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Bosnia - September 1995: Early [3]

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. paper	Bosnia: impact of Complete IFOR Withdrawal (2 pages)	08/19/1996	P1/b(1)
002. memo	Ambassador Gelbard's Trip Report. (8 pages)	08/27/1996	P1/b(1)
003. report	Bi-Weekly Update #31. (13 pages)	08/27/1996	P1/b(1)
004a. memo	For Permanent Representatives from Secretary General. Subject: Disposal of Ammunition. [NATO] (2 pages)	08/23/1996	P1/b(1)
004b. memo	For the Secretary General, North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Subject: Ammunition Disposal. [NATO] (2 pages)	08/23/1996	P1/b(1)
004c. letter	General George Jouwan to V. Tchernega. [NATO] (3 pages)	08/23/1996	P1/b(1)
005. draft	Questions for DC Meeting on Bosnian Elections. (8 pages)	08/26/1996	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - September 1995: Early [3]

2013-0687-F

vz2751

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]

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BOSNIA ELECTIONS COMMUNICATIONS PLAN (8/17)

I. CONTEXT

The September 14th national elections in Bosnia provide an opportunity for the creation of democratic institutions called for in the Dayton Peace Agreement. The elections are not an end in themselves; rather, they are a critically important step in the process made possible by Dayton.

The success of these elections -- in the media's eyes -- will be based on, first, the process; second, the results; and, third, the implementation of the results. The process will not be perfect. There will likely be violence and a variety of other problems -- intimidation, fraud, confusion. There will be many calls for postponement before the elections, and charges, both before and during, that they are not free and fair.

After the elections, the results will not be readily available. There will be confusion, speculation and calls for invalidation. There will be charges that the foundation for a multi-ethnic state has not been created. The Administration will be criticized for pushing a premature election for domestic political purposes. Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, the elections will trigger a debate about the presence of American troops and whether they will leave in a year. There will be criticism from the elites that doing so is deserting a program we began.

II. OBJECTIVE

The overall objective of our efforts should be to: 1) Manage expectations; 2) Ensure that a coordinated effort provides needed information; and, 3) Pro-actively work to add context and historical perspective to the story. The objectives vary for the key players in this effort:

White House/NSC/State: To shape and manage expectations. We need to conduct an effort that reminds people of where the country was a year ago and educates them that these elections, no matter how troubled, are an important and essential step in bringing democracy to Bosnia.

OSCE: To shape and manage expectations. Outside of the elites, no one knows what the OSCE is. Rather, they view these elections as an American enterprise. It is important that all measures are taken to run an effective and competent operation in Sarajevo. They need to provide up-to-date, reliable, and consistent information and use every available resource to tell a story that conveys the significance of these elections, historical examples and positive stories when possible.

Embassy/AID: To put the elections in context for the foreign and American press on the ground. Specifically, they need to give reporters access and information to stories about reconstruction -- economic, infrastructure and humanitarian.

IFOR/American Military: To remind people that their presence has made it possible for these elections to take place. To help tell the story that the "the Bosnian people have taken another important step towards rebuilding their country" story and to effectively manage stories about the duration of their role.

III. MESSAGE

"Four years ago, a small minority began a war that most Bosnians did not want. On September 14th, the majority have a chance to be heard." Secretary Christopher, August 15, 1996, Sarajevo.

How Far They've Come. After three and a half years of bloodshed, the people of Bosnia are turning from the horrors of war to the promise of peace. Last summer, Bosnia was at war. Today, the people of Bosnia are in the process of regaining normalcy. The killing has stopped. Security has been restored. Reconstruction is underway. Since this time last year, we have seen military implementation achieved, separation of parties, commencement of reconstruction -- economic and infrastructure -- and, now, elections. The presence of the American military and our combined reconstruction efforts have encouraged the democratic process and enabled these elections to take place. The Bosnian people are, in effect, trading bullets for ballots.

Elections Are an Essential Step Toward Democracy. These elections are an important step for the Bosnian people as they work to rebuild their country and their lives. Like everything in Bosnia, they will not be perfect. But they are essential to put in place democratic institutions that will enable the Bosnian people to live normal, safe and healthy lives in the years to come. Securing the peace in Bosnia will require more than elections. The Bosnian people have a long way to go before the shadow of violence and hate disappears from their lives. But the elections are the only way to lasting peace and growing prosperity.

IV. AUDIENCE

There are several audiences that will be targeted by this public affairs effort. As the elections near, we will have more information on who is reporting when and where.

- *Press Veterans on Bosnia.* Mainly elite and focused on substance. The group includes Pomfret, Dobbs, Rieff, Scilino, Perlez, O'Connor, Friedman.
- *"New to the Story" Press.* National and reporters who will report substance, but without much background history or knowledge.
- *White House Press/Commentators/Punditry/Opinion Leaders.* These reporters will focus on the story in the immediate window around the 14th. They will look at the story as a political one in terms of the stakes for Clinton, the role of the American military, etc.
- *America.* There are a few instances when foreign policy stories are big enough to get large coverage in the regional media and other non-elite forums. Due to the presence of American troops, this might be one of them. As a result, there will be opportunities to talk directly to this press corps without the filter of the elite.

V. STRUCTURE AND COORDINATION

In Washington, a coordinated public affairs operation led by NSC and State with participation from USIA, AID, Commerce and DOD is in place and will be fully functioning post-Labor Day. In Sarajevo, a joint Elections Operation Center between OSCE and IFOR is in formation. Bud Jacobs from USIA, is in the region to ensure that USIS and AID are added to that group. He will report to us on the feasibility of this coordinated effort on Wednesday, August 21st. The intention is that after Labor Day, we will begin a daily conference call with the following people/entities:

- NSC/D.C. (Julia Moffett; David Johnson; others)
- State/D.C. (Tony Gambino; David Leavy; others)
- AID/D.C. (Ann Kitlaus)
- USIA/D.C. (Kimberly Marteau; Bob McCarthy)
- DOD /D.C. (tbd)
- USIS/Sarajevo (Chip Blakely)
- AID/Sarajevo (Mike Siegel)
- OSCE/Sarajevo (Agi Kuperman; Jeff Fisher)
- IFOR/Sarajevo (tbd)

As we get closer, we will need to determine if this call can/should be merged with the daily IFOR call. If done, the call could be broken into the following categories: 1) IFOR update/press guidance; 2) Elections/Civilian update/press guidance; 3) Planning ahead.

VI. CALENDAR

This calendar is a preliminary look at events we will create out of the White House and State Department as well as some of the "big" events that will make news or be promoted out of the region. This list will expand once we begin our daily calls.

- *August 19-23: ^{Sarajevo} Saladic decision on election participation expected*
- *August 19-23: Covering Force Exercises in Germany*
- *August 28-30: 1,200 Election Supervisors Arrive in Sarajevo*
- *September 3: Begin OSCE Daily Briefings--Follow IFOR (Frowick/Kuperman/Fisher)*
- *September 3: Occasional USIA/AID/Other briefings begin (Menzes/Blakely/Sklar/Others)*
- *September 3-15: Pitch reconstruction and other progress stories from region (Blakely/Siegel)*
- *September 4: Bosnia Mailing to top 300 Regional Editorial Boards (State)*
- *September 4: Lake Meets with Top 25 Regional Papers, Roosevelt Room*
- *September 9: Lake Meets with Network Anchors and NYT/WSJ Ed. Boards*
- *September 8: League of Women Voters to Bosnia w/ Refugee Ballots (Call from HRC?)*
- *TBD: Election Monitors/Observers Depart Stories*
- *TBD: Nightline piece on "U.S. Investment in Bosnia"*
- *September 10-12: Regional Editorial Board Conference Calls (NSC/State/AID)*
- *September 11-18: Regional Radio Program (State)*
- *September 11: All refugee ballots are shipped to Sarajevo*

CALENDAR, con't:

- *September 12: Election Observers Arrive in Sarajevo*
- *September 12: Pundits/Columnists Meetings (Lake, Berger, Christopher?)*
- *September 12: Bosnia Opinion Leaders Breakfast (Lake)*
- *September 12: Meet with Newsmagazines (Berger and/or State)*
- *TBD: POTUS Message via VOA or delegation send-off (options)*
- *September 14: POTUS Statement (tbd)*
- *September 13-16: National Television Appearances, in particular, Sunday Shows (Face the Nation has already requested Holbrooke)*
- *September 17-18: Counting and results announced*
- *TBD: Secretary Christopher, or other, into briefing room*
- *TBD: Dayton II?*
- *September 25: Final Election Results Certified*
- *TBD: White House Briefing Room Briefing (option)*

VII. MATERIALS

This is a preliminary list of materials we have identified and begun work on. This list will evolve as we get closer to the elections and can better determine needs.

- One pager Talking Points (NSC/State) ←
- Three pager Talking Points (NSC/State) ←
- Elections: Participation (OSCE)
- Elections: Fact Sheet -- Process/Who's Involved/What Elections Will Create (OSCE)
- Elections: Historical Precedent (AID/NSC)
- Then and Now Matrix (NSC/AID)
- Top 10 Charges or Q & A (NSC)
- Chronology -- June 1995-September 1996
- Op-eds (Holbrooke, Carter, Atwood)

VIII. SPEAKERS

We need to determine our team of speakers for media appearances and reporter/opinion leader outreach. Listed below is a working list:

Tony Lake	Ambassador Montgomery	Opinion Leaders (tbd)
Sandy Berger	Nicholas Burns	Ambassador Meneses
Mike McCurry	Brian Atwood	Richard Sklar
Sandy Vershbow	Madeleine Albright	
Secretary Christopher	Richard Holbrooke	
Strobe Talbott	Penn Kemble	
John Kornblum	Bob Frowick	
Jim Steinberg	Presidential Election Observer Group Head (tbd).	

POSTPONEMENT OF MUNICIPAL ELECTIONSQuestion

Why were the municipal elections postponed?

Answer

The Provisional Election Commission of the OSCE deliberated carefully before making the determination that significant irregularities in voter registration had occurred on the municipal level, thereby undermining effective elections in a large number of municipalities.

In the OSCE's judgment, these irregularities do not affect the ability to move forward with effective elections at the national, entity and cantonal levels.

Under the terms of the Dayton Peace Agreement, municipal elections were only to be held if deemed feasible.

The OSCE determined in June that municipal elections should be part of the election package.

Manipulation at the municipal level of voter registration--the tabulation was only completed last week--led the OSCE to reassess the situation.

-2-

Under the terms of the Peace Agreement voters are automatically eligible to vote where they were registered in 1991. Refugees can re-register to vote where they intend to live after repatriation or resettlement.

There was a clear expectation that those who registered to vote in a city actually had a bona fide intention to live there.

When the registration results were tabulated, it became clear that large numbers of persons living outside the country had registered in cities to which they had no real intention of returning, in an apparent effort to seek to solidify the majority through manipulation of the voter rolls.

The majority of these irregularities occurred on the Serbian side in cities such as Brcko and Srebrenica.

(If asked: Several cities on the Croat side also registered irregularities.)

Since legitimate municipal governments will be essential for normalization of relations, including the return of refugees, OSCE determined it was necessary to postpone municipal elections to ensure that registration procedures are carried out correctly.

-3-

Question

What does this mean for the national elections and the credibility of the election process?

Answer

The OSCE is charged with ensuring the credibility of the election process. By postponing municipal elections it has taken a decisive step to demonstrate that it will not tolerate irregularities with the voting process. By removing potential controversy over the municipal elections, the rest of the process will be strengthened.

This decision in no way affects the rest of the election process. National and entity elections will go forward. The entire international community, including IFOR, is committed to making them as successful as possible.

Question

Does this mean an extension of the OSCE or IFOR mandates?

Answer

The OSCE has a number of tasks to complete in Bosnia and its mandate is on-going. It is our expectation that they will continue to supervise the preparation and conduct of all elections.

IFOR's mandate is tied to a specific set of tasks that we expect to be completed in approximately one year. This decision will not affect that mandate.

Question

If IFOR leaves, who is going to guarantee the security aspects of the election?

Answer

Postponing municipal elections will help ensure democratically held national and entity elections, as well as the smooth establishment of the new government.

Successful establishment of these institutions will provide the foundation for sustained internal cooperation.

We will be working together with the entire international community to assess security needs at the time of the municipal elections.

Question

When will the new elections be held? Who will pay for them?
How will they be conducted?

Answer

The OSCE is responsible for determining the date of the
municipal elections.

We expect that costs will be borne by local authorities and the
international community on a basis to be determined.

The municipal elections are being postponed only. They will
still be conducted within the framework of the Peace Agreement.

-7-

Question

Can you give us the details of the flawed registration?

Answer

See attached fact sheet

Question

Was the U.S. (or the international community) instrumental in the postponement decision?

Answer

The U.S. and other members of the Contact Group have been in close contact with Ambassador Frowick and Federal Counselor Cotti throughout the last few days. We are confident that the OSCE decision reflects the views of the international community. The Peace Implementation Council (PIC) Steering Board plans to meet on Sept. 5 and we expect the Contact Group to meet soon to ensure the closest possible consultation on this issue.

OSCE POSTPONEMENT OF MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

- We learned today that the Provisional Election Commission of the OSCE, in response to irregularities and manipulations of the voter registration process, has decided to postpone one element of the September 14 elections in Bosnia -- municipal elections -- for several months. It is too early to speculate when the elections will be held.
- In the OSCE's judgment, these irregularities do not affect the ability to hold elections at the national, entity or cantonal levels, and these will proceed on schedule on September 14. These national and other elections are a critically important step in forming a new, democratically elected government for the whole of Bosnia. Under the Dayton accords, the municipal elections were to be held on the same date only if feasible.
- We fully support the OSCE's decision. The OSCE has engaged in vigorous efforts to create an environment in which reasonably free and fair elections can proceed. The OSCE has the right to act decisively in case of abuses of election procedures, and it has done so in making this decision.
 - Previously, the OSCE acted swiftly in response to election abuses, fining candidates and parties involved in irregular activities and banning seven SDA candidates from the elections in response to an attack on an opposition candidate.
 - In this case, the OSCE determined that some of the parties have manipulated the registration process in order to use the upcoming municipal elections to solidify their hold over ethnically cleansed villages, town and cities. The Bosnian Serbs, in particular, have manipulated the process so that tens of thousands of Bosnian Serb refugees currently in Serbia could register to vote in a select number of cities -- among them Brcko and Srebrenica -- in order to legitimize Serb dominance in areas that before the war had Muslim-majority populations.
 - By removing potential controversy over the municipal elections, the OSCE has helped to strengthen the rest of the election process.
- The national elections on September 14 will represent an important, first step in a long-term process of democratization in Bosnia. They will lay the basis for establishing the institutions of a unified Bosnian state, allow the Constitution to go fully into effect, and legitimize legislative and judicial bodies.
- Conditions in Bosnia are moving in right direction, and the OSCE -- supported by IFOR and the International Police Task Force, and reinforced by the presence of 1200 international election supervisors and hundreds of international election monitors -- will make every effort in the coming weeks to promote effective elections on September 14.
- Polls have shown that the average Bosnian -- whether Serb, Croat, or Muslim -- views the elections as important to the consolidation of peace in Bosnia, and the overwhelming majority intend to vote.

IF ASKED:

- **Rationale for Postponement:** These irregularities are a violation of the intent of the Dayton provisions and OSCE rules that govern the creation of conditions for free and fair elections. Registration manipulation of this type is also at odds with the spirit of the elections which are meant to help provide the basis for reestablishing a multiethnic nation.
- **Why National Elections Can Still Go Forward:** The decision to postpone the municipal elections was based on abuses of the rules on **where** people can vote **within** Bosnia aimed at solidifying control by one ethnic group over ethnically cleansed villages, towns and cities. These abuses do not affect the ability to hold elections at the national, entity and cantonal levels.
- **OSCE Authority:** The Dayton Accords call for the OSCE to hold entity and national elections in Bosnia no later than September 14, but only call for the conduct of cantonal and municipal elections by that date *if feasible*. It is entirely appropriate for the OSCE to postpone municipal elections if this becomes necessary to ensure that elections are reasonably free and fair.
- **Boycotting Elections:** All of the parties in Bosnia agreed to a September deadline for elections when they signed the Dayton Accords last fall. All once again reaffirmed their commitment to this election date at their recent meeting in Geneva. We must hold the parties to their commitments and should not allow any backsliding.
- **Implications for Duration of IFOR Mandate:** IFOR will play a central role in providing a secure environment for the national, entity and cantonal elections that will go forward as planned on September 14. These elections are the key to the implementation of the Dayton Constitution and the establishment of Bosnia-wide political institutions. It is on this foundation that the Bosnian parties themselves will take on primary responsibility for building a lasting peace. Thus, postponement of the municipal elections will not affect the duration of IFOR's mandate, which terminates on December 20.
- **Implications for Post-IFOR Period:** It is not yet determined whether the municipal elections will be rescheduled for later this year or in early 1997. In any case, there will continue to be a substantial international presence in Bosnia -- OSCE, International Police Task Force, UNHCR, civilian reconstruction agencies -- next year. The implications of this decision for a possible post-IFOR security presence will need to be reviewed when we and our allies later this year look at strategy for sustaining peace and stability in the Balkans. But it is premature to make a judgment about the future until we have assessed the situation following the September 14 elections.

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

August 27, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR SANDY BERGER

FROM: JULIA MOFFETT

cc: SANDY VERSHBOW et al

SUBJECT: BOSNIA COMMUNICATIONS ISSUES

I know that today's Deputies Committee is devoted to a wide range of election-related issues. If the discussion turns to communications issues, you might consider raising the following items which remain unresolved and could assist the public affairs team in our planning.

- **Additional Hi-level Visits to the Region.** (Secretary's Christopher's trip was a model of how to drive the news coverage in the direction you want it to go. While Kornblum plans to spend a lot of time in the region, it unclear whether he can perform this role and all of his other duties.)
- **U.S. Observer Delegation Head.** (Who will it be? When will we announce it? Is he or she hi-profile enough to help with the press/generate stories in the region?)
- **One Voice on the Elections, Especially the Results.** (You started the process of ensuring that Frowick is the authoritative voice on the election results last week.)
- **The Period Between the Voting and Results.** (What mechanisms exist to manage the news during the two or three days between the voting and the announcement of results?)
- **Top Charges.** (It might be valuable to hear what people view as the top charges against us, our biggest vulnerabilities, etc.)

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003. report	Bi-Weekly Update #31. (13 pages)	08/27/1996	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - September 1995: Early [3]

2013-0687-F

vz2751

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]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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OSCE POSTPONEMENT OF MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

- We learned today that the Provisional Election Commission of the OSCE, in response to irregularities and manipulations of the voter registration process, has decided to postpone one element of the September 14 elections in Bosnia -- municipal elections -- for several months. It is too early to speculate when the elections will be held.
- In the OSCE's judgment, these irregularities do not affect the ability to hold elections at the national, entity or cantonal levels, and these will proceed on schedule on September 14. These national and other elections are a critically important step in forming a new, democratically elected government for the whole of Bosnia. Under the Dayton accords, the municipal elections were to be held on the same date only if feasible.
- We fully support the OSCE's decision. The OSCE has engaged in vigorous efforts to create an environment in which reasonably free and fair elections can proceed. The OSCE has the right to act decisively in case of abuses of election procedures, and it has done so in making this decision.
 - Previously, the OSCE acted swiftly in response to election abuses, fining candidates and parties involved in irregular activities and banning seven SDA candidates from the elections in response to an attack on an opposition candidate.
 - In this case, the OSCE determined that some of the parties have manipulated the registration process in order to use the upcoming municipal elections to solidify their hold over ethnically cleansed villages, town and cities. The Bosnian Serbs, in particular, have manipulated the process so that tens of thousands of Bosnian Serb refugees currently in Serbia could register to vote in a select number of cities -- among them Brcko and Srebrenica -- in order to legitimize Serb dominance in areas that before the war had Muslim-majority populations.
 - By removing potential controversy over the municipal elections, the OSCE has helped to strengthen the rest of the election process.
- The national elections on September 14 will represent an important, first step in a long-term process of democratization in Bosnia. They will lay the basis for establishing the institutions of a unified Bosnian state, allow the Constitution to go fully into effect, and legitimize legislative and judicial bodies.
- Conditions in Bosnia are moving in right direction, and the OSCE -- supported by IFOR and the International Police Task Force, and reinforced by the presence of 1200 international election supervisors and hundreds of international election monitors -- will make every effort in the coming weeks to promote effective elections on September 14.
- Polls have shown that the average Bosnian -- whether Serb, Croat, or Muslim -- views the elections as important to the consolidation of peace in Bosnia, and the overwhelming majority intend to vote.

IF ASKED:

- **Rationale for Postponement:** These irregularities are a violation of the intent of the Dayton provisions and OSCE rules that govern the creation of conditions for free and fair elections. Registration manipulation of this type is also at odds with the spirit of the elections which are meant to help provide the basis for reestablishing a multiethnic nation.
- **Why National Elections Can Still Go Forward:** The decision to postpone the municipal elections was based on abuses of the rules on **where** people can vote **within** Bosnia aimed at solidifying control by one ethnic group over ethnically cleansed villages, towns and cities. These abuses do not affect the ability to hold elections at the national, entity and cantonal levels.
- **OSCE Authority:** The Dayton Accords call for the OSCE to hold entity and national elections in Bosnia no later than September 14, but only call for the conduct of cantonal and municipal elections by that date *if feasible*. It is entirely appropriate for the OSCE to postpone municipal elections if this becomes necessary to ensure that elections are reasonably free and fair.
- **Boycotting Elections:** All of the parties in Bosnia agreed to a September deadline for elections when they signed the Dayton Accords last fall. All once again reaffirmed their commitment to this election date at their recent meeting in Geneva. We must hold the parties to their commitments and should not allow any backsliding.
- **Implications for Duration of IFOR Mandate:** IFOR will play a central role in providing a secure environment for the national, entity and cantonal elections that will go forward as planned on September 14. These elections are the key to the implementation of the Dayton Constitution and the establishment of Bosnia-wide political institutions. It is on this foundation that the Bosnian parties themselves will take on primary responsibility for building a lasting peace. Thus, postponement of the municipal elections will not affect the duration of IFOR's mandate, which terminates on December 20.
- **Implications for Post-IFOR Period:** It is not yet determined whether the municipal elections will be rescheduled for later this year or in early 1997. In any case, there will continue to be a substantial international presence in Bosnia -- OSCE, International Police Task Force, UNHCR, civilian reconstruction agencies -- next year. The implications of this decision for a possible post-IFOR security presence will need to be reviewed when we and our allies later this year look at strategy for sustaining peace and stability in the Balkans. But it is premature to make a judgment about the future until we have assessed the situation following the September 14 elections.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004a. memo	For Permanent Representatives from Secretary General. Subject: Disposal of Ammunition. [NATO] (2 pages)	08/23/1996	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

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Bosnia - September 1995: Early [3]

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RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed
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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
004b. memo	For the Secretary General, North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Subject: Ammunition Disposal. [NATO] (2 pages)	08/23/1996	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

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Bosnia - September 1995: Early [3]

2013-0687-F

vz2751

RESTRICTION CODES

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004c. letter	General George Jouwan to V. Tchernega. [NATO] (3 pages)	08/23/1996	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
005. draft	Questions for DC Meeting on Bosnian Elections. (8 pages)	08/26/1996	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - September 1995: Early [3]

2013-0687-F
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11. How do we organize interagency to maximize USG support for the elections effort?

Intensive interagency coordination will be required to ensure maximum USG support for the elections effort. A number of interagency groups are already in place to coordinate on Bosnia policy, including the elections. These groups should begin focussing more closely on current elections issues and meet more frequently. The current interagency structure, however, appears adequate to accommodate these expanded coordination requirements.

- Agencies represented on the Bosnia EX Comm hold a video conference (SVTS) daily at 9:30 am to review interagency taskings and developments in Bosnia. The format of this meeting should include a daily intelligence report on elections, an assessment of new and rapidly emerging election-related issues and an initial review of how these issues are being addressed interagency.
- An Elections Working Group chaired by Ambassador Montgomery or his deputy meets every Monday afternoon to review U.S. activities in support of the elections. Membership in that group should be expanded to ensure that all agencies and offices with an interest in the elections attend. Meetings should be held at least twice a week and possibly more often in the final weeks before elections if fast-breaking developments warrant it.
- On August 26, a Bosnian Elections Task Force will begin operating in the State Department's Operation Center to serve as a full-time coordination body and a focal point for information/intelligence on elections. State's European Bureau will provide on-site staff 8:00 am-6:00 pm during the initial week of operations. Other agencies and State offices are requested to identify liaison officers who can consult and report on a call-in basis. The task force will have communications and office facilities to operate 24 hours a day with a staff of 20 or more, if required.
- A new interagency Security Working Group under the direction of Assistant Secretary Gelbard will meet following his return from Bosnia. The Working Group will give special attention to security planning for the elections and coordination with the IPTF, IFOR and OSCE. It should begin meeting on a regular basis the week of August 26.
- The Bosnia EX COMM and Deputies Committee have been meeting at least once a week to review developments in Bosnia and approve policy initiatives. The two groups are now reviewing an Elections Strategy Paper that outlines approaches to a range of elections issues, including security, participation of U.S. observers, public affairs and "worst-case" scenarios. The interagency committee needs to conclude its review of the strategy and be prepared to approve U.S. policy responses to critical election developments.

POLLING STATION LOGISTICS

9. What are the capabilities of local officials for running 4,401 polling stations and other elections logistics for which they are responsible?

Manning the 4,401 polling stations and providing logistical support represent a formidable challenge for the Local Elections Commissions and the OSCE. More than 80 percent of the personnel needed to man the polling stations have been identified. Most of the remaining personnel are those for the polling station in the Republika Srpska. The OSCE expects that the personnel gap will shrink significantly when Republika Srpska authorities submit additional names in the next few days.

Training of trainers for the polling station personnel has already begun, and it is expected that these individuals will pass on their training to those designated to work with them.

(Report from Spence)

Drafted:EUR/SABI:WPrimosch

SESABI 453 8/23/96

Clearances:

EUR/SABI:CBlank

EUR/SABI:DSmith

fair, and what is the process for doing that? Must certification be all-or-nothing, or can it be partial?

The process of certifying the "free and fair" aspect of the election has never been clearly specified and agreed upon. Dayton does not ascribe any judgmental function to any one person or entity.

Our strategy is centered on avoiding the creation of and downplaying any emerging judgmental role in any one person or entity and allowing a more general consensus to emerge. We plan to have Ambassador Frowick, using the vehicle of his nightly, numerical certification of results, lead the way. As he announces the available numerical results he will also comment on the behavior of the Parties and the findings of the election supervisors in this regard.

Frowick is agreed to this, and he believes Swiss CIO Cotti would prefer to avoid having a role which would leave him to make "the" qualitative call on the elections. Frowick believes, however, that Bildt prefers a scenario whereby he plays a central role, passing Cotti's assessment to the UNSC. Bildt is said to be actively promoting this scenario.

ACTION: We should bring the other members of the Contact Group to agreement on this scenario, and then we should confront Bildt.

OSCE DELIBERATIONS

Q. What happened in Sarajevo today at the OSCE. Are municipal elections being postponed? When will they be held?

A. -- THE PROVISIONAL ELECTION COMMISSION MET IN SARAJEVO TODAY FOR SEVERAL HOURS TO DISCUSS THE RECOMMENDATION TO POSTPONE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS.

-- USING HIS AUTHORITY UNDER THE PEACE AGREEMENT, AMBASSADOR FROWICK DETERMINED THAT MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS WOULD BE POSTPONED.

-- IT IS TOO EARLY TO SPECULATE ON WHEN THE ELECTIONS WILL BE HELD.

-- THE STEERING BOARD OF THE PEACE IMPLEMENTATION COUNCIL WILL MEET ON SEPTEMBER 5 AND THE CONTACT GROUP WILL BE MEETING IN THE NEAR FUTURE TO CONSIDER THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE POSTPONEMENT OF THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS.

IF PRESSED:

- THE PEC WAS SPLIT INITIALLY OVER THE RECOMMENDATION TO POSTPONE BUT THE MEMBERS LATER STATED THAT THEY BACKED AMBASSADOR FROWICK'S DECISION.

- WE HAVE SEEN PRESS REPORTS THAT AMBASSADOR FROWICK SPECULATED THAT THE ELECTIONS MIGHT BE HELD IN APRIL OR MAY.

- THIS IS A DECISION WHICH WILL BE MADE IN CONSULTATION WITH THE BOSNIAN AUTHORITIES AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. IT IS TOO EARLY TO SPECULATE ON AN EXACT DATE FOR THE ELECTIONS.

08/27/96

TUE 12:40 FAX 2028475118

EUR/PA

EUR/PPA:Csevchenko 7-6925, EURPA 5298

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Bosnia
August 27, 1996

POSTPONEMENT OF MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

Q: Why were the municipal elections postponed?

A: -- THE PROVISIONAL ELECTION COMMISSION OF THE OSCE DELIBERATED CAREFULLY BEFORE MAKING THE DETERMINATION THAT SIGNIFICANT IRREGULARITIES IN VOTER REGISTRATION HAD OCCURRED ON THE MUNICIPAL LEVEL, THEREBY UNDERMINING EFFECTIVE ELECTIONS IN A LARGE NUMBER OF MUNICIPALITIES.

-- IN THE OSCE'S JUDGMENT, THESE IRREGULARITIES DO NOT AFFECT THE ABILITY TO MOVE FORWARD WITH EFFECTIVE ELECTIONS AT THE NATIONAL, ENTITY AND CANTONAL LEVELS.

-2-

- UNDER THE TERMS OF THE DAYTON PEACE AGREEMENT, MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS WERE ONLY TO BE HELD IF DEEMED FEASIBLE.
- THE OSCE DETERMINED IN JUNE THAT MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS SHOULD BE PART OF THE ELECTION PACKAGE.
- HOWEVER, MANIPULATION AT THE MUNICIPAL LEVEL OF VOTER REGISTRATION--THE TABULATION WAS ONLY COMPLETED LAST WEEK--LED THE OSCE TO REASSESS THE SITUATION.
- UNDER THE TERMS OF THE PEACE AGREEMENT VOTERS ARE AUTOMATICALLY ELIGIBLE TO VOTE WHERE THEY WERE REGISTERED IN 1991. REFUGEES CAN RE-REGISTER TO VOTE WHERE THEY INTEND TO LIVE AFTER REPATRIATION OR RESETTLEMENT.

-3-

- THERE WAS A CLEAR EXPECTATION THAT THOSE WHO REGISTERED TO VOTE IN A CITY ACTUALLY HAD A BONA FIDE INTENTION TO LIVE THERE.

- WHEN THE REGISTRATION RESULTS WERE TABULATED, IT BECAME CLEAR THAT LARGE NUMBERS OF PERSONS LIVING OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY HAD REGISTERED IN CITIES TO WHICH THEY HAD NO REAL INTENTION OF RETURNING, IN AN APPARENT EFFORT TO SEEK TO SOLIDIFY THE MAJORITY THROUGH MANIPULATION OF THE VOTER ROLLS.

- THE MAJORITY OF THESE IRREGULARITIES OCCURRED ON THE SERBIAN SIDE IN CITIES SUCH AS BRCKO AND SREBRENICA.

- (IF ASKED: SEVERAL CITIES ON THE CROAT SIDE ALSO REGISTERED IRREGULARITIES.)

-4-

-- SINCE LEGITIMATE MUNICIPAL
GOVERNMENTS WILL BE ESSENTIAL FOR
NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS, INCLUDING
THE RETURN OF REFUGEES, OSCE
DETERMINED IT WAS NECESSARY TO
POSTPONE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS TO
ENSURE THAT REGISTRATION PROCEDURES
ARE CARRIED OUT CORRECTLY.

-5-

Q: What does this mean for the national elections and the credibility of the election process?

A: -- THE OSCE IS CHARGED WITH ENSURING THE CREDIBILITY OF THE ELECTION PROCESS. BY POSTPONING MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS IT HAS DEMONSTRATED THAT IT WILL NOT TOLERATE IRREGULARITIES WITH THE VOTING PROCESS. BY TAKING SUCH A DECISIVE STEP AND REMOVING POTENTIAL CONTROVERSY OVER THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS, THE REST OF THE PROCESS WILL BE STRENGTHENED.

-- THIS DECISION IN NO WAY AFFECTS THE REST OF THE ELECTION PROCESS. NATIONAL CANTONAL AND ENTITY ELECTIONS WILL GO FORWARD. THE ENTIRE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, INCLUDING IFOR, IS COMMITTED TO MAKING THEM AS SUCCESSFUL AS POSSIBLE.

-6-

Q: Does this mean an extension of the OSCE or IFOR mandates?

A: -- THE OSCE HAS A NUMBER OF TASKS TO COMPLETE IN BOSNIA AND ITS MANDATE IS ON-GOING. IT IS OUR EXPECTATION THAT THEY WILL CONTINUE TO SUPERVISE THE PREPARATION AND CONDUCT OF ALL ELECTIONS.

-- IFOR'S MANDATE IS TIED TO A SPECIFIC SET OF TASKS THAT WE EXPECT TO BE COMPLETED IN APPROXIMATELY ONE YEAR. THIS DECISION WILL NOT AFFECT THAT MANDATE.

-7-

Q: If IFOR leaves, who is going to guarantee the security aspects of the election?

A: -- POSTPONING MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS WILL REMOVE A HIGHLY CONTROVERSIAL ELEMENT FROM THE SEPTEMBER 14 PROCESS AND WILL THUS HELP ENSURE DEMOCRATICALLY HELD NATIONAL AND ENTITY ELECTIONS, AS WELL AS THE SMOOTH ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT.

-- SUCCESSFUL ESTABLISHMENT OF THESE INSTITUTIONS WILL PROVIDE THE FOUNDATION FOR SUSTAINED INTERNAL COOPERATION.

-- WE WILL BE WORKING TOGETHER WITH THE ENTIRE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO ASSESS SECURITY NEEDS AT THE TIME OF THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS.

-8-

Q: When will the new elections be held? Who will pay for them? How will they be conducted?

**A: -- THE OSCE IS RESPONSIBLE FOR
DETERMINING THE DATE OF THE MUNICIPAL
ELECTIONS.**

**-- WE EXPECT THAT COSTS WILL BE BORNE BY
LOCAL AUTHORITIES AND THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY ON A BASIS TO
BE DETERMINED.**

**-- THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS ARE ONLY BEING
POSTPONED. THEY WILL STILL BE
CONDUCTED WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF
THE PEACE AGREEMENT.**

-9-

Q: Can you give us the details of the flawed registration?

A: -- THE REQUESTS TO REGISTER IN A FUTURE INTENDED PLACE OF LIVING (FORM II) FROM REFUGEES IN THE FRY AND CROATIA SHOW A HEAVY CONCENTRATION IN A LIMITED NUMBER OF MUNICIPALITIES WHICH ARE STRATEGICALLY INTERESTING FOR BOTH ETHNIC GROUPS.

-- FOR INSTANCE, OF THE 123,007 REFUGEE VOTES FROM THE FRY, APPROXIMATELY 25% (31,278) REGISTERED IN BRCKO AND ABOUT ANOTHER 16% (19,746) REGISTERED IN SREBRENICA.

-- OVER HALF OF THE 14,000 CROATIAN FORM II REGISTRATIONS WERE REQUESTS TO VOTE IN JAJCE (5,356) AND STOLAC (3,433).

-- I REFER YOU TO THE OSCE FOR FURTHER DETAIL.

-10-

Q: Was the U.S. (or the international community) instrumental in the postponement decision?

A: -- THE U.S. AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE CONTACT GROUP HAVE BEEN IN CLOSE CONTACT WITH AMBASSADOR FROWICK AND FEDERAL COUNSELOR COTTI THROUGHOUT THE LAST FEW DAYS. WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT THE OSCE DECISION REFLECTS THE VIEWS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

-- THE PEACE IMPLEMENTATION COUNCIL (PIC) STEERING BOARD PLANS TO MEET ON SEPT. 5 AND WE EXPECT THE CONTACT GROUP TO MEET SOON TO ENSURE THE CLOSEST POSSIBLE CONSULTATION ON THIS ISSUE.

Drafted by: EUR/PPA:EPryor

Cleared by: EUR:JKornblum

PA:GDavies

D:PGoldberg

EUR/SCE:JSwigert