

# FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title:

Bosnia - September 1995 [7]

Staff Office-Individual:

European Affairs-Vershbow, Alexander

Original OA/ID Number:

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Section:

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2

Stack:

v

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                                                                     | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 001. report              | Implementation of the Dayton Accords: Status Report #38. (18 pages)                               | 09/12/1996 | P1/b(1)     |
| 002. memo                | For John Kornblum from Jim Swigert. Subject: Highlights of 9/5 DC. (2 pages)                      | 09/06/1996 | P1/b(1)     |
| 003. memo                | Summary of Conclusions of the Deputies Committee Meeting on Bosnia. Record ID: 9620799. (3 pages) | 09/06/1996 | P1/b(1)     |
| 004. report              | Implementation of the Dayton Accords: Status Report #37. (16 pages)                               | 09/05/1996 | P1/b(1)     |
| 005a. report             | Options for Rescheduling Municipal Elections. (5 pages)                                           | 09/04/1996 | P1/b(1)     |
| 005b. report             | Elections: Worst Case Scenarios. (2 pages)                                                        | 09/04/1996 | P1/b(1)     |
| 005c. report             | Post-Election Scenarios. (3 pages)                                                                | 09/04/1996 | P1/b(1)     |

### COLLECTION:

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

### FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - September 1995 [7]

2013-0687-F

vz2748

### 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]  
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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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## OPEN BROADCAST NETWORK -- TV-IN

The US must use hard linkage to protect the independent Open Broadcast Network (OBN) in post-election Bosnia. The fate of the network will be a bellwether of democratization and the bilateral relationship after the elections. The Bosnian Government has made clear its strong opposition to the network, and its stance that after the elections OBN should come under government control. Sarajevo has already proved willing to deny all necessary permissions, threaten the project's local workers, and seize a key OBN facility by force. Izetbegovic's hard line against the network was merely reinforced by the recent US-backed negotiations that (before they were halted) conceded essential post-election control over OBN to the authorities.

After this performance, and the earlier US failure to secure expected post-election guarantees from Izetbegovic in the absence of serious linkage, only the strongest American policy on OBN will save free broadcast media in Bosnia. Protection of OBN must be tied to the US assistance package, including arm and train; support must be found among supportive partners on this project including Germany and Britain. Otherwise the often-expressed nightmare of the independent TV stations will be realized: led to the cliff's edge by the international community, they are then left at the mercy of their natural enemies. Post-election takeover or shutdown of OBN would severely damage civil society in Bosnia, substantially undermine Congressional support for Bosnia assistance, and call the broader relationship and policy into question.

Led by the US, the international community must lock in post-election guarantees as a first order of business:

- Non-interference in OBN's operations, including pluralistic and commercial programming, which shall be guided by the OBN Editorial Board and Governing Council;
- Membership in the OBN and ownership of donated equipment and resources shall be the decision of the member stations and the Governing Council;
- Regarding issues affecting editorial and economic independence, OBN complies with official regulations and measures that are in accord with Bosnia and Herzegovina's international obligations, in particular Article 19 of the U.N. International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the country's commitments under OSCE; measures relating to broadcast media and expression shall conform with these international norms;
- In case of dispute between the network and the regulatory authorities, the matter shall be referred for arbitration to a three-member panel, with one member each chosen by the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the OBN Governing Council, and the Chairman-in-Office of the OSCE.

IFOR and any follow-on force will protect OBN property as special status as necessary.

**BOB DOLE**

August 28, 1996

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I welcome the decision by Robert Frowick to postpone the municipal elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina in response to massive efforts at 'electoral engineering' in key towns such as Srebrenica and Brcko. However, this decision does not address the other serious problems related to the presidential and parliamentary elections still scheduled for September 14. Therefore, I am writing to appeal to you to use American leadership and influence to postpone the presidential and parliamentary elections until conditions exist for free and fair elections. If held under present conditions, these elections will be neither free nor fair, but a fraud -- with the American stamp of approval.

The facts are clear: opposition parties have not had access to the resources necessary to campaign; there has been widespread intimidation of opposition leaders, including incidents of organized violence against opposition candidates and party members; there has been little progress toward the development of independent media; freedom of movement has not been established within Bosnia; refugees and displaced persons have not been able to return to their homes; and finally, indicted war criminals are not only roaming free, but are still exerting tremendous influence and authority over the political process. Moreover, there is a real potential for violence. Elections held under these circumstances will only serve to unfairly legitimize nationalist extremists, entrench ethnic divisions, and condemn Bosnia and its people to authoritarianism and partition. I cannot conceive of a single compelling national interest for pressing forward on September 14. Indeed to the contrary, I believe that putting American prestige behind such a process only serves to undermine our leadership and makes a mockery of our commitment to democratic principles, while making it more difficult for U.S. troops in Bosnia to accomplish their goals. I cannot comprehend why the United States supports holding elections under such circumstances.

U.S. policy toward Bosnia is in need of serious alterations. Postponing the presidential and parliamentary elections is an essential first step. In addition, the program of arming and training of the Bosnian Federation is late and far short of what it should be. This diminishes American influence and strengthens the influence of undemocratic and pro-Iranian elements. Putting the arm and train program back on track is also critical as the central element of a realistic exit strategy for our forces.

Mr. President, in your address to the American people on November 21, 1995, regarding the effort to bring peace to Bosnia, you said, "Our values, our interests and our leadership all over the world are at stake." I agree completely. The world is watching. Now is the time to make the right decision, not the politically expedient decision.

Sincerely,

*Bob Dole*  
BOB DOLE

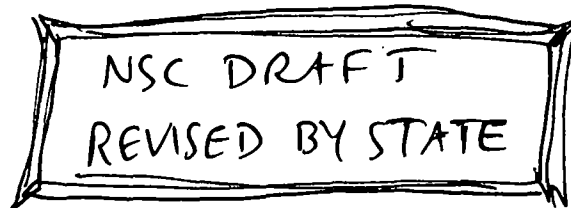
SRB -

Dole letter & draft reply

State (Daviton) feels strongly

that WH & not Christopher  
should reply. Tony &

Leon Panetta had taken the  
opposite view. We need  
to talk. SV



August 30, 1996

Dear Senator Dole:

Thank you for your August 28 letter on the Bosnian elections. Like you, I strongly support the decision by OSCE Chief of Mission Robert Frowick to postpone the municipal elections. That decision was fully justified in view of the widespread abuse of registration procedures, primarily by the Bosnian Serbs, aimed at establishing effective control over key ethnically cleansed villages, towns and cities in the Bosnian Serb Republic such as Brcko and Srebrenica. Similar abuses, albeit on a smaller scale, were committed by the Bosnian Croats.

I do not share your view, however, that these problems warrant a postponement of the national and entity elections that will be held as scheduled on September 14. The national elections remain an essential prerequisite to the formation of a single, democratically elected national government that can exercise authority throughout Bosnia. The establishment of national institutions -- including the Presidency and parliament -- is the critical first step toward building a united, multi-ethnic Bosnia and laying the foundation for long-term peace.

The irregularities that led to the OSCE decision to postpone the municipal elections do not directly affect the possibility of holding elections at the national and entity levels. Voters can vote for candidates on national party lists no matter where they are registered.

While there have been problems in creating the conditions for free and fair elections at the national and entity levels, such as those mentioned in your letter, it is our view that the situation is moving in the right direction. The international community has worked tirelessly to create the administrative and security infrastructure necessary for successful elections on September 14. IFOR, in particular, has provided enormous support, including helping meet the extensive logistical demands of the elections effort. IFOR will work with the international and local police to ensure as safe and secure an environment as possible for each and every voter. It will increase its presence in areas where violence may otherwise be possible, will work to facilitate freedom of movement of voters throughout Bosnia, and will have standing orders to intervene if people's lives are threatened.

-2-

The presence of 1200 international election supervisors and hundreds of international election monitors on election day will help safeguard positive changes throughout Bosnia and deter intimidation and other abuses. In addition, the Swiss have set up an independent radio network covering most of the country, and we and others are working hard to put the independent television Open Broadcast Network on the air prior to the elections, ensuring that the voters of Bosnia hear independent voices as they prepare to cast their votes.

It is not only the United States which supports maintaining the elections date. Almost without exception opposition politicians in the Federation and the Republika Srpska have urged us not to allow the elections to be postponed. They see the vote as an essential first step to restoring legitimacy to government in their country. Polls have shown that the average Bosnian - whether Serb, Croat or Muslim - views national elections as important, and that the overwhelming majority intend to vote. We should listen to what the Bosnians want and move ahead with the elections as planned.

Finally, I agree that our program to train and equip the Bosnian Federation armed forces is important to assist in providing Bosnia with a self-defense and deterrent capability and thereby promote regional security and stability. I am pleased to tell you that on Thursday, August 29, the first U.S. equipment shipment arrived in Sarajevo. As you know, the United States will contribute \$100 million in defense articles and services to the program. Other countries have pledged over a quarter of a billion dollars in in-kind and cash contributions to support Bosnia's training and equipment needs. In all, this adds up to a significant program in support of Bosnia's defense needs.

Over the past nine months, the United States has led the international effort to turn the peace signed at Dayton into political reality. Our troops have played a crucial role in ending violence and war. I am fully committed to ensuring a military balance exists among the former warring parties so that none of them is encouraged to resume hostilities once IFOR departs.

The conditions for holding effective elections are being created. It is now up to the voters in Bosnia to decide who will lead them forward on the road toward peace and unity.

Sincerely,

The Honorable  
Bob Dole,  
810 First Street, N.E.  
Suite 300,  
Washington, D. C. 20002.

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2013-0687-F

vz2748

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~~SECRET~~

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

20799

September 6, 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. JAMES 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

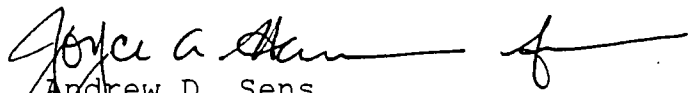
MS. BARBARA STARR  
Executive Secretary  
Arms Control and Disarmament  
Agency

MR. RICK RUTH  
Deputy Chief of Staff  
U.S. Information Agency

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

SUBJECT: Summary of Conclusions, Deputies Committee Meeting  
on Bosnia, August 27 1996

Please pass to Deputies 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

~~SECRET~~

Classified by: Andrew D. Sens  
Reason: 1.5 (c,d)  
Declassify On: 08/28/06

By 12 NARA, Date 7/29/2014  
2013-0687-f

~~SECRET~~

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WASHFAX RECEIPT  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

'96 SEP -4 P7:10

**B**

'96 SEP 4 PM 7 15

S/S #

040593

MESSAGE NO. 040593 CLASSIFICATION SECRET No. Pages 10FROM: PRIMOSCH/KELLY EUR/SABI & SCE 647-1072  
(Officer name) (Office symbol) (Extension) (Room number)MESSAGE DESCRIPTION Draft Memorandum for discussion at 9/5/96 DC Meeting  
on "Options for Rescheduling Municipal Elections in Bosnia" and "Worst  
Case Scenarios"

| <u>TO: (Agency)</u> | <u>DELIVER TO:</u>       | <u>Extension</u>    | <u>Room No.</u> |
|---------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| <u>NSC</u>          | <u>Sandy Vershbow</u>    | <u>456-9151</u>     | <u></u>         |
| <u>NSC</u>          | <u>Ivo Daalder</u>       | <u>456-9351</u>     | <u></u>         |
| <u>DOD/OSD</u>      | <u>Thomas Longstreth</u> | <u>703-693-7371</u> | <u></u>         |
| <u>JCS (J-5)</u>    | <u>Michael Byron</u>     | <u>703-697-1887</u> | <u></u>         |
| <u>Treasury</u>     | <u>Michael Froman</u>    | <u>622-0770</u>     | <u></u>         |
| <u>OMB</u>          | <u>Gordon Adams</u>      | <u>395-4657</u>     | <u></u>         |

FOR: CLEARANCE ☐ INFORMATION ☒ PER REQUEST ☐ COMMENT ☒REMARKS: Please see that the principals for the 9/5 DC Meeting are briefed  
on the contents of the attached.

S.S. Officer: \_\_\_\_\_

C, D, N, K,

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL  
OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS  
Initials: VE Date: 7/29/2004

2013-0687-E

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## REFUGEE RETURN AND FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT

The Dayton parties have not fulfilled their Annex Seven obligations to allow the return of refugees and displaced persons and to permit freedom of movement and residence. The September election will allow us to address these issues through new national institutions, including the Property Commission. Freedom of movement also includes the travel of national officials outside ethnic enclaves. The November election, and the lead-up to it, offer an opportunity to expand organized freedom-of-movement programs. We need to watch carefully the European debate on ending temporary protection for Bosnian refugees.

### Freedom of Movement Plan

Refugees and displaced persons will look to the results of municipal elections in November as one of two key determinants in their return decision. (The other is security.) For the displaced, the municipals are THE election. Significant representation for ethnic minorities on local councils may be the last chance for social reintegration in our two-year period. We need to use the municipals to generate higher volumes of inter-entity traffic before, during and after election day. We should also help devise "rules of the road" for newly elected national officials and their staffs, who need to be able to travel freely throughout the country.

ACTION: IFOR, OSCE and UNHCR should begin immediately to devise an operational freedom-of-movement plan keyed to the municipal election campaign, building on the "election routes" in place for the September 14 vote. The goal should be to facilitate -- and protect -- visits by minority candidates and voters to their 1991 voter residences -- during the campaign (as a confidence-building measure) as well as on election day. An early public announcement of the plan will help energize voters. Visits must be in both directions across the IEHL. We must insist on full cooperation from the Presidency and entity governments. For newly elected national officials, the parties should work out documentation and agreed rules for exercising their right of unobstructed travel.

### The Property Commission

The Annex Seven "Commission for Real Property Claims of Displaced Persons and Refugees" is the one Dayton institution where Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats have cooperated smoothly, doubtless because members of all three communities have lost their homes in large numbers. The Property Commission is a key to economic stability, reconstruction, reintegration and repatriation. It has just issued an appeal for \$16.7 million to begin the massive task of claims collection and

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adjudication. The Commission expects up to one million claims. Because of refugee return, European governments have the strongest interest in the success of the Commission but have failed -- as has the High Representative -- to take an interest in getting the Commission off the ground. We need to spotlight the Commission as a working national body, tie filing claims to the municipal elections and encourage the Europeans to fund the appeal.

ACTION: Starting with the Contact Group and bilateral events at UNGA, and consistently in PIC Steering Board and CG meetings in the next months, we need to push the Europeans, especially the EU and the Germans, whose lead others will follow, to support the Commission's appeal for funds. We should follow up our own FY96 year-end contribution of \$100,000 with a more substantial amount -- perhaps \$1 million -- that will allow us to insist that the Europeans come up with the rest. We should instruct Embassy Sarajevo to help the Commission's energetic new American Executive Officer with a public relations campaign to link the start-up of claims filing to the municipal elections.

#### Temporary Protection

Bonn has announced its intention to begin returning Bosnian refugees after October 1, probably a token effort to assuage public opinion and Laender governments. UNHCR has warned the Germans that premature returns to unsafe areas with poor job prospects could result in suffering and destabilization. Other European governments are watching Germany with trepidation, fearing that refugees might head their way rather than return. The Bosnian government wants the predominantly Muslim refugees to return, but only when they can be accommodated. Our role is to help balance these interests and manage the temporary protection end-game in a way that optimizes Bosnia's chances for success.

ACTION: In our diplomatic contacts, we should emphasize the need for careful, coordinated approaches to repatriation and insist that UNHCR and host governments not surprise each other. We should support existing programs by UNHCR and the International Organization for Migration (IOM) to facilitate "majority returns" that ease pressure on host countries without putting refugees at risk. Returns by minorities should wait until after the municipal elections. We should reemphasize the U.S. commitment to generous resettlement here of Bosnian refugees. (We have already announced our willingness to take up to 15,000 cases per year.)

BMcKinley, SESABI 542  
September 25, 1996