilton.

Dear Mr. Hamilton:

Thank you for your letter of February 22 to Secretary Christopher, in which you pose additional questions about possible U.S. participation in a NATO-led effort to help UNPROFOR withdraw from Bosnia and/or Croatia.

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Before addressing your questions individually, I would like to stress that the Administration shares your concern over an UNPROFOR pull-out; like you, we fear it may contribute to a widening of the war in both Bosnia and Croatia. For this reason, we have undertaken an active diplomatic campaign to convince President Tudjman to allow an international peacekeeping force to remain in his country. Assistant Secretary Holbrooke held meetings in Zagreb March 6 to this end.

Because all the Allies agree that an international force should remain in the region, NATO's planning for assistance to UNPROFOR withdrawal has been conducted on a contingency basis only. NATO has taken care to ensure that laying solid groundwork for possible withdrawal does not imply accession to UNPROFOR's departure. President Clinton has avoided making an explicit statement that the U.S. would help facilitate UNPROFOR withdrawal from Croatia so as not to precipitate a pull-out. Practically speaking, if a situation were to develop in Croatia where no alternative to NATO-led withdrawal appeared feasible, as in Bosnia our Alliance commitments would militate in favor of U.S. participation. But let me emphasize that we do not want this to come to pass, and we are pressing Tudjman to moderate his stance so UNPROFOR does not have to leave and NATO does not have to deploy.

You correctly suggest that UNPROFOR withdrawal from Croatia would significantly complicate the situation for UNPROFOR in Bosnia. Evacuation routes through Croatia that soldiers in UNPROFOR/Bosnia would have to use might be harder to secure if UNPROFOR/Croatia were no longer in place. Also, if the Krajina Serbs tried to prevent UNPROFOR withdrawal from Croatia (as they have sometimes threatened), conflict could spill over into the volatile Bihac area, where Bosnian Serbs might feel compelled to support Krajina Serbs, thus endangering UNPROFOR forces in Bosnia.

The Honorable
Lee Hamilton,
House of Representatives.

Because it is difficult to imagine that UNPROFOR could depart from one state without coming under threat in the other, and in response to President Tudjman's stated wish to end UNPROFOR's mandate on March 31, NATO military authorities have been tasked with updating their contingency Bosnia withdrawal plan to include steps to facilitate withdrawal from both countries. NATO's revised plan is scheduled to be ready in mid-March. Estimates of costs to Allies of an UNPROFOR pull-out from Bosnia have in the past been reported in the range of \$2 billion. A team of budget experts from the Department of Defense, the Office of Management and Budget, the State Department, and the National Security Council travelled to Brussels and to AFSOUTH headquarters in Naples the week of March 6 to study NATO's budget calculations for Bosnia, determine whether figures were available for Croatia, and consider costs that might be incurred by the U.S. Once NATO has released its revised plan, and we have made preliminary decisions on what our response should be, we will discuss funding options with Congress.

As for troop numbers, NATO has not yet asked member states to indicate possible contributions. The force requirement for Bosnia withdrawal has in the past been estimated at 40-50,000. A significant number of these troops would be reflagged UNPROFOR contingents from NATO Allies already in the region. We do not yet have planning estimates for combined Bosnia and Croatia withdrawal, but as with costs, they should be somewhat higher than those for a Bosnia-only scenario. Costs and troop needs for a Croatia-only operation would be lower than for Bosnia. Again, once NATO has released its revised plan in mid-March, we will be in a better position to consult with you on a possible U.S. troop contribution.

For planning purposes, NATO has calculated personnel and equipment needs under the most adverse circumstances. NATO projects that in facilitating UNPROFOR's departure, it might provide close air support to UNPROFOR troops, as it is already committed to do, and undertake other activities in defense of the international peacekeepers. NATO has no intention of engaging in offensive combat in Bosnia and/or Croatia, or of remaining in the region following an UNPROFOR pull-out.

The pressures you describe on NATO -- and thus the U.S. -- to become involved in the conflict should UNPROFOR withdraw are real and sobering. Without UNPROFOR, civilian populations will indeed have little protection. International relief organizations will find it difficult to make humanitarian deliveries. Minor conflicts that could be quelled even by the presence of international observers would escalate. Thus, as we note above, it is clearly preferable for UNPROFOR, or a similar international presence, to remain in the region. We are working actively toward that end in Croatia; in Bosnia, the Contact Group is in close with the various parties to try to prevent a resurgence of fighting, which might provoke UNPROFOR withdrawal. We are also continuing to argue against unilateral lift, the other likely trigger for withdrawal from Bosnia.

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As the situation clarifies itself, we will need to make decisions. We want UNPROFOR to stay, but if an upsurge in fighting threatens the safety of our Allies, we do not intend to leave them stranded. In order to give our diplomatic efforts a chance to succeed, we are not yet making a public case for assistance with an UNPROFOR pull-out. But should there be no alternative, the President will explain to the American people what is at stake: our collective security, as exemplified by mutual commitments to Allies. We trust we can count on your support, and that of the Democratic leadership in Congress, should we have to undertake an operation to assist our Allies depart from the former Yugoslavia.

Sincerely,

Wendy R. Sherman
Assistant Secretary
Legislative Affairs

To: Don Kerick
From: Sue Brenner