

FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title:

Bosnia - May 1995: Mid-Late [2]

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. memo	For Anthony Lake from Nelson Drew. Subject: May 23 Principals Meeting on Bosnia. Record ID: 9520665. (4 pages)	05/22/1995	P1/b(1)
001b. agenda	NSC Principals Meeting on Bosnia. Record ID: 9520661. (1 page)	05/22/1995	P1/b(1)
001c. draft	Paper: Post-UN Peace Forces Withdrawal Strategy. (2 pages)	05/22/1995	P1/b(1)
001d. draft	Post-UNPROFOR Withdrawal Strategy: Checklist. (2 pages)	05/22/1995	P1/b(1)
001e. draft	Paper: Bosnia: Formulating a Post-UNPROFOR Withdrawal Strategy. (4 pages)	05/23/1995	P1/b(1)
001f. paper	Unanswered Policy Questions Relating to OPLAN 40104. (4 pages)	05/23/1995	P1/b(1)
001g. paper	Unanswered Policy Questions Relating to NATO Support for UNPROFOR Withdrawal. (4 pages)	05/23/1995	P1/b(1)
001h. draft	Paper: UN Forces in the Former Yugoslavia. (1 page)	05/22/1995	P1/b(1)
001i. paper	Talking Paper: Roadmap of Remaining OPLAN 40104 Requirements. (2 pages)	05/17/1995	P1/b(1)
001j. cable	re: Milosevic Discussions. (4 pages)	05/22/1995	P1/b(1)
002. statement	UK Message to the Bosnian Serb Authorities. (1 page)	05/1995	P1/b(1)
003. draft	Ministerial Meeting of the Contact Group: Internal Agreed Guidelines. (2 pages)	05/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
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European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
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FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - May 1995: Mid-Late [2]

2013-0687-F

vz2703

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004. statement	Duplicate of 002. (1 page)	05/1995	P1/b(1)
005. draft	Contact Group: Sanctions Relief Annex, Framework, and OSCE. (4 pages)	05/1995	P1/b(1)
006. cable	French Memorandum on the Situation in Bosnia. [Original French] (2 pages)	05/28/1995	P1/b(1)
007. draft	Contact Group Document. (1 page)	n.d.	P1/b(1)
008. draft	Statement. (1 page)	05/1995	P1/b(1)
009a. draft	Agenda: NSC Principals Committee Meeting on Bosnia, May 28, 1995. (1 page)	05/27/1995	P1/b(1)
009b. draft	Memorandum: May 28 Principals Meeting on Bosnia. (9 pages)	05/27/1995	P1/b(1)

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001b. agenda	NSC Principals Meeting on Bosnia. Record ID: 9520661. (1 page)	05/22/1995	P1/b(1)

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001c. draft	Paper: Post-UN Peace Forces Withdrawal Strategy. (2 pages)	05/22/1995	P1/b(1)

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001d. draft	Post-UNPROFOR Withdrawal Strategy: Checklist. (2 pages)	05/22/1995	P1/b(1)

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001e. draft	Paper: Bosnia: Formulating a Post-UNPROFOR Withdrawal Strategy. (4 pages)	05/23/1995	P1/b(1)

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001f. paper	Unanswered Policy Questions Relating to OPLAN 40104. (4 pages)	05/23/1995	P1/b(1)

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001g. paper	Unanswered Policy Questions Relating to NATO Support for UNPROFOR Withdrawal. (4 pages)	05/23/1995	P1/b(1)

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001i. paper	Talking Paper: Roadmap of Remaining OPLAN 40104 Requirements. (2 pages)	05/17/1995	P1/b(1)
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LEGISLATIVE STRATEGY

Background

Hill briefings on the OPLAN for UNPROFOR withdrawal have begun. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee was briefed on May 19. The Senate Armed Services Committee is scheduled to be briefed on May 25. Their counterpart committees in the House have asked to defer briefings until the week of June 6 because of floor action on the State/Foreign Assistance Authorization Bill and Committee mark up of the Defense Authorization Bill. Both Intelligence Committees have declined briefings.

Discussion

Although it is unlikely that we will see a unilateral lift amendment (Chris Smith has indicated that he will not offer a lift amendment to the Gilman Bill that is on the House floor this week) we need to continue to press to schedule the OPLAN briefings to lay the groundwork for bringing this issue into sharper focus on the Hill. The main message coming from the SFRC briefing, especially from Lugar and Kassebaum was that The Administration should be working to inform the public and gaining their support if we expect the Senate to provide additional funding. We also need to consult a few key Congressional leaders to get their counsel on ways to build Hill support.

Recommendations

- Continue to push hard for presenting the OPLAN briefings to HIRC, House National Security Committee, and the corresponding Appropriations subcommittees. Week of June 6. (DOD and State)

- Revisit briefings with the Intelligence Committees after recess. Week of June 6. (NSC)

- Principal level discussions with key members, seeking their support and advice as follows:

- Perry/Shalikashvili discussion with Sen. Nunn, and based on Nunn's recommendations and suggestions, a possible follow on discussion with Sen. Warner.

- Lake conversation with Speaker Gingrich (his staff has appeared receptive)

- Senior level follow on conversations as indicated by above consultations.

- Task development of a public affairs strategy to gain public support for U.S. participation in NATO OPLAN. (State/DOD)

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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.

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

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U.S. Push for Airstrikes Shown as Miscalculation

By Michael Dobbs

Washington Post Staff Writer

NEWS
ANALYSIS

The Clinton administration's decision to push for airstrikes against the Bosnian Serbs is turning into a military, diplomatic and public relations fiasco.

By taking hundreds of peacekeepers hostage, relentlessly shelling "safe areas" that the United Nations has pledged to protect and ignoring a series of international ultimatums, the Bosnian Serbs have shown that they will not be bombed into submission by a few airstrikes. They have called the bluff of the international community, and Western governments are searching for a coherent response.

The initial assumption by the Clinton administration that it would be possible to shore up the credibility of the U.N. peacekeeping force through the use of limited air power has been shown to be a miscalculation. Both supporters and opponents of greater U.S. involvement in what had been Yugoslavia agree that the failure to develop a strategy that takes into account the likely reaction of the Bosnian Serbs has had disastrous results.

"The Bosnian Serbs have now trumped our ace," said former secretary of state Lawrence S. Eagleburger, one of the principal architects of the U.S. policy of allowing the Europeans to take the lead in the Bosnian peacekeeping effort. "This is what you can expect if you are dealing with a tough, uncivilized people, in what we would consider a rational way. This tactic of calling you and raising you one is what we did in Vietnam, never expecting the opponent to take us on."

"We have not yet shown either the willingness or ability to carry out a concerted campaign of airstrikes," countered Warren Zimmermann, the last U.S. ambassador to Yugoslavia, and an advocate of the use of much greater air power. "This is to a large degree because we are not prepared to take the risk of casualties."

U.S. officials defend the decision to use airstrikes against the Bosnian Serbs, but concede that there have been errors in "implementation." One senior official criticized the United Nations for taking "insufficient precautions" to protect its peacekeepers from being taken hostage by the Serbs, adding that the operation would have benefited from a "broader array of targeting" and "more careful strategic planning."

Paradoxically, the United States may be closer to the very situation that it has been trying to avoid for nearly four years: sending American troops to what was Yugoslavia. The Clinton administration has pledged to send up to 25,000 troops to assist in any international rescue effort of U.N. peacekeepers, an operation that could take three or four months, running into opposition from all sides in the Bosnian conflict.

To avoid, or at least postpone, such an outcome, U.S. officials are considering a French proposal to reorganize the U.N. force, redeploying peacekeepers in well-defended strongholds around big cities, such as Sarajevo and Tuzla. The plan has the virtue of military coherence and could be a first step toward an orderly withdrawal of the peacekeepers. The drawback is that it could involve a U.N. retreat from some of the Muslim-inhabited "safe areas," such as Srebrenica and Gorazde, which could lead to charges of a Western sellout of the Muslims.

At a session yesterday at the White House, the president's chief foreign policy advisers reviewed contingency plans for more limited operations to rescue trapped U.N. peacekeepers that could involve the dispatch of U.S. commandos to the region. An administration official said that plans under discussion included the possible use of Marines and amphibious forces in air and sea rescue operations.

The French plan will be discussed today by NATO foreign ministers, including Secretary of State Warren Christopher, at a hastily convened meeting of the international Contact Group on the former Yugoslavia in the Netherlands. A NATO ministerial meeting convened for Tuesday to

discuss a U.S. initiative for the eastward expansion of the alliance to former Soviet bloc countries will almost certainly be dominated by the crisis in Bosnia and the future of the U.N. peacekeeping mission.

The ministers will have to grapple with the question of how far U.N. peacekeepers should go in discarding their neutrality and becoming an active combatant. In the American view, the Bosnian Serbs have "breached the line between warfare and terrorism," and a fundamental change in the U.N. peacekeeping mandate is necessary, an official said. U.S. officials said that the French, who contribute the largest contingent to the U.N. force, are willing to go "a long way" to support such a change. Other contributors to the U.N. force are more reluctant to engage in open fighting.

The serious divisions among Western governments over how to respond to the defiance of the Bosnian Serbs is in large part the result of a lack of clear-cut American leadership, according to many analysts. Because of its long-standing refusal to contribute to the U.N. peacekeeping force, Washington has had to defer to London and Paris on many major decisions.

"We are now all paying the price for the refusal of the Bush administration and then the Clinton administration to exercise leadership," said Zimmermann. "For a country with the history and traditions of the U.S., non-involvement is not an option."

The refusal to play a major role in peacekeeping began with a decision by President George Bush and Secretary of State James A. Baker III in late 1991 to keep out of the conflict as much as possible and encourage the Europeans to take the lead. "We left this administration with an unresolved mess," acknowledged Eagleburger, who played a key role in shaping the Bush administration's policy.

The Clinton administration then failed to carry through on many of the pledges it made to the Muslim-led Bosnian government. There have been numerous occasions over the past two years when President Clinton has talked tough but failed to deliver.

Last year, for example, the ad-

See POLICY

4

POLICY . . . *Cont.*

ministration said it wanted to lift the U.N. arms embargo to let the Bosnian Muslims arm themselves, but then backed down under pressure from the British and the French.

Over the last few months, the administration has retreated to the moral high ground, deploring the failure of the international community to assist the Bosnian Muslims but doing little to help them in practice.

Like other Western governments, the Clinton administration has frequently blamed the United Nations for the failure of Western policy in Bosnia to halt the fighting. The cumbersome U.N. bureaucracy and the difficulty of coordinating action between the United Nations and NATO—which is charged with exercising air power—have complicated the mission of the peacekeepers.

But many analysts believe that the U.N. decisions have been a reflection of the confused policies of Western governments.

"We should not blame the U.N. so much," said the German ambassador to Washington, Juergen Chrobog. "The real problem is that we in NATO have not been willing to do more."

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. statement	UK Message to the Bosnian Serb Authorities. (1 page)	05/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
OA/Box Number: 897

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - May 1995: Mid-Late [2]

2013-0687-F

vz2703

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]
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1. The mission for observation of the border between the FRY and Bosnia will be reinforced. This mission will send periodic reports to the Security Council, through the Secretary General of the United Nations. The Secretary General will report to the Council at any time if the FRY is not implementing its decision to close the border, or is not implementing its commitment to support the Contact Group plan, or is in violation of the relevant resolution on the suspension of sanctions. In the event of such a report, sanctions will be automatically reimposed.

2. Reimposition of sanctions will also be automatic if at the request of a member of the Council a standing investigative panel reports to the Council through the Secretary General that the FRY is not honouring its commitments to close the border between the FRY and Bosnia or is not implementing its commitment to support the Contact Group plan.

STATEMENT OF THE CONTACT GROUP

The Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Contact Group's member states note with grave concern the dramatic situation in Bosnia which has come about as a result of the escalation of hostilities by both sides following the refusal to extend the cease-fire agreement.

They demand that the sides cease forthwith the hostilities and comply immediately with the relevant Security Council resolutions and UNPROFOR demands.

They declare that the achievement of a lasting agreement on the cessation of hostilities is an indispensable condition for continuing the UN peace-keeping operation.

The Contact Group issues a special warning to the leadership of Pale who bear entire grave responsibility for the lives and safety of the UNPROFOR personnel and calls for prompt release of the peace-keepers who have been taken hostage.

It stresses its intention to raise the issue of improving the UN operation's mandate so as to enhance the safety of the peace-keeping personnel and effectiveness in performance of their missions.

The Ministers once again strongly urge the leadership of the Bosnia Serbs to adopt, as soon as possible, the peace plan for Bosnia as the basis and the starting point for negotiations between Sarajevo and Pale.

The Contact Group member states take a common position in support of ^{the} ~~an~~ earliest mutual recognition among the states of the former Yugoslavia. In this context, they attach extreme importance to an earliest mutual recognition between the ~~F~~^FRY and Bosnia and welcome the progress achieved in this matter. In the event Belgrade accepts the package of the Contact Group's concrete proposals, its firm support of the peace plan for Bosnia and the continued blockade of the borders and the strengthening of the International Conference for Former Yugoslavia's observer mission, the participants in the Meeting guarantee a tangible relaxation of the sanctions regime.

The Ministers agreed that a possible solution to the problem of resumption of the sanctions regime can be found on the basis of the following principle. The UN Secretary General would report to the Security Council based on the information of the ICFY mission at any time when he believes that the ~~F~~^FRY does not comply with the obligations assumed and that there is a need for the renewal of the sanctions regime, unless the Security Council decides otherwise.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003. draft	Ministerial Meeting of the Contact Group: Internal Agreed Guidelines. (2 pages)	05/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
OA/Box Number: 897

FOLDER TITLE:

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STATEMENT

The Foreign Ministers of France, Spain, Germany and the European Union Commissioner for external affairs (representing the Troika of the European Union), the foreign ministers of the United Kingdom and of Russia and the US Secretary of State, together with the co-chairmen of the international conference on the former Yugoslavia, met in The Hague on May 29th 1995.

They condemned the escalation of violence by the parties ~~and any hostile acts against UN personnel.~~

They most strongly condemned the shelling by the Bosnian Serbs of the safe areas, in particular in Tuzla on May 25th 1995. They consider that the ~~outrageous~~ ^{on} acts against UNPROFOR members and UN observers are unacceptable. They hold Pale leaders accountable for the security of UN personnel taken ~~to~~ hostage and warn them that they will bear the consequences if these personnel are not correctly treated and returned unharmed to their units.

The Ministers once again strongly urge the Bosnian Serb authorities to accept, as soon as possible, the Contact Group plan as a starting point for negotiations.

The Ministers agreed on the need to reinforce UNPROFOR. To this effect, they have decided on the need to secure UNPROFOR'S right of freedom of movement, in general, and the right of access to Safe Areas and to provide the UN with a capacity for rapid reaction. They requested the UN commanders to urgently consider the modalities of these measures. They stress the importance of a renewal of the cessation of hostilities agreement.

The Ministers agreed to give a new impetus to the diplomatic process in order to reach a political settlement of the conflict, which they consider as the only possible solution. They support mutual recognition among the states of the former Yugoslavia. In that respect, they agreed to make a new effort with a view to the earliest possible FRY (Serbia-Montenegro) recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina. A resolution on sanctions suspension should be finalised in the security council.

Ministers will meet again in ~~the~~ near future in order to examine UNPROFOR's situation in the light of progress made by then in the above mentioned military and political fields.

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Ministers will meet again in the near future in order to examine UNPROFOR's situation in the light of progress made by then in the above mentioned military and political fields.

ALLEMAGNE

- Dr. Klaus KINKEL
- Mr. STEINER
- Dr. ISCHINGER
- Mr. GERDTS
- Dr. WESTDICKENBERG
- Mrs. NOTHBOM-RUH
- Mr. HARTMANN
- Ambassadeur HAAS

Ministre

Porte-parole du Ministre

Interprète anglais

Interprète russe

ESPAGNE

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| - M. Miguel Angel CARRIEDO | Directeur Général du Cabinet du Ministre |
| - M. Jorge DEZCALLAR | Directeur Général des Affaires Politiques |
| - M. José de CARVAJAL | Directeur Général de Sécurité et de Désarmement |
| - M. Jésus ATIENZA | Directeur Général du Bureau d'Information
Diplomatique |
| - M. Santiago CABANAS | Sous-Directeur Général d'Europe Centrale
et Orientale |

ETATS-UNIS d'AMERIQUE

- Mr. Warren CHRISTOPHER	Secretary of State
- Mr. Thomas E. DONILON	Chief of Staff
- Mr. James B. STEINBERG	Director for Policy Planning
- Lt. Gen . Daniel CHRISTMAN	Joint Chiefs of Staff
- Mr. Alexander VERSHBOW	National Security Council
- Mr. Robert FRASURE	Deputy Assistant Secretary, European and Canadian Affairs

GRANDE BRETAGNE

- Mr. Douglas HURD	
- Mr. SAWERS	Private Secretary
- Mrs. NEVILLE-JOHNS	Political Director
- Mr. EHRMAN	Contact Group expert
- Mr. OMAND	Ministry of Defence, Deputy Secretary
- Mr. SHEINWALD	Head, Press Department, FCO

FEDERATION de RUSSIE

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| - M. Mikhail POLIAKOV | Deputy Head, Secretariat of the Minister |
| - M. Vladimir IVANOVSKI | Deputy Director, European Department |
| - M. Nikita ZHUKOV | Section Head, Department of International Organizations |
| - Mr. Vladislav KRASAVIN | Secretary, European Department |

COMMISSION EUROPEENNE

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| - M. Günter BURGHARDT | Directeur Général aux relations politiques
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| - M. Ed KRONENBURG | Chef de Cabinet Adjoint du Commissaire
van den BROEK |
| - M. Peter DUN | Conseiller à la Direction Générale des
Relations extérieures |
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004. statement	Duplicate of 002. (1 page)	05/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
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European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
OA/Box Number: 897

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - May 1995: Mid-Late [2]

2013-0687-F
vz2703

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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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
005. draft	Contact Group: Sanctions Relief Annex, Framework, and OSCE. (4 pages)	05/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
OA/Box Number: 897

FOLDER TITLE:

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
006. cable	French Memorandum on the Situation in Bosnia. [Original French] (2 pages)	05/28/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
OA/Box Number: 897

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
007. draft	Contact Group Document. (1 page)	n.d.	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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OA/Box Number: 897

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008. draft	Statement. (1 page)	05/1995	P1/b(1)

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MAY 28 '95 22:10

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NUMBER 10 PRESS STATEMENT ON BOSNIA: 28 MAY 1995

The Overseas Policy and Defence Committee of the Cabinet met this evening, with the Chief of Defence Staff in attendance, to consider the deteriorating situation in Bosnia and the taking captive today of over 30 British soldiers serving with UNPROFOR at Gorazde.

The action of Bosnian Serb forces in taking and holding UN peacekeeping troops of different nationalities is without a shred of justification and has created a very serious situation. It is an outrageous action against peacekeepers which the British Government utterly condemns. The consequences will be very severe if these soldiers are not released unharmed.

We are making clear directly and unequivocally to the Bosnian Serb leadership that the safety of British troops in Bosnia is a vital British interest. We are consulting our NATO allies and other countries concerned about further specific steps.

The Government has also decided to take steps greatly to strengthen the ability of the United Kingdom contingent in UNPROFOR to defend itself in this much more dangerous environment. The Ministry of Defence will be sending 2 artillery batteries and an armoured engineer squadron to Bosnia as soon as possible. In addition, in consultation with UNPROFOR, 24 Air Mobile Brigade is being placed under orders to prepare to deploy to Bosnia.

We shall be proposing to our partners and allies that these additional deployments should form part of a wider strategy of concentrating the forces of the United Nations.

MAY 28 '95 22:11

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- 2 -

A renewed effort must now be made to bring about a cessation of hostilities, the recognition by Serbia of Bosnia, and settlement negotiations, in order to pre-empt a further downward spiral in the war. We are consulting Contact Group partners about diplomatic initiatives to this end.

The Government will be seeking the recall of Parliament to consider the situation in Bosnia, on Wednesday, 31 May.

28 May

[F:Press.Norm]

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
009a. draft	Agenda: NSC Principals Committee Meeting on Bosnia, May 28, 1995. (1 page)	05/27/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
OA/Box Number: 897

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - May 1995: Mid-Late [2]

2013-0687-F

vz2703

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]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- 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.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
009b. draft	Memorandum: May 28 Principals Meeting on Bosnia. (9 pages)	05/27/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
OA/Box Number: 897

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - May 1995: Mid-Late [2]

2013-0687-F

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