

FOIA MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Folder Title:

Bosnia - July 1995: Mid-Late [4]

Staff Office-Individual:

European Affairs-Vershbow, Alexander

Original OA/ID Number:

896

Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:	Stack:
34	2	1	1	v

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. note	London Conference Results and Next Steps at NATO. (2 pages)	n.d.	P1/b(1)
002. chart	"Final" US Position, May 21. (1 page)	n.d.	P1/b(1)
003. cable	Subject: Bosnia: Message to the Bosnian Serb Leadership. (1 page)	07/22/1995	P1/b(1)
004a. cable	NATO/Bosnia: Additional Talking Points. (1 page)	07/24/1995	P1/b(1)
004b. draft	Talking Points, Preparation for 24 July Military Committee. (3 pages)	07/24/1995	P1/b(1)
005. draft	Talking Points, Preparation for 24 July Military Committee. (3 pages)	07/24/1995	P1/b(1)
006. memo	For Lieutenant General Estes. Subject: Feedback from 23 July MC Meeting. [NATO] (3 pages)	07/23/1995	P1/b(1)
007. talking points	Points to be Made for Telephone Conversation with British Prime Minister John Major. (2 pages)	n.d.	P1/b(1)
008a. cable	re: Bosnia: Message to the Bosnian Serb Leadership. (1 page)	07/22/1995	P1/b(1)
008b. paper	Talking Paper: Subject: Meeting with General Mladic. (3 pages)	07/23/1995	P1/b(1)
008c. draft	Draft Communiqué. (1 page)	07/23/1995	P1/b(1)
009. memo	For the President from Anthony Lake. Subject: Your Meeting with Christopher, Perry, and Shalikashvili. Record ID: 9505696. (2 pages)	07/22/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
OA/Box Number: 896

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - July 1995: Mid-Late [4]

2013-0687-F

vz2726

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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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
010. memo	Bildt/Milosevic. (5 pages)	07/19/1995	P1/b(1)
011. note	From Liz to Jan and Ash. Subject: Quick Report on Grachev Meeting. (3 pages)	07/21/1995	P1/b(1)
012. chart	Schematic of Endgame Strategy. (2 pages)	07/1995	P1/b(1)
013a. cable	Letter to Boris Yeltsin from President Clinton. (3 pages)	07/21/1995	P1/b(1)
013b. memo	For the President from Anthony Lake. Subject: Message to Yeltsin. Record ID: 9505587. (1 page)	07/20/1995	P1/b(1)
014. cable	Duplicate of 013a. (2 pages)	07/21/1995	P1/b(1)
015. paper	Implications of [an] Attack on Bihac. (2 pages)	07/21/1995	P1/b(1)

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

July 23, 1995

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

Following the outcome of the London conference and the subsequent NATO meeting, the British, French and American Governments have delivered a message to the Bosnian Serb leadership to ensure they are fully aware of the consequences of their present behavior. This message was delivered today by three senior military officials of the three Governments.

It includes the following elements:

- The aim remains to promote a negotiated political settlement, taking into account the rights and interests of all the Bosnian parties. There is no military solution to this conflict.
- The attacks against the safe areas cannot be tolerated. There must be no doubt that any steps which may become necessary in order to reinforce or resupply UNPROFOR contingents, in particular those in Gorazde and other safe areas, will be taken, including by means of the RRF.
- A warning that if military action is undertaken against Gorazde, substantial air actions will be mounted. If necessary, these actions will be at unprecedented levels.
- NATO and UNPROFOR are taking the necessary steps to that end.

The Bosnian Serbs were told that the deaths of two further French soldiers underlined the seriousness of this warning. They must realize that necessary action will be taken in response to attacks elsewhere, including in other safe areas.

#

TIME OF TRANSMISSION

TIME OF RECEIPT

**WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM**

PRECEDENCE: IMMEDIATE
PRIORITY
ROUTINE

RELEASER: _____

DTG: _____

MESSAGE NO.: _____ CLASSIFICATION: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ TOTAL: 5
(PAGES INCLUDING COVER)

FROM: NSC-A. VERSHBOW 456-9151 368
(NAME) (PHONE NUMBER) (ROOM NO.)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION: CABLE TO NATO CAPITALS ON BOSNIA

TO (AGENCY)	DELIVER TO	DEPT/ROOM NO.	PHONE NUMBER
<u>STATE</u>	<u>EUR-CHRIS HILL</u>	<u>EUR/SCE</u>	<u>76608</u>
	<u>GEORGE GLASS</u>	<u>EUR/IRPM</u>	<u>71626</u>

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS

Initials: VL Date: 6/11/14

203-0687-F

REMARKS: PER DISCUSSION WITH CHRIS HILL. NEEDS
TO GO OUT SUNDAY NIGHT!
NOTE: CHANGE "UNPF" TO "UNPROFOR" THROUGHOUT

(1)

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004a. cable	NATO/Bosnia: Additional Talking Points. (1 page)	07/24/1995	P1/b(1)

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004b. draft	Talking Points, Preparation for 24 July Military Committee. (3 pages)	07/24/1995	P1/b(1)

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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
008c. draft	Draft Communiqué. (1 page)	07/23/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
OA/Box Number: 896

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - July 1995: Mid-Late [4]

2013-0687-F

vz2726

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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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Travel Warning

United States Department of State

Bureau of Consular Affairs

Washington, D.C. 20520

For recorded travel information, call 202-647-5225.

To access the Consular Affairs Bulletin Board, call 202-647-9225.

For information by fax, call 202-647-3000 from your fax machine.



BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

July 21, 1995

The Department of State warns U.S. citizens not to travel to the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina because of increased hostilities. All U.S. citizens presently in Bosnia-Herzegovina, including those working for private voluntary organizations, are urged to leave. The July 21 announcement at the London Conference about possible NATO military action raises the possibility of renewed hostage-taking by Bosnian Serb forces. The military activity around Sarajevo severely restricts the American Embassy's ability to assist U.S. citizens, even in emergencies.

This replaces the warning for Bosnia-Herzegovina dated May 31, 1995 to emphasize the threat of hostage-taking.

Travel Warning

United States Department of State

Bureau of Consular Affairs

Washington, D.C. 20520

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For information by fax, call 202-647-3000 from your fax machine.



CROATIA

July 21, 1995

The Department of State warns U.S. citizens to avoid travel to Croatia because of the potential for rapid changes in the security situation there stemming from internal Serb-Croat fighting and the ongoing war in neighboring Bosnia-Herzegovina. Zagreb was attacked by Serb missiles in May 1995 and September 1993, and the threat of continued attack remains. The July 21 announcement at the London Conference about possible NATO military action raises the possibility of Serb reprisals against international personnel in the region.

Despite unsettled conditions in the remainder of Croatia, the city of Rijeka and the Istrian peninsula in western Croatia are beyond the range of Serb shells and are largely unaffected by the fighting. This area is accessible by road from Slovenia or ferry from Italy.

This replaces the warning for Croatia dated June 16, 1995 to emphasize the possibility of Serb reprisals in the region.

UNCLASSIFIED

CA/OCS/EMR/EUR:JWHITESIDE (3723EPS)
07/21/95 EXT. 76126
CA/OCS:DDILLARD

CA/OCS:GAROGERS M:GKAM EUR:REHECKLINGER
CA/OCS/ACS/EE:RLFRETZ DS/OP:RSMITH/VOGEL(INFO) S/S:0
PA:DJOHNSON CA/PA:NBUDIG P:SBREMNER EUR/EEA:RJOHNSON

H:WNESEBITT; EB/OA/AVP; AID/TT:MANDERSON; INS/HQADN

ROUTINE ALDAC, TREASURY WASHDC, CDC ATLANTA,
RUCPDIR/ALL USDOC DISTDIR+
ROUTINE ATO GUAM, SPECIAL EMBASSY PROGRAM COLLECTIVE

INFORM CONSULS

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: CASC, BK

DH

JW

SUBJECT: BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA - WARNING

1. WARNING: THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE WARNS U.S. CITIZENS NOT TO TRAVEL TO THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA BECAUSE OF INCREASED HOSTILITIES. ALL U.S. CITIZENS PRESENTLY IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA, INCLUDING THOSE WORKING FOR PRIVATE VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS, ARE URGED TO LEAVE. THE JULY 21 ANNOUNCEMENT AT THE LONDON CONFERENCE ABOUT POSSIBLE NATO MILITARY ACTION RAISES THE POSSIBILITY OF RENEWED HOSTAGE-TAKING BY BOSNIAN SERB FORCES. THE MILITARY ACTIVITY AROUND SARAJEVO SEVERELY RESTRICTS THE AMERICAN EMBASSY'S ABILITY TO ASSIST U.S. CITIZENS, EVEN IN EMERGENCIES.

2. THIS REPLACES THE WARNING FOR BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA DATED MAY 31, 1995 TO EMPHASIZE THE THREAT OF HOSTAGE-TAKING.
44

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

2

RUKLDAR/U.S. ARMY MATERIEL COMMAND ALEX VA//AMCMI-SS//
RUWDOAA/NAVOCEANSYSCEN SAN DIEGO CA JAMES C. SHIELDS
RUEAHQA/HQ USAF WASH DC//XOXI//
RUEABOA/BOLLING AFB DC//IVOA//
RUCNJVVW/AL INOCCO 8105721076 USDOE OKRE
RUKGNHA/FAA WASHDC//ACS-400//
RULSNAA/COMNAVAIRSYSCOM WASH DC//AIR1031B//
RUKGNFA/NRC WASH DC//INFOSEC//
RUEANAT/NASA HQ WASH DC //CODE NIS JVERBA//
RUCJACC/USCINCCENT MACDIL AFB FL//CCJ2-JIT
RUCPCIM/CIM NTDB WASHDC
RULSJGA/COGARD INTELCOORDCEN WASHINGTON DC
RUEANAT/NASA HQ WASHDC//CODE JIS AND IR
ZEN/IZMIR, RWANDA POUCH

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CA/OCS/EMR/EUR:JWHITESIDE (3723EP7)
07/21/95 EXT. 76126
CA/OCS:DDILLARD

CA/OCS:GAROGERS M:GKAM EUR/SCE:CH0H
CA/OCS/ACS/EE:RLFRETZ DS/OP:RSMITH/VOGEL(INFO)
PA:DJOHNSON CA/PA:NBUDIG P:SBREMNER S/S:0

H:WNESEBITT; EB/OA/AVP; AID/TT:MANDERSON; INS/HQADN

ROUTINE ALDAC, TREASURY WASHDC, CDC ATLANTA,
RUCPDIR/ALL USDOC DISTDIR+
ROUTINE ATO GUAM, SPECIAL EMBASSY PROGRAM COLLECTIVE

INFORM CONSULS

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: CASC, HR

DH

SUBJECT: CROATIA - WARNING

JW

1. WARNING: THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE WARNS U.S. CITIZENS TO AVOID TRAVEL TO CROATIA BECAUSE OF THE POTENTIAL FOR RAPID CHANGES IN THE SECURITY SITUATION THERE STEMMING FROM INTERNAL SERB-CROAT FIGHTING AND THE ONGOING WAR IN NEIGHBORING BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA. ZAGREB WAS ATTACKED BY SERB MISSILES IN MAY 1995 AND SEPTEMBER 1993, AND THE THREAT OF CONTINUED ATTACK REMAINS. THE JULY 21 ANNOUNCEMENT AT THE LONDON CONFERENCE ABOUT POSSIBLE NATO MILITARY ACTION RAISES THE POSSIBILITY OF SERB REPRISALS AGAINST INTERNATIONAL PERSONNEL IN THE REGION.

2. DESITE UNSETTLED CONDITIONS IN THE REMAINDER OF CROATIA, THE CITY OF RIJEKA AND THE ISTRIAN PENINSULA IN WESTERN CROATIA ARE BEYOND THE RANGE OF SERB SHELLS AND ARE LARGELY UNAFFECTED BY THE FIGTHING. THIS AREA IS ACCESSIBLE BY ROAD FROM SLOVENIA OR FERRY FROM ITALY.

2. THIS REPLACES THE WARNING FOR CROATIA DATED JUNE 16, 1995 TO EMPHASIZE THE POSSIBILITY OF SERB REPRISALS IN THE REGION.

44

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UNCLASSIFIED

2

RUKLDAR/U.S. ARMY MATERIEL COMMAND ALEX VA//AMCMI-SS//
RUWDOAA/NAVOCEANSYSCEN SAN DIEGO CA JAMES C. SHIELDS
RUEAHQA/HQ USAF WASH DC//XOXI//
RUEABOA/BOLLING AFB DC//IVOA//
RUCNJVV/AL INOCCO 8105721076 USDOE OKRE
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RUCPCIM/CIM NTDB WASHDC
RULSJGA/COGARD INTELCOORDCEN WASHINGTON DC
RUEANAT/NASA HQ WASHDC//CODE JIS AND IR
ZEN/IZMIR, RWANDA POUCH

UNCLASSIFIED

TALKING POINTS ON THE LONDON CONFERENCE

This call is to report to you the results of the London conference and the follow-up action from the conference.

The 16 nations assembled fully recognize that we are at a turning point in Bosnia. The difficult choices are to protect Gorazde or withdraw UNPROFOR.

As with any meeting of 16 countries, many different perspectives were presented, but the differences should not be over-emphasized. Several common opinions emerged from the meeting.

If there is to be any hope of political settlement, the military situation in Bosnia must be stabilized while the search of a diplomatic solution continues.

Virtually all countries agreed that the international community must draw a red line around Gorazde to prevent its fall. Gorazde was the focus of the meeting because it is the most vulnerable of the remaining UN safe areas, but the principles of Gorazde can quickly apply to Sarajevo and other areas as well.

An attack on Gorazde will generate a "substantial and decisive" response as conference as chairman Rifkind stated in his summary remarks to the press after the meeting.

-Behind the general conclusion on a response lies an agreement by the US, Britain and France that if Gorazde attacked or if an intent to attack Gorazde is demonstrated, NATO will respond with an air campaign, employing air power at levels not seen before in Bosnia to protect Gorazde and the UN peacekeepers. The pin prick air strikes of the past are finished.

-The air campaign has some important new features.

--Unlike the current dual key arrangement, the UN political leaders are removed from air campaign implementation decisions. Coordination between the NATO air commander and the ground commander still take place for planning and execution of the operation as they would for any military operation.

--"Substantial and decisive" means a plan for graduated air attacks of increasing scope, intensity and duration. Strikes will not be limited to tit-for-tat responses. Rather, they will continue until the Serbs stop their attack. The Serbs will be told that NATO will regard any relevant target on Bosnian Serb territory, including command and control installations, as targets.

--The air commander will have full authority to suppress air defenses as needed to carry out the campaign.

In carrying out these measures, the conference affirmed that hostage-taking cannot be allowed to paralyze required UN military operations. The meeting recommended that the UN take measures to reduce its exposure to hostage taking, but the conference also realized that the threat of hostages can never be eliminated. Without a commitment to continue military action in the face of hostage-taking, no policy or military option is workable.

A team of senior NATO military officers, consisting of _____, will deliver the ultimatum reflecting the London agreements to the Bosnian Serbs as soon as possible.

The London Conference was not an implementation forum. The political and military agreements in London must now be turned into action. The North Atlantic Council met in special session on Saturday and directed that a military plan be developed. They will convene again on Monday to reach decisions on NATO post-London actions.

The air campaign can be planned and implemented within existing UN Security Council resolutions.

The London agreements require no additional forces from the US, and there is absolutely no change to the US policy that US troops will not become combatants in the ground war in Bosnia.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

5696

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

July 22, 1995

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

FROM: ALEXANDER VERSHBOW *AV*

SUBJECT: Presidential Briefing Paper for Meeting with
Secretaries Christopher and Perry and General
Shalikashvili

Attached at Tab A is a memorandum to for the President for his meeting with Secretaries Christopher and Perry and General Shalikashvili.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum to the President at Tab I.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the President
Tab A Press Points

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines,

September 11, 2006

By Van Zandt NARA, Date 6/11/14

293-0687-F

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
009. memo	For the President from Anthony Lake. Subject: Your Meeting with Christopher, Perry, and Shalikashvili. Record ID: 9505696. (2 pages)	07/22/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
OA/Box Number: 896

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - July 1995: Mid-Late [4]

2013-0687-F
vz2726

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. memo	Bildt/Milosevic. (5 pages)	07/19/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
OA/Box Number: 896

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - July 1995: Mid-Late [4]

2013-0687-F

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The aim of the air campaign is to deter Bosnian Serb violations of appropriate UNSC resolutions on protection of safe areas.

Should deterrence fail, the air campaign must be designed to impede and delay attacking forces and bolster the defense of safe areas. Rather than a very limited response as in the past, this represents an extensive campaign to help stop aggression against Gorazde.

To be militarily effective, this air campaign has to be planned in advance. Attacks would not necessarily be scaled to the initial provocation. Militarily significant targets throughout a zone of action would have to be attacked and not just those immediately involved in attacks on Gorazde.

Existing dual key arrangements must give way to the following arrangements:

- The sequence of the air campaign must be jointly developed between Commander UNPROFOR and NATO's CINCSOUTH.

- The Bosnian Serbs will have to be given a clear warning not to shell or otherwise threaten Gorazde. Thus, the burden of the initiation of the air campaign will rest with the Bosnian Serbs.

Once the prearranged triggering events occur, the air campaign will proceed until attacks cease and attacking forces withdraw, and will be adjusted only as required by the tactical situation around Gorazde. Should airstrikes throughout the zone of action prove insufficient, air attacks

on militarily significant targets throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina would have to be carried out. However, the initiation of such Bosnia-wide air operations will require a separate political decision.

Even with an air campaign as just described, a successful defense of Gorazde cannot be guaranteed. But a militarily effective air campaign together with a resolute defense by Bosnian Government forces will provide a significant opportunity to help protect Gorazde.

As already stated, preceding such air campaigns must be prudent steps to consolidate and regroup UNPROFOR and humanitarian organizations to reduce the vulnerability to hostage taking.

And its important to agree beforehand that despite hostage taking, air operations once commenced, would have to continue until attacks on Gorazde stop.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
011. note	From Liz to Jan and Ash. Subject: Quick Report on Grachev Meeting. (3 pages)	07/21/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
OA/Box Number: 896

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - July 1995: Mid-Late [4]

2013-0687-F

vz2726

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STATEMENT OF SECRETARY OF DEFENSE WILLIAM PERRY

THIS IS THE DEFINING MOMENT IN THE INTERNATIONAL EFFORT TO BRING PEACE TO BOSNIA. WE APPRECIATE THE HARD WORK OF MR. BILDT, AND WE WISH HIM EVERY SUCCESS AS HE STRIVES TO CONCLUDE A DIPLOMATIC SETTLEMENT TO THIS TRAGIC CONFLICT. THIS WAR WILL ONLY BE SETTLED THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS.

WHILE THESE DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS ARE UNDERWAY, HOWEVER, WE MUST NOT FORGET WHAT HAS BROUGHT US HERE TO LONDON TODAY.

THE BOSNIAN SERB SEIZURE OF THE UN SAFE AREA OF SREBRENICA AND ATTACK ON THE SAFE AREA OF ZEPA AND THEIR SUBSEQUENT TREATMENT OF THE PEOPLE OF THOSE SAFE AREAS ARE AN OUTRAGE. WE ARE DETERMINED THAT GORAZDE SHALL NOT SUFFER THE SAME FATE.

GORAZDE IS THE PLACE WHERE THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY MUST DRAW THE LINE. IT IS THE SYMBOL OF OUR COMMITMENT TO PEACE AND FAIRNESS. AT RISK AT GORAZDE IS NOT JUST AN ISOLATED ENCLAVE IN BOSNIA, BUT THE WHOLE CONCEPT OF INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING. WE SHOULD TAKE A STAND NOW. DIPLOMACY WILL NOT SUCCEED IF THE BOSNIAN SERBS SUCCEED IN TAKING GORAZDE.

WE MUST ISSUE AN ULTIMATUM TO THE BOSNIAN SERB LEADERS WHICH MAKES CLEAR THAT PREVENTING AN ATTACK ON GORAZDE ENGAGES OUR NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL INTERESTS. TO THAT END, WE ARE PREPARED TO USE AIR POWER TO DETER, AND IF NECESSARY ANSWER, SUCH AN ATTACK. GENERAL SHALI WILL OUTLINE IN MORE DETAIL OUR PROPOSAL FOR THE USE OF AIR TO PROTECT GORAZDE, BUT FIRST I WANT TO MAKE THREEPOINTS.

THE FIRST POINT ABOUT THE USE OF AIR IS THAT ANY AIR CAMPAIGN CONDUCTED IN BOSNIA MUST BE MILITARILY EFFECTIVE. THE COMMAND STRUCTURE MUST BE ARRANGED TO FOSTER THE NECESSARY ACTION, NOT TO FRUSTRATE IT. TARGETS MUST INCLUDE BOSNIAN SERB FORCES AND THEIR HEAVY WEAPONS AND SUPPORT. IF ATTACKS ON THESE TARGETS ARE NOT SUCCESSFUL IN DETERRING THE ATTACKING FORCES, WE MUST BE PREPARED TO ESCALATE IN A GRADUATED MANNER.

MY SECOND POINT IS THAT THIS AIR OPERATION MUST GIVE AIR COMMANDERS FULL AUTHORITY TO SUPPRESS AIR DEFENSES AS NECESSARY.

MY THIRD POINT IS THAT IT IS NOW TIME FOR THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO TAKE A STAND ON

HOSTAGE TAKING. WE CANNOT ALLOW THE SERBS TO BELIEVE THAT THE TAKING OF HOSTAGES IS A MEANS TO PREVENT AN EFFECTIVE RESPONSE TO BOSNIAN SERB PROVOCATIONS. WE MUST SEND A CLEAR MESSAGE THAT HOSTAGE TAKING WILL NOT BE SUCCESSFUL AND THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO SUSTAIN ACTION IN THE FACE OF HOSTAGE HOLDING. SUCH RESOLUTION IS THE BEST MEANS TO REDUCE THE INCENTIVE FOR HOSTAGE-TAKING.

LET ME NOW TURN TO GENERAL SHALI TO PRESENT THE MILITARY ASPECTS OF OUR AIR PROPOSAL.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
012. chart	Schematic of Endgame Strategy. (2 pages)	07/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
OA/Box Number: 896

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - July 1995: Mid-Late [4]

2013-0687-F
vz2726

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TO: YELTSIN, BORIS

FROM: PRESIDENT

DOC DATE: 21 JUL 95
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: RUSSIA
BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA

HS

PERSONS: YELTSIN, BORIS

SUBJECT: PRES MSG TO YELTSIN RE BOSNIA

ACTION: CABLE SENT VIA SIT ROOM

DUE DATE: 22 JUL 95 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: PIFER

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

BLACKER
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PIFER
VERSHBOW

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

By VR NARA, Date 6/11/14
2003-0687 f

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSMEC

CLOSED BY: NSMEC

DOC 3 OF 3

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICERCAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 LAKE	Z 95072020 FWD TO PRESIDENT FOR DECISION
002 PRESIDENT	Z 95072115 FOR DECISION
002	X 95072115 PRESIDENT APPROVED RECOM
003	X 95072115 CABLE SENT VIA SIT ROOM

DISPATCH DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC DATE DISPATCH FOR ACTIONDISPATCH FOR INFO

003	950721	YELTSIN, BORIS
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National Security Council
The White House

PROOFED BY: _____ LOG # 5587
URGENT NOT PROOFED: _____ SYSTEM PRS NSC INT
BYPASSED WW DESK: _____ DOCLOG 12 A/O _____

	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL/DATE	DISPOSITION
Harmon	_____	_____	_____
Dohse	<u>1</u>	<u>D</u>	_____
Sens	_____	_____	_____
Soderberg	<u>copy</u>	_____	_____
Berger	<u>copy</u>	_____	_____
Lake	<u>2</u>	_____	_____
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____
West Wing Desk	_____	<u>18K 7/21</u>	<u>A</u>
Records Mgt.	_____	_____	<u>N</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

A = Action I = Information D = Dispatch R = Retain N = No Further Action

CC:

COMMENTS:

Exec Sec Office has diskette _____

*President approved transmission at 2358
12:00 July 20
Sit Room is signaling W.H.*

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
013a. cable	Letter to Boris Yeltsin from President Clinton. (3 pages)	07/21/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
OA/Box Number: 896

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - July 1995: Mid-Late [4]

2013-0687-F
vz2726

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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- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
013b. memo	For the President from Anthony Lake. Subject: Message to Yeltsin. Record ID: 9505587. (1 page)	07/20/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
OA/Box Number: 896

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - July 1995: Mid-Late [4]

2013-0687-F
vz2726

RESTRICTION CODES

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

5587

July 20, 1995

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: COIT BLACKER *CB*

FROM: STEVE PIFER *SP*

SUBJECT: Presidential Message to Yeltsin Regarding Bosnia

The memorandum to the President at Tab I recommends a Presidential message to Yeltsin regarding Bosnia. In order to have a chance of affecting the approach that Kozyrev and Grachev take in London tomorrow, the message must go tonight.

Concurrence by: Alexander Vershbow *AV*

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the memorandum to the President at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the President

Tab A Presidential Message to Yeltsin

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

By VZ NARA, Date 6/11/14

2013-0687-F

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
014. cable	Duplicate of 013a. (2 pages)	07/21/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
OA/Box Number: 896

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - July 1995: Mid-Late [4]

2013-0687-F

vz2726

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2107

WHO'S WHO

Exec. Dir, Giro and Remittance Services, 1969-74 (Sen. Dir, 1970-74); Sen. Dir, Data Processing Service, 1974-75; Sen. Dir, Telecom Personnel, 1975-81. Member: Industrial Adv. Panel, City Univ. Business Sch., 1974-81 (Chm., 1977-81); Court, Cranfield Inst. of Technology, 1976-81; Business Educn Council, 1977-83; Council: Intermediate Technology Devel't Gp, 1982-85; Internat. Stereoscopic Union, 1987-; Chm., Stereoscopic Soc., 1993- (Vice-Chm., 1990-92). Chm., Radlett Soc. & Green Belt Assoc., 1989-. *Publication*: The Book of Radlett and Aldenham, 1990. *Recreations*: 3-D photography, social history. *Address*: 10 Homefield Road, Radlett, Herts WD7 8PY. *T*: Radlett (0923) 854500.

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WRATTEN, Air Chief Marshal Sir William (John), KBE 1991 (CBE 1982); CB 1991; AFC 1973; FRAeS; Air Officer Commanding-in-Chief Strike Command, and Commander Allied Air Forces Northwestern Europe, since 1994; *b* 15 Aug. 1939; *s* of William Wellesley Wratten and Gwenneth Joan (*née* Bourne); *m* 1963, Susan Jane Underwood; two *s* two *d*. *Educ*: Chatham House Grammar Sch., Ramsgate; RAF Coll., Cranwell. FRAeS 1991. OC, RAF Coningsby, 1980-82; Sen. RAF Officer, Falkland Is, 1982; RCDS, 1983; Dir, Operational Requirements (RAF), MoD, 1984-86; SASO, HQ 1 Gp, 1986-89; AOC No 11 Gp, 1989-91; Air Comdr British Forces ME, and Dep. to Comdr (on attachment), Nov. 1990-March 1991; Dir Gen., Saudi Armed Forces Project, 1992-94. Legionnaire, Legion of Merit (USA), 1993. *Recreation*: golf. *Club*: Royal Air Force.

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WRAXALL, 2nd Baron, *cr* 1928, of Clyst St George, Co. Devon; George Richard Lawley Gibbs; DL; landowner, farmer and forester, since 1954; *b* 16 May 1928 (for whom Queen Mary was sponsor); *er s* of 1st Baron and Hon. Ursula Mary Lawley, OBE 1945, RRC (*d* 1979), *e d* of 6th Baron Wenlock; *S* father 1931. *Educ*: Eton; RMA Sandhurst. Coldstream Guards, 1946-53; 2nd Lieut, 1948; Actg Captain, 1953; Captain, RARO, 1954; Lieut North Somerset Yeomanry/44 Royal Tank Regt (TA), Dec. 1958; Captain, 1962; Major, 1965; retired 1967. Chairman: N Somerset Conservative Assoc., 1970-74; Avon County Scout Council, 1976-; N Somerset Yeo. Regtl Assoc., 1989- (Trustee, 1970-); President: Assoc. of Professional Foresters, 1991-; Woodspring Cons. Assoc., 1992- (Life Vice-Pres. and Trustee, 1984-); Council Mem., Royal Bath and West Show, 1955-89. Mem., Exec. Cttee, Woodard Corporation, 1983-92; Chm. Governors, St Katherine's Sch., Avon, 1976-81; Fellow, Woodard Schs (Western Div.), 1979-92. Patron, N Somerset Agricul Soc., 1988-. DL Avon, 1974. *Heir*: *b* Hon. Sir Eustace Hubert Beilby Gibbs, *qv*. *Address*: Tyntesfield, Wraxall, Bristol, Avon BS19 1NU. *T*: Flax Bourton (0275) 462923. *Clubs*: Royal Automobile, Cavalry and Guards; Clifton (Bristol).

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WRAXALL, Sir Charles (Frederick Lascelles), 9th Bt *cr* 1813; Assistant Accountant, 1987-89; *b* 17 Sept. 1961; *s* of Sir Morville William Lascelles Wraxall, 8th Bt, and of Lady (Irmgard Wilhelmina) Wraxall; *S* father, 1978; *m* 1983, Lesley Linda, *d* of William Albert and Molly Jean Allan; one *s* one *d*. *Educ*: Archbishop Tenison's Grammar School, Croydon. *Recreations*: stamp and postcard collection, watching football. *Heir*: *s* William Nathaniel Lascelles Wraxall, *b* 3 April 1987.

WRAY, Prof. Gordon Richard, FRS 1986; FEng 1980; Eur Ing; Royal Academy of Engineering Professor in Principles of Engineering Design, Engineering Design Institute, Loughborough University of Technology, 1988-93, now Professor Emeritus; *b* 30 Jan. 1928; *s* of Joseph and Letitia Wray (*née* Jones); *m* 1954, Kathleen Senior; one *s* one *d*.

(BS-Tech MSc-Tech PhD) DSc

The Council:

- strongly condemns the Bosnian Serb seizure of Srebrenica, the current attack on Zepa and the threats to the other Safe Areas.
- calls for an immediate ceasefire and withdrawal of Bosnian Serb forces.
- supports the ongoing diplomatic efforts to resolve the conflict in the former Yugoslavia.
- supports the continuing presence of UNPROFOR in Bosnia-Herzegovina.
- welcomes the outcome of the London Conference of 21 July and fully endorses the warning that any attack on Gorazde will be met with a substantial and decisive response.
- in this context, recalls its decisions of 22 April 1994 establishing an exclusion zone with a 20 km radius around Gorazde (but within the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina) and that any Bosnian Serb heavy weapons firing on Gorazde or remaining within the exclusion zone, together with their direct and essential military support facilities, including but not limited to fuel installations and munitions sites, would be subject to NATO air strikes in accordance with the procedural arrangements worked out between NATO and UNPROFOR following the

~~Council's~~ decisions of 2 and 9 August 1993.

- requests the NATO Military Authorities to consider urgently with UNPF how to make more effective and timely use of air power to deter Serbian aggression, particularly around Gorazde, including the scope for the wider use of air power consistent with existing UN authorisations; and to report back to the Council as soon as possible.

- invites the Secretary General to inform the Secretary-General of the United Nations of these decisions as soon as possible.

BOSNIA : OUTLINE OF A MESSAGE TO THE BOSNIAN SERB LEADERSHIP

- The aims of our three Governments in Bosnia remain:
 - to do what we can to promote an equitable and durable political settlement acceptable to all the Bosnian parties;
 - to relieve humanitarian suffering and to seek to contain conflict.
- We have no ill will towards the Serb population of Bosnia whose interests, concerns and rights we acknowledge must be assured in any settlement.
- But your action in attacking and overrunning two of the safe areas - Srebrenica and Zepa - declared by the United Nations, and the treatment of civilians thereafter has created a new situation. You should understand that for our three Governments, and for the international community more generally, this marks a turning point.
- You have said that you do not intend to occupy the safe area of Gorazde, in which personnel of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), including British troops, are stationed. We want you to understand what will be the consequences if you do.
- You must be in no doubt that we will support any steps which may become necessary in order to reinforce or resupply UNPROFOR contingents, in particular those ^{Gorazde and other} in safe areas, including by means of the RRF.
- ^{More specifically,} ~~In addition,~~ if you undertake military action against Gorazde or if you put the lives of UNPROFOR peacekeepers there at risk, we will use substantial air power against you.
- The manner in which we do so will be of our own choosing. Our aim will be to prevent you from pushing forward with your attack. But in order to achieve this we will take whatever action we think necessary against your military capabilities. We will not regard any relevant military target on your territory, including command and control installations, as exempt.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
015. paper	Implications of [an] Attack on Bihac. (2 pages)	07/21/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
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European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
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