

FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title:

Bosnia - August 1995: Early [3]

Staff Office-Individual:

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34

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2

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1

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. paper	Reconstruction Assistance to the Federation. (2 pages)	07/27/1995	P1/b(1)
002. paper	If the Bosnian Serbs Go for Broke. (9 pages)	07/27/1995	P1/b(1)
003. paper	Current Yugoslav Military. (3 pages)	07/31/1995	P1/b(1)
004a. cable	re: Bosnia - Letter for Prime Minister Major. (4 pages)	07/29/1995	P1/b(1)
004b. cable	re: Letter to President Clinton from Prime Minister Major. (2 pages)	07/25/1995	P1/b(1)
005. cable	re: Bosnia: Message for Chancellor Kohl. (3 pages)	08/01/1995	P1/b(1)
006. draft	Paper: U.S. Response to Bildt-Milosevic Package. (3 pages)	08/02/1995	P1/b(1)
007. telcon	Telcon with President Jacque Chirac of France. Record ID: 9506097. (3 pages)	08/07/1995	P1/b(1)
008. telcon	Telcon with President Jacque Chirac of France. Record ID: 9506095. (4 pages)	08/07/1995	P1/b(1)
009. telcon	Telcon with President Jacque Chirac of France. Record ID: 9506098. (3 pages)	08/07/1995	P1/b(1)
010. agenda	Principals Committee Meeting on Bosnia, August 15, 1995. Record ID: 9520952. (1 page)	08/1995	P1/b(1)
011. paper	Implementing a Balkan Peace Settlement. (8 pages)	08/17/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
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Bosnia - August 1995: Early [3]

2013-0687-F

vz2735

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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012. talking points	Talking Points on Bosnia for Consultations with Key Allies. (9 pages)	08/09/1995	P1/b(1)
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Boris Vukobrat's Proposals for the Solution of the Current Crisis in the Former Yugoslavia

The international community's current policy bears obvious dangers :

- There is a real possibility of conflict between Russia and the United States on the ground. The two powers are already supplying both weapons and advisers to the parties involved in the conflict in Bosnia. There is more and more talk of recruiting volunteers on both sides. From there it will take little for the two countries to find themselves, unwillingly, in a situation similar to Vietnam or Afghanistan.

- The conflict in former Yugoslavia is creating increasingly serious problems among the countries of the European Union and there is a risk that this will lead to a deterioration in their relations with one another.

- We are already witnessing an open conflict between the European Union and the United States regarding the embargo on weapons, the financing of peacekeeping operations, the role of NATO, etc.

The time has come to make a policy change.

The first step in this direction would involve abandoning all plans which lead to an actual division of Bosnia based on percentages of territory allocated to the different parties.

It has become clear that as long as there is talk of division or partition this will only fuel the present war and, in the highly unlikely event of an agreement on division, encourage future wars.

It is a matter of turning the page and coming back to the concept of territorial integrity of Bosnia within the borders recognized by the international community.

More than three years of conflicts on the ground and failures by the international community have demonstrated that the time has come for a new initiative in order to give new impetus to the negotiating process on a completely new basis - the non-division of Bosnia.

Once the Owen-Stoltenberg plan has been definitively abandoned, what will have to be done ?

The Washington Agreement officially recognizes a reality for the first time - the interweaving of peoples which makes any partition of Bosnia-Herzegovina based on ethnic criteria impossible.

The Washington Agreement will only have a durable effect if it is extended by concentric circles to the whole of ex-Yugoslavia. There would be no sense in limiting its application to only the regions which are disputed by Croats and Muslims in view of the situation prevailing in the rest of the Bosnian and Croat territories. Therefore, first the Serbs from Bosnia and Krajina must be associated, followed by the Serbs from Serbia and the Montenegrins. The problem of Kosovo and the Albanian minority in Macedonia should be solved in the same manner.

The concentric circles mentioned above should be extended in order to form a close association with Macedonia and, if it so desires, Albania. This would thus provide us with a solution to the acute problems of the Balkans as, through different forms of association, Croats, Serbs, Bosnians, Albanians and Macedonians would form an ensemble.

This solution would undoubtedly suit all the peoples of the region but would also satisfy the leaders of the different states.

The Croats would have their borders recognized by the Serbs, as they have already been recognized by the international community, the Croatian Serbs would belong as before to an association of sovereign states which would guarantee their rights. The same would apply to the Bosnian Croats and Serbs.

As far as the citizens of Bosnia as a whole are concerned, their borders would be confirmed by both their neighbours and the international community. Simultaneously, this would open the way for the return, in the presence of the international community, of displaced persons, not only to Bosnia but also to Croatia and all other regions where inhabitants were forced to leave their homes due to ethnic cleansing.

For Serbia this solution would also be the means of guaranteeing the rights of all Serbs in other sovereign countries.

Finally, Macedonia would benefit from the support of this association in dealing with pressures from Greece.

The edifice thus constructed would therefore comprise agreements of close association, to greater or lesser degrees, between sovereign states.

Concrete measures :

1) The Carrington plan was abandoned, the Vance-Owen plan was abandoned, Mr Owen was abandoned; it is high time that the Contact Group plan was abandoned and that a loose confederation is created, whose critical mass would be Bosnia-Herzegovina, recognized within its borders - not the

Bosnia Herzegovina of three peoples, but of three religions - a multi-confessional Bosnia (comprising Muslims, Orthodox, Catholics and others).

2) The United States, Russia and the European Union must make all the protagonists understand as firmly as possible that unless they change their policy, real sanctions will be imposed upon all the sides involved in the conflict. The United States must make the Bosnian leaders understand that the international community will not make war in Bosnia for them and that they have to seek a political solution with the Bosnian Serbs, with the Catholics in Bosnia, with Belgrade, Skopje, Podgorica, etc... Above all, it must be clearly demonstrated that this time the United States, Russia and the European Union will follow up their threats.

10 July 1995

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003. paper	Current Yugoslav Military. (3 pages)	07/31/1995	P1/b(1)

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004a. cable	re: Bosnia - Letter for Prime Minister Major. (4 pages)	07/29/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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004b. cable	re: Letter to President Clinton from Prime Minister Major. (2 pages)	07/25/1995	P1/b(1)

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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009. telcon	Telcon with President Jacque Chirac of France. Record ID: 9506098. (3 pages)	08/07/1995	P1/b(1)
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COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - August 1995: Early [3]

2013-0687-F
vz2735

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

NSC DEPUTIES COMMITTEE MEETING ON BOSNIA

DATE: August 18, 1995

LOCATION: WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

TIME: 4:30 - 6:30 p.m.

Agenda

- I. Policy Issues Relating to Military Implementation of a Peace Plan.....OSD/JCS
- II. Policy Issues Relating to Arming and Training Bosnian Government Forces.....OSD/JCS
- III. Policy Issues Relating to Humanitarian and Refugee Assistance Deliveries to Serbia..... State/NSC
- IV. Status Report on Holbrooke Mission.....State

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v2 10/1/2013

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

August 17, 1995

Bosnia

Deputies Committee Discussion Paper
Humanitarian Assistance and Refugees

1. Access for humanitarian deliveries throughout FRY: Little has come of this effort. UNHCR is supportive; Belgrade said it has little control over the actions of the Bosnian Serbs.

Possible initiatives: Amb. Spiegel could raise with Mrs. Ogata and urge public statement from UNHCR; 2) we could demarche European capitals and urge public statements from them; 3) we could seek formal action at UN; 4) we could ask that this issue be raised by U.S. negotiators in the region.

2. Humanitarian assistance to Belgrade: Currently, State/PRM aid to UNHCR can go to Bosnian Serbs in Bosnia, but not to activities in the FRY. Likewise, State/PRM aid to ICRC is earmarked for use "particularly" in Bosnia and Croatia. State's political statement has not, up to now, had a large impact on the amount of humanitarian aid reaching priority beneficiary populations in the FRY. Based on recent increase in humanitarian needs and subject to a needs assessment, State and AID would now like to consider relief support to UNHCR, ICRC and other international and non-governmental organizations for projects in the FRY.

3. Money for Humanitarian Assistance: We have substantial monies remaining in humanitarian assistance accounts at State for the end of FY 95 (more than \$80 million in unspent MRA and ERMA). Some of this will need to go to Rwanda and other areas of dire need, but much might go to Bosnian relief.

Possible initiative: Should we come forward with more aid and, if so, can and should we use it as a means to encourage greater access to all areas of need?

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12 10/1/2013

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
010. agenda	Principals Committee Meeting on Bosnia, August 15, 1995. Record ID: 9520952. (1 page)	08/1995	P1/b(1)

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Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexancer Vershbow)
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FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - August 1995: Early [3]

2013-0687-F
vz2735

RESTRICTION CODES

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2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
011. paper	Implementing a Balkan Peace Settlement. (8 pages)	08/17/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - August 1995: Early [3]

2013-0687-F
vz2735

RESTRICTION CODES

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

20971

August 16, 1995

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: BG DONALD KERRICK, ACTING (W)
FROM: SUE BREMNER *SB*
SUBJECT: Summary of Conclusions for the Principals
Committee Meeting on Bosnia, August 15, 1995

Attached at Tab A for distribution to Principals is the Summary of Conclusions from the Principals Committee meeting on Bosnia held August 15, 1995.

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize Andrew Sens to ~~sign the memo to the agencies~~ at Tab I.

Approve OK Disapprove _____

Attachments

Tab I Memo to the Agencies
Tab A Summary of Conclusions

for files as amended

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines,

September 11, 2006

By Van Zandt NARA, Date 6/11/2014

2013-0687-F

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

Summary of Conclusions for
Meeting of the NSC Principals Committee Meeting

DATE: August 15, 1995

LOCATION: White House Situation Room

TIME: 3:30 p.m.-4:30 p.m.

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

PARTICIPANTS:

CHAIR

Anthony Lake

OMB

Jack Lew

OVP

Bill Wise

Richard Wurtz

CIA

John Deutch

VADM Dennis Blair

STATE

Secretary Christopher

Strobe Talbott

James Steinberg

JCS

General Shalikashvili

BG John Walsh

DEFENSE

Secretary Perry

Jan Lodai

White House

Sandy Berber

Nancy Soderberg

USUN

Amb. Madeleine Albright

James O'Brien

NSC

BG Donald Kerrick

Sue Bremner

Summary of Conclusions

1. Principals met August 15 to review the diplomatic state of play and discuss next steps on Kosovo.
2. Tony Lake provided a read-out of his trip to European capitals, noting that all governments were broadly supportive of our initiatives and in agreement that a diplomatic solution needed to be reached in the next several weeks. After the completion of the Holbrooke mission, we would consider next steps, which might include a more inclusive Contact Group meeting

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v2 5/9/2014

2010-0533-M

in Geneva at the end of the week. Proposals for informal working groups on military implementation and economic reconstruction needed to be fleshed out, with the EU taking the lead on the latter

3. Secretary Perry and General Shalikashvili noted that DoD was working on a paper on NATO implementation, which would be discussed by Deputies August 18. Once ideas on the mission and mandate for the post-settlement implementation force were fleshed out, details of troop numbers could be worked out more easily.

4. On the issue of Kosovo, Principals agreed that refugee flows should not in and of themselves be treated as a casus belli, but Dick Holbrooke should be instructed to remind Milosevic that we had previously warned him of the consequences of Serb-sparked conflict in the province. State agreed to revise language in a demarche to be used by Holbrooke.

5. On the subject of a Congressional and public strategy, Principals agreed to hold off until after the Holbrooke mission was complete. Lake would, however, brief Allied ambassadors in the next day or so to the broad outlines of his trip, and State could brief non-NATO troop contributors at an appropriate level.

~~SECRET~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

20971

MEMORANDUM FOR

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

DR. GORDON M. ADAMS
Associate Director for
National Security &
International Affairs

MR. KENNETH C. BRILL
Executive Secretary
Department of State

MR. DOUGLAS GARTHOFF
Executive Secretary
Central Intelligence Agency

COL. ROBERT P. MCALEER
Executive Secretary
Department of Defense

MR. AARON S. WILLIAMS
Executive Secretary
Agency for International
Development

AMB. RICK INDERFURTH
Office of the Representative
of the U.S. to the
United Nations

COL. F. C. WILSON
Secretary, Joint Staff
Joint Chiefs of Staff

SUBJECT: Principals Committee Meeting on Bosnia, August 15,
1995 ~~(S)~~

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

Andrew D. Sens
Executive Secretary

Attachment
Tab A Summary of Conclusions

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

By VZ NARA, Date 6/11/14

2013-0087-F

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

in Geneva at the end of the week. Proposals for informal working groups on military implementation and economic reconstruction needed to be fleshed out, with the EU taking the lead on the latter

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4. On the issue of Kosovo, Principals agreed that refugee flows should not in and of themselves be treated as a ~~causa~~ *causa* belli, but Dick Holbrooke should be instructed to remind Milosevic that we had previously warned him of the consequences of Serb-sparked conflict in the province. State agreed to revise language in a demarche to be used by Holbrooke.

5. On the subject of a Congressional and public strategy, Principals agreed to hold off until after the Holbrooke mission was complete. Lake would, however, brief Allied ambassadors in the next day or so to the broad outlines of his trip, and State could brief non-NATO troop contributors at an appropriate level.

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v2 5/9/14

2010-0533-m

United States Senate

OFFICE OF THE REPUBLICAN LEADER

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-7010

August 17, 1995

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to express my deep concern about reports regarding U.S. diplomatic initiatives being presented by U.S. representatives to Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian officials. Of greatest immediate concern are the reports that the United States supports fully lifting sanctions on Serbia in the event that Serbia recognizes Bosnia and Croatia and supports a settlement that would result in a 51%-49% partition of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

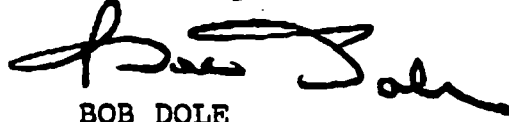
Such an approach, if adopted and agreed to by Serbian President Milosevic, would in my view reward his pariah regime without requiring real results on the ground in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Furthermore, and as importantly, it would not address the critical issue of the status and rights of the Albanian majority in Kosova who have been under martial law for over six years now. At this very moment, thousands of Serb refugees are being resettled in Kosova -- which will likely exacerbate the situation there and could lead to conflict. As your administration and the Bush administration have publicly recognized, a conflict in Kosova can be expected to draw in Albania and our NATO allies. Therefore, the issue of the rights and future of the majority Albanian population in Kosova must be addressed as part of any settlement in the former Yugoslavia.

I believe the United States should pursue a long term, comprehensive approach, rather than the apparent short term, piecemeal approach being pursued by your administration. One of America's key objectives should be stability in the region, and this goal cannot be achieved without a military balance in Bosnia and Croatia, and without addressing the status of Albanians in Kosova. The bottom line is that sanctions are the only real leverage the international community has been willing to use on the Belgrade regime. These sanctions should not be lifted until a comprehensive settlement which includes Kosova, is not only agreed to, but implemented.

If we lift sanctions now for what are clearly minimal returns, such a comprehensive settlement will be virtually impossible to reach and implement. Moreover, it will be extremely difficult to reimpose sanctions if and when necessary. In short, your administration's approach would yet again reward

President Milosevic prematurely -- for his promises, rather than his deeds. Therefore, Mr. President, I strongly urge you to reconsider this position. In the event that the administration does not change its position on sanctions, my colleagues and I will have to explore all legislative options.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Bob Dole", with a stylized, flowing script.

BOB DOLE

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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012. talking points	Talking Points on Bosnia for Consultations with Key Allies. (9 pages)	08/09/1995	P1/b(1)
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