

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, Late-Early August; Carl Bildt Visit

Staff Office-Individual:

European Affairs-Vershbow, Alexander

Original OA/ID Number:

897

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

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. map	Bosnia's Gorazde Enclave. (2 pages)	07/1995	P1/b(1)
002. chart	Schematic for Croatia. (2 pages)	08/04/1995	P1/b(1)
003. report	Current Yugoslav Military. (3 pages)	07/31/1995	P1/b(1)
004a. memo	For Anthony Lake from Alexander Vershbow. Subject: Principals Committee Meeting on Bosnia and Croatia. Record ID: 9520898. (3 pages)	08/01/1995	P1/b(1)
004b. agenda	Principals Committee Meeting on Bosnia and Croatia, August 1, 1995. Record ID: 9520893. (1 page)	08/01/1995	P1/b(1)
004c. draft	Proposed Council Decisions. [NATO] (4 pages)	08/01/1995	P1/b(1)
004d. paper	Three papers on Bosnia. (3 pages)	07/31/1995	P1/b(1)
005. letter	To President Clinton from Croatian President Franjo Tudjman. [English Translation] (2 pages)	08/03/1995	P1/b(1)
006a. paper	Impact of Bildt's Position on Serbian Sanctions. [CIA Act] [partial] (4 pages)	07/31/1995	P3/b(3)
006b. paper	Improving ICFY's Ability to Monitor. (3 pages)	07/31/1995	P1/b(1)
007. letter	Duplicate of 005. (2 pages)	08/03/1995	P1/b(1)
008a. paper	U.S. Position. (2 pages)	08/02/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - July 1995, Late-Early August; Carl Bildt Visit

2013-0687-F

vz2732

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.

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

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
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 Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
008b. paper	Closing the Inter-Serb Border. (1 page)	08/02/1995	P1/b(1)
009. table	Inter-Serb Sanctions. (1 page)	06/1995	P1/b(1)
010. draft	Paper: Bosnia Endgame Strategy: What Kind of Bosnian State? (8 pages)	08/02/1995	P1/b(1)
011. letter	To President Clinton from Russian President Boris Yeltsin. [English Translation] (2 pages)	07/26/1995	P1/b(1)
012a. memo	For the President from Anthony Lake. Subject: Foreign Policy Group Meeting on Bosnia and Croatia. Record ID: 9520902. (2 pages)	08/02/1995	P1/b(1)
012b. paper	Foreign Policy Group Meeting: Bosnia and Croatia. (1 page)	08/02/1995	P1/b(1)
013. paper	U.S. Response to the Bildt-Milosevic Package. (3 pages)	08/02/1995	P1/b(1)
014. draft	Paper: U.S. Response to the Bildt-Milosevic Package. (3 pages)	08/01/1995	P1/b(1)
015. chart	Bildt's Position as of July 20. (1 page)	07/1995	P1/b(1)
016. statement	North Atlantic Council: Council Decisions. [NATO] (5 pages)	08/01/1995	P1/b(1)
017. cable	re: London Contact Group Meeting. (2 pages)	07/27/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - July 1995, Late-Early August; Carl Bildt Visit

2013-0687-F

vz2732

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.

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

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
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

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. map	Bosnia's Gorazde Enclave. (2 pages)	07/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - July 1995, Late-Early August; Carl Bildt Visit

2013-0687-F

vz2732

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.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- 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

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. chart	Schematic for Croatia. (2 pages)	08/04/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - July 1995, Late-Early August; Carl Bildt Visit

2013-0687-F

vz2732

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]
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]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
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]

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.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003. report	Current Yugoslav Military. (3 pages)	07/31/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - July 1995, Late-Early August; Carl Bildt Visit

2013-0687-F

vz2732

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.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- 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

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004a. memo	For Anthony Lake from Alexander Vershbow. Subject: Principals Committee Meeting on Bosnia and Croatia. Record ID: 9520898. (3 pages)	08/01/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - July 1995, Late-Early August; Carl Bildt Visit

2013-0687-F
vz2732

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.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- 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

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004b. agenda	Principals Committee Meeting on Bosnia and Croatia, August 1, 1995. Record ID: 9520893. (1 page)	08/01/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - July 1995, Late-Early August; Carl Bildt Visit

2013-0687-F

vz2732

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.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- 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

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004c. draft	Proposed Council Decisions. [NATO] (4 pages)	08/01/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - July 1995, Late-Early August; Carl Bildt Visit

2013-0687-F

vz2732

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.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- 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]

Options for Responding to the Bildt-Milosevic package

In an informal meeting July 31, Deputies agreed that we should respond to European pressure to endorse the Bildt-Milosevic package in a way that keeps the diplomatic process moving forward while protecting our key interests. Two options were considered:

Option 1: Bildt Plus: *Broaden the package to obtain positive steps by the Bosnian Serbs toward de-escalation and initiation of peace negotiations as the precondition for implementing new sanctions relief for the FRY, along with improvements to the terms of the package.*

Concept: In light of Yeltsin's claim that Kozyrev secured commitments by Mladic on the safe areas and an offer for a ceasefire leading to new peace talks on the basis of the Contact Group plan, we might have the makings of a "package deal" for renewed peace talks that could be presented to Contact Group partners as a broadening of the Bildt-Milosevic package. (This would, of course, need to be discussed first with the Bosnians.) The elements would be:

A. Mutual recognition between the FRY and Bosnia and measures to close the border along the lines of the Bildt package, but modified to remedy the most serious flaws:

- Serious commitment to seal the border and cut off all military support to the Bosnian Serbs, backed up by the deployment of 400-500 monitors.
- A sanctions reimposition mechanism based on the idea of a five-nation review panel, but modified as follows:
 - participants would be the five Contact Group members rather than the UNSC Perm Five;
 - if the suspension period is to be of indefinite duration, then we would have to have a shorter grace period (e.g. 100 or 120 days) as opposed to 9 months; and
 - we would need to have a private side-understanding with the UK and France guaranteeing that they would vote to reimpose sanctions if we presented evidence that Milosevic had failed to meet *any* of a set of criteria that would be specifically agreed in advance by London and Paris;¹

B. Implementation of the sanctions suspension would be delayed until:

- The Bosnian Serbs have halted offensive action against all the safe areas and opened supply routes (as agreed at the July 26 Contact Group meeting); and
- The Bosnian Serbs have agreed to a country-wide 6-month ceasefire in tandem with agreement to begin talks on territorial and constitutional issues using the Contact Group plan as the starting point, but with both sides free to propose changes.
- *As a fallback to the latter condition:* That the Bosnian Serbs agree to the ceasefire and initiation of negotiations by the end of the grace period cited above.

¹ We would need to develop a list of verifiable criteria to minimize the risk of disagreements over the significance of intelligence data --e.g. no tampering with physical barriers to seal off all but a handful of permitted border crossings; shut down all telecommunications and air-traffic-control links; etc.

In selling this approach to our Allies, we would point out that, if successful, it would reduce the likelihood that NATO would have to implement the decisive air strikes we have already threatened for the defense of Gorazde as well as similar action to protect Bihac and the other safe areas. (We would make clear, however, that there should be no perception of backing away from the commitment to implement the Gorazde decision, and that we believe our negotiating leverage would be enhanced by immediate extension of that decision to Bihac, Tuzla and Sarajevo.)

Analysis: This option would deny Milosevic the rewards of the Bildt package until he has obtained a down payment of positive performance from the Bosnian Serbs. We would thereby have a more defensible basis on which to justify new sanctions relief to Milosevic in the wake of Srebrenica and Zepa, and gain a 6-month window of opportunity for obtaining a final peace settlement. Given the additional "deliverables" required of Milosevic, we could, perhaps, sweeten the pot by suspending more sanctions, as long as we obtained satisfaction on the sanctions reimposition formula. We would be following Kohl's recommendation to the President to "put Milosevic to the test," and testing Yeltsin's claim that Mladic is ready to exercise restraint and negotiate on the basis of the Contact Group plan even if Karadzic is not. We would be building on our Contact Group partners' proposal at the July 26 meeting in London to tie implementation of the Bildt package to Bosnian Serb de-escalation measures on the ground.

The fallback position mentioned under "B" may prove necessary to overcome Contact Group resistance. It may, in fact, be required to gain Milosevic's agreement if he argues that he needs the political cover of substantial sanctions suspension before he can exert real pressure on the Pale leadership to agree to negotiations that use the Contact Group plan as the starting point.

Option 2: Improved Bildt: *Seek improvements to the package without tying it to Bosnian Serb actions.*

Concept: This option would seek the improvements to the Bildt-Milosevic package listed under "A" above, but without linking implementation of sanctions relief to Bosnian Serb de-escalation or agreement to new peace talks. It would be based on the assumption that our Contact Group partners would reject the linkage and use any such proposal as grounds for charging the U.S. with seeking to torpedo the negotiating track, which they could use as a pretext to withdraw UNPROFOR this year. It reflects the further assumption that, with or without the modifications proposed above, Milosevic is unlikely to come to closure with Bildt, and that therefore there is no need to worry about the defensibility of providing additional sanctions relief.

Analysis: If the above assumptions are correct, then this is the lowest-risk course, ensuring that we maintain Contact Group unity and deny the Allies the ability to charge us with bad faith. If the assumptions are not correct, however, it would put us in a position of having to suspend additional sanctions without any Bosnian Serb down payment, and it would forfeit the opportunity to use the latest developments on the ground to restart negotiations between the parties that could lead to a political settlement over the next six months.

As you are aware, Carl Bildt arrives in Washington Wednesday to discuss his efforts to negotiate a package which would give sanctions relief to Milosevic in return for recognition of Bosnia and agreement to tighten the closing of the border. His visit will be an important opportunity to advance the peace process, and I wanted to take this occasion to preview some of our thinking on the issues.

I am hopeful that the work Carl Bildt has done could prove to be the catalytic agent that brings the war to a negotiated conclusion. It is therefore vital that we approach his package with the utmost care, understanding that it may be our last best chance to move toward a settlement.

Much has happened in Bosnia since Ambassador Frasure first began to discuss with Milosevic partial sanctions suspension in return for recognition and closing of the border. The brutal Bosnian Serb assaults on Srebrenica and Zepa, the continued problems of humanitarian supply for Sarajevo and other safe areas, and the dangerous fighting around Bihac have dramatically increased the risks of much wider war. In my opinion, we can no longer afford to simply grant Milosevic sanctions relief hoping that, over time, he will bring what influence he has to bear on the Bosnian Serbs. Instead, it is important that any sanctions suspension package have a near-term impact on the situation on the ground.

-2-

Recent statements by various Serb leaders, including statements reported by Foreign Minister Kozyrev, suggest an appropriate way to continue on the path developed by Carl Bildt. According to Kozyrev, Milosevic and Mladic indicated a willingness to halt all offensive action against safe areas, open supply routes, and agree to a country-wide cease-fire. In turn, the cease-fire would be linked to agreement to begin talks on territorial and constitutional issues accepting the Contact Group plan as the starting point, but with both sides free to propose changes, taken together. This would insure that any agreement on these elements would substantially enhance the value of the package negotiated by Mr. Bildt.

At present, the package itself still has some problems, not the least of which is the fact that in its current form it is unacceptable to the Bosnian government (whose country it is destined to stabilize), and also to Croatia. In this regard, I was pleased to learn that Bildt had visited Sarajevo the day after the July 26 Contact Group to discuss the package with President Izetbegovic, especially the issue of sealing the border, which is essential to gain Bosnian government support for the proposals. In my view, Bildt and others should continue to engage with the Bosnian government in order to increase the chances for achieving a negotiations package that is acceptable to President Izetbegovic.

-3-

I still have some specific concerns about other aspects of the plan which Bildt and Milosevic had agreed on. The current package proposes that a five-nation review panel is named to consider sanctions reimposition. I believe that the five nations should be the Contact Group rather than the Perm Five. The package also proposes a nine month grace period during which sanctions could not be reimposed. While I understand the need for an initial grace period, I would prefer that it be in the range of 100-120 days as opposed to nine months. Finally, it is important that we reach a prior understanding with you (as a potential member of the five nation panel) that should we develop credible evidence implicating Milosevic in border violations, or other violations of his commitments under the proposal, that you would agree with us on the need to reimpose sanctions.

Obviously, there is a great deal of further discussion which our respective teams will need to pursue this week.

I want you to know, however, that I am determined to have the U.S. work cooperatively with Carl Bildt and with all of the Contact Group governments in an effort to advance the cause of peace through negotiations.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004d. paper	Three papers on Bosnia. (3 pages)	07/31/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - July 1995, Late-Early August; Carl Bildt Visit

2013-0687-F

vz2732

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]
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.

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
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

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
005. letter	To President Clinton from Croatian President Franjo Tudjman. [English Translation] (2 pages)	08/03/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - July 1995, Late-Early August; Carl Bildt Visit

2013-0687-F

vz2732

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]
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.

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
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

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
006a. paper	Impact of Bildt's Position on Serbian Sanctions. [CIA Act] [partial] (4 pages)	07/31/1995	P3/b(3)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - July 1995, Late-Early August; Carl Bildt Visit

2013-0687-F

vz2732

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.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- 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]

~~Confidential~~

(b)(3)

Intelligence Report

DCI Interagency Balkan Task Force

31 July 1995



Impact of Bildt's Position on Serbian Sanctions (b)(3)



Carl Bildt is asking Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic to recognize Bosnia's internationally recognized borders, continue to support the Contact Group peace plan, and allow for the reinforcement of the inter-Serbian border monitoring mission. In return:

- Nearly all trade sanctions would be suspended for at least nine months.
- Belgrade would be allowed to import approximately 400,000 metric tons of fuel per month through the port of Bar, Montenegro, and on the Danube River.
- All financial sanctions would be suspended except Milosevic's narrow definition of FRY assets would remain frozen. (b)(3)

[006a]



The Bildt/Milosevic definition for the strategic goods that are to remain sanctioned would virtually eliminate the impact of sanctions on the Serbian economy. Milosevic's demand for 400,000 metric tons of fuel exceeds what Serbia and Montenegro consumed prior to the breakup of the former Yugoslavia--he could ship excess fuel to the Bosnian Serb and Krajina Serb armies. If the Bildt plan implements Milosevic's narrow definition of FRY assets to remain frozen, Belgrade would have access to most of its overseas accounts, except the portion most likely to be blocked by non-sanctions legal disputes. Reimposition of the suspended UN sanctions after nine months would be difficult. Moreover, some countries would probably not keep sanctions customs monitors in frontline states because most trade sanctions would be suspended. (b)(3)

This memorandum was prepared by (b)(3) of the DCI Interagency Balkan Task Force to address questions raised by Leon Fuerth, Assistant to the Vice President for National Security Affairs. Comments and queries are welcome and may be directed to the Chief, DCI Interagency Balkan Task Force on (b)(3)

(b)(3)

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

VZ 10/1/2013

(b)(3)

~~Confidential~~

Suspension of Sanctions on Non-Strategic Trade

Only the enforcement of the current broad UN definition of strategic goods would maintain an economic sanctions regime with significant leverage over the Serbian economy. The less restrictive definitions proposed by Carl Bildt and Slobodan Milosevic would have only a marginal impact. (b)(3)

The current UN definition of strategic goods entails crude oil, petroleum products, coal, energy related equipment, iron, steel, other metals, chemicals, rubber, tires, vehicles, aircraft, and motors of all types.

- *Continued enforcement of this broad definition would seriously impede the recovery of Serbia's industrial output and employment, and its ability to ship goods.*
- *We estimate that using the UN list of strategic goods to limit imports curtails the jobs of about 20 percent of the pre-embargo labor force, creating a ripple effect on production throughout the economy.*

[006a]

Adopting Bildt's proposal—which would allow fuel imports and restrict fewer goods—would drop the work force and output targeted by UN sanctions to less than 5 percent of the economy, significantly diminishing the impact of the sanctions regime. (b)(3)

Meanwhile, with the UN sanctions on non-strategic goods suspended, some countries might bring their customs monitors home from the frontline states surrounding Serbia and Montenegro. There are currently about 200 customs monitors.

- *From the enforcement standpoint, the only real advantage of implementing Bildt's proposal on strategic goods over suspending all UN trade sanctions is that it probably would help keep the bulk of customs monitors in frontline states, helping maintain a mechanism, if needed, to reimpose UN sanctions.*

(b)(3)

Import of Oil in Amounts Not to Exceed Normal Monthly Consumption

Fuel remains by far the most vital import to the Serbian economy. Slobodan Milosevic has requested 400,000 metric tons per month (mtm) of crude oil imports, which is excessive in terms of Serbia's and Montenegro's pre-war imports. If Milosevic gets abundant fuel, Serbia and Montenegro could ship some to the Bosnian Serb and Krajina Serb armies. (b)(3)

We estimate that existing demand for oil in Serbia and Montenegro would be met with imports of need to import about 90,000 to 120,000 mtm.

- According to 1991 statistics, Serbia and Montenegro consumed about 350,000 mtm, with imports of 260,000 mtm and domestic production of 90,000 mtm.
- Serbian economic output has plummeted by 40 percent since UN sanctions were imposed, *indicating Serbia would consume less than in 1991.*
- Domestic supplies have actually increased somewhat, in part due to capture of Croatian oilfields in UN Sector East, lowering Serbia's import needs. (b)(3)
(b)(3)

Milosevic argues that the fuel being smuggled into Serbia should not be considered when deciding how much crude to permit.

- *Much of the smuggled fuel--which we estimate at least 70,000 mtm--is gasoline or other fuels not under the government's control.* (b)(3)

[006a]

Milosevic can defend his request to ship crude oil by barge on the Danube River because a major POL off-loading terminal is at the river port of Constanta Romania. Prior to sanctions, nearly 75 percent of Serbia's crude imports came through Romania by barge. (b)(3)

The port of Bar on Montenegro's coast has neither off-loading facilities for crude oil, nor a pipeline to either of Serbia's two refineries. Bar's storage for refined products is only 110,000 mt, *seriously restricting the amount of refined oil that can be brought in by this route.* (b)(3)

Releasing Frozen Assets

If the Bildt Plan implements Slobodan Milosevic's narrow definition of FRY assets to remain frozen, Belgrade would have access to the majority of its overseas accounts, except the portion most likely to be blocked by non-sanctions legal disputes. (b)(3)

Milosevic's proposed lifting of financial sanctions would leave frozen only accounts held by the National Bank of Yugoslavia (NBY)--*funds that Belgrade probably expects to be tied up in lengthy court cases.* The other former Yugoslav republics also claim the NBY money, and have successfully blocked Belgrade's access to these accounts deposited in countries that have allowed use of NBY frozen funds for humanitarian purchases. (b)(3)

Removing sanctions on all the non-NBY accounts would provide Belgrade access to at least \$750 million held by the other Serbian state-controlled banks.

Belgrade's Yugobanka and Beogradska Banka own approximately 33 percent of Belgrade's assets frozen in the United States--close to NBY's 40 percent share.

Because Milosevic was once President of Beogradska Banka, it is likely that the Serbian leadership moved a significant portion of the funds it controlled to the bank during the breakup of the former Yugoslavia. (b)(3)

Belgrade would also gain access to funds frozen in accounts held by its many state-controlled multinational companies and government agencies.

Foreign airlines, for example, reportedly have deposited in excess of \$100 million in a frozen Swiss account to pay their overflight fees. Significant assets also have been frozen in the overseas currency accounts held by the large multinational state-controlled firms that dominate Serbia's trade economy, such as GENEX and Montenegrin shipping firms. (b)(3)

The Reimposition Mechanism

Carl Bildt is proposing that the UN sanctions suspension last for an indefinite period, but three out of the five permanent Security Council members could vote to reimpose economic sanctions not earlier than nine months after the initial suspension.

- *The nine-month grace period gets Serbia and Montenegro comfortably through the normally difficult winter months.* Power blackouts last year triggered violent protests because consumers blamed the regime for the lack of electricity.
- *Some countries would probably recall sanctions monitors from frontline states during the nine months, given that most trade sanctions would be suspended.* (b)(3)

[006a]

It is unclear to us what would justify reimposing UN sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro. The UK had earlier proposed three reasons for termination of a UN sanctions suspension:

- The authorities of Serbia and Montenegro are not making good faith efforts regarding the proposed territorial settlement for the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- The authorities of Serbia and Montenegro are violating provisions of the resolutions of the Security Council imposing economic restrictions on Serbia and Montenegro that remain applicable after adoption of the new resolution.
- If the ICFY mission reports that the authorities of Serbia and Montenegro are not implementing their decision to close the border between the FRY and Bosnia and Herzegovina. (b)(3)

Achieving an agreement to reimpose suspended UN sanctions would almost certainly be difficult. As the inter-Serbian sanctions experience illustrates, sanctions violations are likely to become political issues--rather than factual ones--so there would be a tendency to turn a blind eye to violations. (b)(3)

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
006b. paper	Improving ICFY's Ability to Monitor. (3 pages)	07/31/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - July 1995, Late-Early August; Carl Bildt Visit

2013-0687-F

vz2732

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.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- 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

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
007. letter	Duplicate of 005. (2 pages)	08/03/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - July 1995, Late-Early August; Carl Bildt Visit

2013-0687-F

vz2732

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.

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

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
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

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
008a. paper	U.S. Position. (2 pages)	08/02/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - July 1995, Late-Early August; Carl Bildt Visit

2013-0687-F

vz2732

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]
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.

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
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

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
008b. paper	Closing the Inter-Serb Border. (1 page)	08/02/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - July 1995, Late-Early August; Carl Bildt Visit

2013-0687-F
vz2732

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.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- 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

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
009. table	Inter-Serb Sanctions. (1 page)	06/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - July 1995, Late-Early August; Carl Bildt Visit

2013-0687-F

vz2732

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.

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

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
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]

Former Yugoslavia



Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
010. draft	Paper: Bosnia Endgame Strategy: What Kind of Bosnian State? (8 pages)	08/02/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - July 1995, Late-Early August; Carl Bildt Visit

2013-0687-F

vz2732

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.

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

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
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]

FOR
SANDY
VERSAROW

Ministry for Foreign Affairs of
the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina
S A R A J E V O

Ministry for Foreign Affairs of
the Republic of Croatia
Z A G R E B

TO:
Five Nation Contact Group
on the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina

H.E. Mr. Carl Bildt
Co-chairman of the ICFY

Zagreb/Sarajevo, August 1, 1995

Excellencies,

on July 5, 1995, we forwarded our joint communication to the Security Council indicating our position regarding the issues of mutual recognition, effective border closing and the easing of sanctions with the respect to the FRY (Serbia/Montenegro). It is our view that this position has not been taken into consideration in the latest proposals brought forth as a result of extensive discussions between Mr. Carl Bildt and the authorities in Belgrade. In addition, it is our view that the actions of the Belgrade with respect to the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia have not been consistent with the objectives of mutual recognition.

More specifically the proposals forwarded do not include the mutual recognition between the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republic of Croatia and the FRY (Serbia/Montenegro), but at best a "mirage" recognition of some Bosnia and Herzegovina only as defined by Mr. Milošević and the authorities of the Belgrade regime, which is unacceptable to our Governments. Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina cannot lend their support to such a policy change.

In addition, there are no concrete measures to reverse the consequences of aggression and, in particular, the closing of the border. The existing partial suspension of the sanctions with respect to the FRY (Serbia/Montenegro) can no longer be justified on the theory that Belgrade regime has really closed the border. To the contrary, recent developments in Eastern and Western Bosnia-Herzegovina offer ample proof that the Belgrade Government and, specifically Mr. Milošević, have not only failed to positively influence the so-called Croatian and Bosnian Serbs, but have effectively encouraged them to intensify their military option and ethnic cleansing.

Threatening amassing of the Army of Yugoslavia troops and heavy armour at a large scale in Eastern Slavonia before the eyes of the UN forces testifies even more clearly as to the real aims and goals of the Milošević regime: territorial aggrandizement and annexation of parts of sovereign territories of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The sanctions thus must not be further suspended or alleviated until FRY (Serbia/Montenegro) publicly renounce and in practice refrain from occupation of parts of the sovereign territories of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.

In this light we consider any plans aimed at any further easing of the sanctions, including proposals to that effect presently being circulated, as totally unjustified and extremely detrimental to the interests of peace and security in the area. As a matter of fact, just the opposite is called for if tranquillity is to return South-eastern Europe.

Finally, the "sanctions easing" methodology is unacceptable as well as inconsistent with the term "suspension".

We, for our part, remain fully prepared to participate in a constructive dialogue regarding mutual recognition between the three countries, and effecting the consequences in our countries and borders.

It is our hope that, while deliberating your next move, you will bear fully in mind the positions of our two Governments as stated above.

We avail ourselves of the opportunity to renew to you, Excellencies, assurances of our highest consideration.

Mubarek Sacirbey



Dr. Mate Granic



DRAFT 16/7 - 2

Copies to
- Rick S.
- Nelson
- extra frame

FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT

BETWEEN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA AND THE COUNTRIES OF THE CONTACT GROUP

1. Contact Group countries have stated, that a key to the future stability of the region of former Yugoslavia is the early and mutual recognition between all its states within their internationally recognized borders as this provides the basis for the negotiations that are essential in order to promote the political settlements of the disputes of the region, and paves the way for the peaceful cooperation between all the peoples and states of the region.

2. In the context of mutual recognition between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and provided that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia respectively supports or implements the other provisions below, the Contact Group governments are prepared to recommend to the UN Security Council the sanctions relief as envisaged in the annex, to take effect simultaneously with recognition.

3. In an act of recognition between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will recognize Bosnia and Herzegovina within its internationally recognized borders.

4. As the basis for the realization of the Contact Group plan, it is agreed that:

A. Bosnia and Herzegovina should be a union of two entities, the "Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina" and the "Republika Srpska."

B. There should be balanced and equal treatment of the "Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina" and the "Republika Srpska."

C. Both the entities should have the right to establish parallel special relationships with neighbouring countries, consistent with the integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

D. Any future political rearrangements brought about by any community within either entity will not change the status of the other entity within the union, as described in subparagraphs A, B and C above.

E. The 51:49 parameter of the territorial proposal of the Contact Group would remain the basis for a settlement. This territorial proposal would be open for adjustment by mutual agreement.

F. There would be provision in the settlement for refugees and displaced persons to be able to return to their homes of origin.

5. Redeployment to the lines agreed would take place as soon as there was agreement between the two sides on any territorial adjustments and on constitutional arrangements.

6. A cessation of hostilities agreement should be concluded to enable the opening and completion of the negotiations. Such an agreement should include all the elements of the cessation of hostilities agreement of 31 December 1994.

7. As regards Croatia, following the passage of Security Council resolution 981, there should now immediately be further normalization of economic relations and the start of negotiations on a final political settlement between Zagreb and Knin.

8. The Contact Group underlines the need for maintenance by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia of the border closure except for humanitarian assistance. The ICFY Mission will be reinforced.

DRAFT 16/7

SANCTIONS RELIEF ANNEX

1. All UN mandated trade, financial and economic sanctions against the FRY except those on trade in strategic goods* (aside from oil and petroleum products which will be subject to a special regime) and except the freeze on existing accounts will be suspended sine die.
2. New accounts will be able to operate freely, and cash brought from the FRY can be deposited in them.
3. The FRY will be able to import each month seasonally adjusted amounts of oil and petroleum products in a quantity not to exceed normal monthly usage. The FRY will assure that none of these supplies will be reexported or allowed to leave the country. The FRY agrees that oil and petroleum products will be imported through the port of Bar and via the Danube.
4. Sanctions that have been suspended would be reimposed by decision of a panel consisting of the five permanent members of the Security Council if, after a report by the Secretary General on the basis of the ICFY Mission, or a report by a permanent member of the Security Council, it is concluded that the FRY is not implementing its decision to close the border with Bosnia except for humanitarian assistance or is no longer supporting the Contact Group plan. Such a decision can be taken no earlier than after reviewing nine months after sanctions have been suspended in accordance with this agreement. The decision of the panel is taken by a simple majority (three out of five).
5. After Bosnian Serb authorities accept the Contact Group plan as a starting point for negotiations, the lifting of sanctions against the FRY will begin, commencing with the phase one sanctions now suspended. Simultaneously, the FRY will restore conditions for normal trade and contacts with Bosnia and Hercegovina.
6. When a cessation of hostilities is in place and negotiations by the Bosnian parties have begun on the implementation of the Contact Group plan, suspended sanctions will be lifted. Strategic sanctions will be suspended and the oil regime will remain in effect.

7. When the Contact Group plan is implemented on the ground and the respective forces have withdrawn to the agreed territorial delimitations, the remaining sanctions will be lifted, aside from those frozen assets associated with state succession questions.

ALTERNATIVES:

* UNSC resolutions define strategic goods as including crude oil, petroleum products, coal, energy-related equipment, iron, steel, other metals, chemicals, rubber, tires, vehicles, aircraft, and motors of all types.

* Strategic items to be crude oil, petroleum products, coal, iron, steel, other metals, petrochemicals (other than for agricultural uses, textiles, and normal plastics and steel production), and energy-related equipment for new production.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
--------------------------	---------------	------	-------------

011. letter	To President Clinton from Russian President Boris Yeltsin. [English Translation] (2 pages)	07/26/1995	P1/b(1)
-------------	--	------------	---------

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - July 1995, Late-Early August; Carl Bildt Visit

2013-0687-F

vz2732

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.

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

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
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]

~~SECRET~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

20902

August 2, 1995

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

FROM: ALEXANDER VERSHBOW *AV*

SUBJECT: Foreign Policy Group Meeting on Bosnia and Croatia

Attached at Tab A is a briefing paper for the President's use for his foreign policy group meeting on Bosnia and Croatia.

RECOMMENDATION

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

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the President

Tab A Briefing Paper

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines,
September 11, 2006
By *Va 76ml* NARA, Date *6/11/2014*
2013-0687-7

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
012a. memo	For the President from Anthony Lake. Subject: Foreign Policy Group Meeting on Bosnia and Croatia. Record ID: 9520902. (2 pages)	08/02/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - July 1995, Late-Early August; Carl Bildt Visit

2013-0687-F
vz2732

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.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- 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

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
012b. paper	Foreign Policy Group Meeting: Bosnia and Croatia. (1 page)	08/02/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - July 1995, Late-Early August; Carl Bildt Visit

2013-0687-F

vz2732

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).

IRR. 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]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- 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

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
013. paper	U.S. Response to the Bildt-Milosevic Package. (3 pages)	08/02/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - July 1995, Late-Early August; Carl Bildt Visit

2013-0687-F

vz2732

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.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- 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

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
014. draft	Paper: U.S. Response to the Bildt-Milosevic Package. (3 pages)	08/01/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - July 1995, Late-Early August; Carl Bildt Visit

2013-0687-F

vz2732

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.

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

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
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

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
015. chart	Bildt's Position as of July 20. (1 page)	07/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - July 1995, Late-Early August; Carl Bildt Visit

2013-0687-F
vz2732

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.

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

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
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

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
016. statement	North Atlantic Council: Council Decisions. [NATO] (5 pages)	08/01/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - July 1995, Late-Early August; Carl Bildt Visit

2013-0687-F
vz2732

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.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- 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

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
017. cable	re: London Contact Group Meeting. (2 pages)	07/27/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - July 1995, Late-Early August; Carl Bildt Visit

2013-0687-F
vz2732

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.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- 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]

FINAL 19/7

FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT

BETWEEN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA AND THE COUNTRIES OF THE CONTACT GROUP

1. The Contact Group countries have stated, that a key to the future stability of the region of former Yugoslavia is the early and mutual recognition between all its states within their internationally recognized borders as this provides the basis for the negotiations that are essential in order to promote the political settlements of the disputes of the region, and paves the way for the peaceful cooperation between all the peoples and states of the region.
2. In the context of mutual recognition between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and provided that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia respectively supports or implements the other provisions below, the Contact Group governments are prepared to recommend to the UN Security Council the sanctions relief as envisaged in the annex, to take effect simultaneously with recognition.
3. In an act of recognition between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will recognize Bosnia and Herzegovina within its internationally recognized borders.
4. As the basis for the realization of the Contact Group plan, it is agreed that:
 - A. Bosnia and Herzegovina should be a union of two entities, the "Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina" and the "Republika Srpska."
 - B. There should be balanced and equal treatment of the "Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina" and the "Republika Srpska."
 - C. Both the entities should have the right to establish parallel special relationships with neighbouring countries, consistent with the integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

SANCTIONS RELIEF ANNEX

1. All UN mandated trade, financial and economic sanctions against the FRY as well as the sanctions suspended by SCR 943 (1994), except those on trade in strategic goods* (aside from oil and petroleum products which will be subject to a special regime) and except the freeze on existing accounts will be suspended sine die.
2. New accounts will be able to operate freely, and cash brought from the FRY can be deposited in them.
3. The FRY will be able to import each month seasonally adjusted amounts of oil and petroleum products in a quantity not to exceed normal monthly usage. The FRY will assure that none of these supplies will be reexported or allowed to leave the country. The FRY agrees that oil and petroleum products will be imported through the port of Bar and via the Danube.
4. Sanctions that have been suspended would be reimposed by decision of a panel consisting of the five permanent members of the Security Council if, after a report by the Secretary General on the basis of the ICFY Mission, or a report by a permanent member of the Security Council, it is concluded that the FRY is not implementing its decision to close the border with Bosnia except for humanitarian assistance or is no longer supporting the Contact Group plan. Such a decision can be taken no earlier than after reviewing nine months after sanctions have been suspended in accordance with this agreement. The decision of the panel is taken by a simple majority (three out of five).
5. After Bosnian Serb authorities accept the Contact Group plan as a starting point for negotiations, the lifting of sanctions against the FRY will begin, commencing with the phase one sanctions now suspended. Simultaneously, the FRY will restore conditions for normal trade and contacts with Bosnia and Hercegovina.
6. When a cessation of hostilities is in place and negotiations by the Bosnian parties have begun on the implementation of the Contact Group plan, suspended sanctions will be lifted. Strategic sanctions will be suspended and the oil regime will remain in effect.

• D. Any future political rearrangements brought about by any community within either entity will not change the status of the other entity within the union, as described in subparagraphs A, B and C above.

E. The 51:49 parameter of the territorial proposal of the Contact Group would remain the basis for a settlement. This territorial proposal would be open for adjustment by mutual agreement.

F. There would be provision in the settlement for refugees and displaced persons to be able to return to their homes of origin.

5. Redeployment to the lines agreed would take place as soon as there was agreement between the two sides on any territorial adjustments and on constitutional arrangements.

6. A cessation of hostilities agreement should be concluded to enable the opening and completion of the negotiations. Such an agreement should include all the elements of the cessation of hostilities agreement of 31 December 1994.

7. As regards Croatia, following the passage of Security Council resolution 981, there should now immediately be further normalization of economic relations and the start of negotiations on a final political settlement between Zagreb and Knin.

8. The Contact Group underlines the need for maintenance by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia of the border closure except for humanitarian assistance. The ICFY Mission will be reinforced.