

FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title:

Bosnia - September 1995 [2]

Staff Office-Individual:

European Affairs-Vershow, Alexander

Original OA/ID Number:

851

Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:	Stack:
34	1	10	2	v

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. report	Status of the Mujahedin in Bosnia. (2 pages)	09/25/1996	P1/b(1)
002. draft	Memo for the President from Anthony Lake. Subject: Bosnia After the Elections. (6 pages)	09/22/1996	P1/b(1)
003a. email	Alexander Vershbow to NSA. Subject: New Post-IFOR Memo. (1 page)	09/21/1996	P1/b(1)
003b. draft	Memo for the President from Anthony Lake. Subject: Bosnia After the Elections. [with marginalia] (5 pages)	09/21/1996	P1/b(1)
004. draft	Memo for the President from Anthony Lake. Subject: Bosnia After the Elections. [with marginalia] (6 pages)	09/22/1996	P1/b(1)
005. paper	Gameplan for the Post-Election Period. (3 pages)	09/24/1996	P1/b(1)
006. draft	Paper: Core Points. (1 page)	09/20/1996	P1/b(1)
007. report	Background Information. (4 pages)	09/24/1996	P1/b(1)
008. cable	re: Spare Parts for Serbia. [50 U.S.C. app. § 2411(c)] (2 pages)	09/17/1996	P3/b(3)
009. draft	Paper: Bosnia Agenda. (3 pages)	08/20/1996	P1/b(1)
010. list	Bosnia Issues. (3 pages)	09/18/1996	P1/b(1)
011. draft	Memo for the President from Anthony Lake. Subject: Bosnia After the Elections. (4 pages)	09/1996	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
OA/Box Number: 851

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - September 1995 [2]

2013-0687-F

vz2743

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
012. email	J. Nicholas Dowling to Ivo Daadler, John Feeley, and Alexander Vershbow. Subject: Thoughts on Post-IFOR. (2 pages)	09/11/1996	P1/b(1)
013. letter	President Clinton to President Izetbegovich. (2 pages)	09/19/1996	P1/b(1)
014. note	Sandy Berger to Alexander Vershbow. (1 page)	09/1996	P1/b(1)
015. memo	For Sandy Berger and Alexander Vershbow from Walter Slocombe. Subject: Comments on Draft Paper. (6 pages)	09/09/1996	P1/b(1)
016. memo	Duplicate of 015. (7 pages)	09/09/1996	P1/b(1)

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Bosnia and Herzegovina: "Final Preliminary" OSCE Results as of 24 September 1996 (U)

Bosnian Presidency Results:

Muslim seat:

Izetbegovic	731,024	80 percent
Silajdzic	123,696	14 percent
Other	58,700	6 percent
	913,420	

Serb seat:

Krajisnik	690,130	67 percent
Ivanic	305,992	30 percent
Other	27,978	3 percent
	1,024,100	

Croat seat:

Zubak	329,891	89 percent
Komsic	37,519	10 percent
Other	4,422	1 percent
	371,832	

Political Parties

Muslim parties:

SDA = Party for Democratic Action
SBH = Party for Bosnia and Herzegovina
Joint list

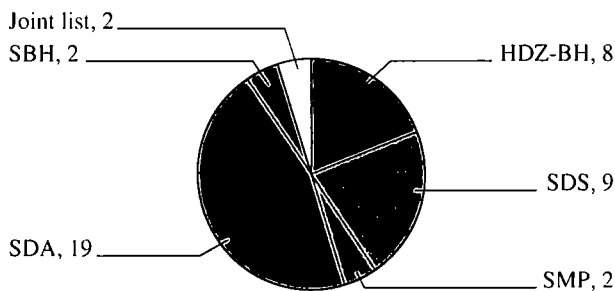
Serb parties:

SDS = Serb Democratic Party
SMP = Alliance for Peace and Progress
DPB = Democratic Patriotic Bloc
SRS = Serb Radical Party

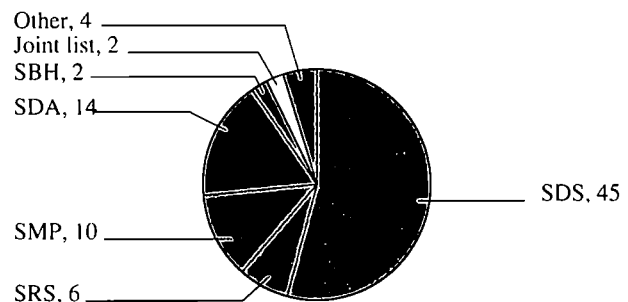
Croat parties:

HDZ-BH = Croat Democratic Union

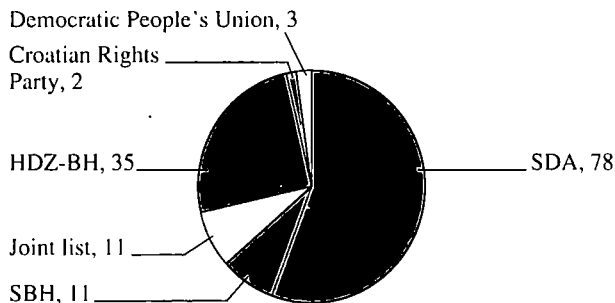
42-Member Bosnian House of Representatives ^a



83-Member Republika Srpska National Assembly ^a

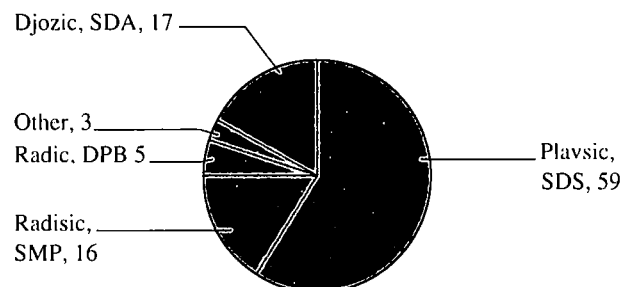


140-Member Federation House of Representatives ^a



Republika Srpska Presidency Results

Percent



^a Estimated number of seats per party.

Source: OSCE Bosnian election Internet site.

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~~SECRET~~

CLASSIFICATION

'96 SEP 22 AM 11 53

WASH FAX COVERSHEET
 SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
 CABLES

N

TIME TRANSMITTED (LOCAL)

TIME RECEIVED (LOCAL)

FROM Cables OFFICE/DESK ESO PHONE NBR 703-697-8151SUBJECT BOSNIA Elections

DELIVERY INSTRUCTIONS:

PAGES 7
(INCLUDING COVER)☐ HOLD FOR NORMAL DUTY HOURS/ROUTINE☒ IMMEDIATELY/URGENT

NOTE: FURNISH AFTER DUTY HOUR CONTACT TELEPHONE NUMBER FOR EACH ADDRESSEE REQUIRING AFTER DUTY HOUR DELIVERY

TRANSMIT TO

AGENCY	INDIVIDUAL (NAME)	OFFICE	ROOM NBR	PHONE NBR
NSC	Sandy Vershow			

REMARKS:

Please pass to Mr Vershow, he is expecting this fax from Mr Slacumbe

WASH FAX OPERATOR (703) 769-9329/9391
 SECDEF CABLES (703) 697-8151

~~SECRET~~

CLASSIFICATION

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
 OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS
 Initials: VZ Date: 7/18/2014

2013-0687-F

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INTERNATIONAL

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

DIST: CLARKER, DAALDER, DOWLING, FEELEY, MALLEY, PETERS, RAGAN, SESTAK, SIMON, SZASZ, VERSHBOW, NODIST

PREC: RUSH CLASS: INTERNATIONAL DTG:

FM: FBIS

TO:

F4058

FBIS S 058SEP24

UNCLAS 2I

B-H: Cover-Up Over Fraudulent Poll Alleged) MS2409103396

London THE GUARDIAN in English 24 Sep 96 pp 1,11

Report by Julian Borger: "West 'Covering up Mass Fraud in Bosnian Polls']

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo -- The international organisation supervising the Bosnian elections is attempting to cover up wholesale fraud involving an estimated 600,000 phantom votes, according to preliminary results that call into question the apparent victory of the Muslim leader, Alija Izetbegovic.

His margin of victory of 41,000 votes over the Bosnian Serb separatist, Momcilo Krajisnik, is dwarfed by the scale of voting discrepancies the greatest of which are in predominantly Muslim areas.

Independent election monitors have called for the elections to be declared null and void after initial returns showed there had been 7 per cent more votes than estimated voters. Western observers say the figures suggest either cheating during the count, or -- more likely -- ballot-stuffing on a vast scale.

However, if the election results were nullified, or if Mr Krajisnik were declared the victor, Western strategy in Bosnia would go into a tailspin because:

-- Bosnia's Muslims would refuse to accept Mr Krajisnik as head of state, as he helped orchestrate Serb ethnic cleansing during the Bosnian war.

-- New government institutions could not be created, under the Dayton peace agreement, unless the whole election process -- campaign, polling day count and results -- is certified by the chairman of the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe.

-- Non-approval could postpone by months the drawdown of U.S.-led Nato troops presenting President Clinton with a foreign policy fiasco

INTERNATIONAL

INTERNATIONAL

weeks before the U.S. presidential elections in November.

The OSCE, which is supervising the election and the count, has been under constant U.S. pressure to play down evidence of fraud.

The head of the OSCE mission in Sarajevo is Robert Frowick, a U.S. diplomat. Over the past month, the press department in the Bosnian capital has been gradually packed with U.S. officials, while their European counterparts have been sent home or demoted, in effect making the OSCE press office an extension of the American embassy.

Election observers believe the most likely source of fraud was large-scale ballot-stuffing. Unlike earlier internationally-supervised elections in Namibia (November 1989) and Cambodia (May 1993), there was only one international supervising team in Bosnia for every eight polling stations. "When the polls closed, about 70 per cent of the polling stations were totally unsupervised, and under control of the LECs (local election commissions)," one Western observer said.

There are serious discrepancies across the country but the worst fraud appears to have been in mainly Muslim areas. An OSCE source said that in central Sarajevo, 30,000 votes appear to have been cast

on behalf of dead or missing Muslims. The number of voters is also suspiciously high around the Muslim town of Bihac.

The head of the International Crisis Group office in Sarajevo, Sir Terence Clark, said yesterday: "We call on the OSCE to explain the discrepancies and if it can only be explained by fraud, then they should declare the elections null and void."

The OSCE argued yesterday there was no direct proof of fraud. Jeff Fischer, the organisation's elections director, said the turnout appeared high because the original estimate for the total electorate -- 2.9 million -- had been too low. Over the weekend the OSCE revised the figure upwards to 3.2 million.

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The revised OSCE electorate figure defies demographic logic. It makes allowance for new voters coming of age since the 1990 election, but radically revises downwards the war's death toll. It suggests there are 200,000 more voters now than in 1990. "It's as if nobody died at all throughout the entire war," a UN analyst said.

Diplomats say the estimate of a 2.9 million electorate was first put forward by OSCE experts in April. Three studies by UN and Bosnian statisticians arrived at estimates from 2,936,000 to 2,957,000.

On September 16, two days after the elections, a document accepting these figures was approved and signed, by representatives of the OSCE, the UN, and the NATO-led peace implementation force in Bosnia, I-For.

At least 580,000 refugees are known not to have voted. Based on the polling day observations of international monitors, the document

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assumes an 80 per cent turnout of Bosnians still in Bosnia, but concedes this "is probably higher than the real turn-out". If 80 per cent of Bosnia's voters had cast their ballots, the maximum number of voters would have been 1.89 million -- 600,000 less than the actual number of ballots cast, which was officially reported as 2.52 million.

Jonathan Steele adds: The European Institute for the Media, which monitored Bosnian television and radio broadcasts throughout the campaign, said "the fairness of the democratic process was seriously marred".

The European Commission, which funded the monitoring, initially tried to soften its findings and then vainly urged the institute to delay publication of its report, a member of the team said.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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008. cable	re: Spare Parts for Serbia. [50 U.S.C. app. § 2411(c)] (2 pages)	09/17/1996	P3/b(3)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
OA/Box Number: 851

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - September 1995 [2]

2013-0687-F
vz2743

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.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
009. draft	Paper: Bosnia Agenda. (3 pages)	08/20/1996	P1/b(1)

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2013-0687-F
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20853

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

September 18, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR

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

MR. WILLIAM J. BURNS
Executive Secretary
Department of State

MR. J. BENJAMIN NYE
Executive Secretary
Department of the Treasury

COL. J.N. MATTIS
Executive Secretary
Department of Defense

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

DR. GORDON ADAMS
Associate Director for
National Security and
International Affairs
Office of Management and
Budget

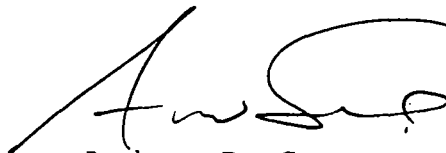
MR. RICK E. YANNUZZI
Executive Secretary
Central Intelligence Agency

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

COL. F. C. WILSON, USMC
Secretary, Joint Staff

SUBJECT: Discussion Paper for September 19 Deputies Meeting on
Bosnia ~~(S)~~

Attached is a discussion paper for the second agenda item of the
Deputies Committee meeting on Bosnia, to be held on September 19,
1996, from 1:00 p.m. to 2:30 p.m. in the White House Situation
Room. ~~(S)~~



Andrew D. Sens
Executive Secretary

Attachment
Tab A Discussion Paper

~~SECRET~~

Classified by: Andrew Sens
Reason: 1.5 (a,c,d)
Declassify on: 9/17/06

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS
Initials: _____ Date: _____

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

By 12 NARA, Date 7/18/2014
2013-0687-F

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
010. list	Bosnia Issues. (3 pages)	09/18/1996	P1/b(1)

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2013-0687-F

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
011. draft	Memo for the President from Anthony Lake. Subject: Bosnia After the Elections. (4 pages)	09/1996	P1/b(1)

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Clinton Presidential Records
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2013-0687-F

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
012. email	J. Nicholas Dowling to Ivo Daadler, John Feeley, and Alexander Vershbow. Subject: Thoughts on Post-IFOR. (2 pages)	09/11/1996	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
013. letter	President Clinton to President Izetbegovich. (2 pages)	09/19/1996	P1/b(1)

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Bosnia - September 1995 [2]

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
014. note	Sandy Berger to Alexander Vershbow. (1 page)	09/1996	P1/b(1)

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
015. memo	For Sandy Berger and Alexander Vershbow from Walter Slocombe. Subject: Comments on Draft Paper. (6 pages)	09/09/1996	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
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