

FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title:

Bosnia - September 1995 (Early): Early Sept. [1]

Staff Office-Individual:

European Affairs-Vershbow, Alexander

Original OA/ID Number:

896

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34	2	1	1	v

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. agenda	Deputies Committee Meeting on Bosnia, September 8, 1995. Record ID: 9521035. (1 page)	09/08/1995	P1/b(1)
002. draft	Paper: Continuation of Air Support. (3 pages)	08/31/1995	P1/b(1)
003. memo	For the President from Anthony Lake. Subject Foreign Policy Group Meeting on Bosnia. Record ID: 9506640. (4 pages)	09/07/1995	P1/b(1)
004. draft	Paper: Confidence Building/Arms Control Measures. (2 pages)	08/28/1995	P1/b(1)
005. draft	Agreed Basic Principles. (2 pages)	09/05/1995	P1/b(1)
006. draft	Equipping and Training the Bosnian Federation. (6 pages)	09/01/1995	P1/b(1)
007. cable	re: Bosnia/Croatia: Future Security. (4 pages)	09/07/1995	P1/b(1)
008. cable	re: Considerations for Bosnia. (7 pages)	09/05/1995	P1/b(1)
009. cable	re: Message from British Prime Minister Major to President Clinton. (1 page)	09/04/1995	P1/b(1)
010. draft	Duplicate of 005. (2 pages)	09/05/1995	P1/b(1)
011. paper	U.N. Actions for Implementation. (1 page)	09/1995	P1/b(1)
012. paper	Duplicate of 011. (1 page)	09/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - September 1995 (Early): Early Sept. [1]

2013-0687-F

vz2754

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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013. paper	Duplicate of 011. (1 page)	09/1995	P1/b(1)
014. memo	For the National Security Advisor from Ambassador Madeleine Albright. (3 pages)	09/04/1995	P1/b(1)
015. paper	Principals Committee on Bosnia, September 5, 1995. Issues Checklist. (2 pages)	09/05/1995	P1/b(1)
016. email	Sue Bremner to Alexander Vershbow. Subject: Meeting at Treasury. (1 page)	09/05/1995	P1/b(1)
017. agenda	Principals Committee Meeting on Bosnia, September 5, 1995. Record ID: 9521024. (1 page)	09/01/1995	P1/b(1)
018. cable	re: Balkan Crisis. (6 pages)	09/05/1995	P1/b(1)
019. cable	re: Koljevic Letter on Acceptance. (2 pages)	09/04/1995	P1/b(1)
020. cable	re: Belgrade Talks. (4 pages)	09/04/1995	P1/b(1)

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~~SECRET~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

21035

September 7, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR

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

MR. KENNETH C. BRILL
Executive Secretary
Department of State

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

COL. ROBERT P. MCALEER
Executive Secretary
Department of Defense

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

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

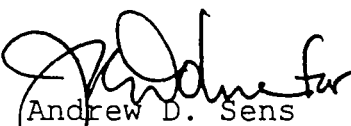
MR. DOUGLAS GARTHOFF
Executive Secretary
Central Intelligence Agency

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

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

SUBJECT: Deputies Committee Meeting on Bosnia ~~(S)~~

There will be a Deputies Committee meeting on Bosnia on Friday, September 8, 1995, from 11:00 a.m. - 12:00 p.m. Attendance is principals plus one. An agenda for the meeting is attached at Tab A. ~~(S)~~


Andrew D. Sens
Executive Secretary

Attachment
Tab A Agenda

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

By VR NARA, Date 7/30/2014
2013-0687-F

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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001. agenda	Deputies Committee Meeting on Bosnia, September 8, 1995. Record ID: 9521035. (1 page)	09/08/1995	P1/b(1)

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

21035

September 6, 1995

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

FROM: ALEXANDER VERSHBOW *AV*

SUBJECT: Deputies Committee Meeting, September 8, 1995

Attached is an agenda (Tab A) for the Deputies Committee meeting on Bosnia. I have included Treasury and AID on the distribution list; please delete them if you don't want to include them in this meeting.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the agenda and authorize Andrew Sens to sign the memorandum to the agencies at Tab I.

Approve ✓

Disapprove _____

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to Agencies

Tab A Agenda

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

By VR NARA, Date 7/30/2014

2013-0687-F

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003. memo	For the President from Anthony Lake. Subject Foreign Policy Group Meeting on Bosnia. Record ID: 9506640. (4 pages)	09/07/1995	P1/b(1)

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004. draft	Paper: Confidence Building/Arms Control Measures. (2 pages)	08/28/1995	P1/b(1)

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National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
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005. draft	Agreed Basic Principles. (2 pages)	09/05/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - September 1995 (Early): Early Sept. [1]

2013-0687-F

vz2754

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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DRAFT CONGRESSIONAL POINTS ON BOSNIA STRATEGY

September 5, 1995

Air Strikes

- NATO and UN air strikes against Bosnian Serb targets in response to the shelling of the Sarajevo market began August 29. Operations were temporarily suspended Friday to allow Bosnian Serb military commander Mladic to travel to meetings with UN officials that we hoped would result in acceptance of conditions for termination of the retaliatory campaign.
- As you know, air strikes resumed this morning because the Bosnian Serbs refused to comply with conditions laid down by NATO and the UN over the weekend.
- The conditions include:
 - to begin withdrawal of heavy weapons from the 20-kilometer exclusion zone around Sarajevo;
 - to end all attacks on Sarajevo and the other safe areas;
 - to allow complete freedom of movement for the UN and NGOs on routes to Sarajevo, including the Sarajevo airport.
- Despite pledges by Bosnian Serb political leaders during the day Monday that they accepted the three conditions, military commanders failed to carry out the promises. Only a handful of heavy weapons were moved.
- The ongoing operation demonstrates that NATO and the UN are determined to follow through on their London commitments to strengthen UNPROFOR and respond to attacks on safe areas.
- As the President has said, we believe the NATO/UN action is appropriate and necessary, and that it will enhance the credibility of our new diplomatic initiative.

Holbrooke Mission

- Assistant Secretary Holbrooke has had productive meetings with Bosnian President Izetbegovic and Foreign Minister Sacirbey, Serbian President Milosevic, Croatian President Tudjman and representatives of Contact Group states.
- The talks led to agreement on a meeting at the end of this week in Geneva of the foreign ministers of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia, together with the Contact Group and others. The aim of the meeting will be to reach agreement on basic principles of a settlement as the foundation for intensive negotiations aimed at achieving a peace agreement.

- Milosevic had earlier announced that the Bosnian Serbs were prepared to join the negotiating process in a team comprised of three Bosnian Serbs, three Serbians, and Milosevic himself, with Milosevic having the tie-breaking vote. If this offer is accompanied by a sincere willingness to negotiate based on the U.S. peace initiative and Contact Group principles, it will be a positive development.

U.S. Initiative

- Let me explain the main elements of the U.S. initiative.
- The parties to the conflict are positive about the broad outlines of our diplomatic initiative, which involves looking at the conflict as a whole and seeking a comprehensive settlement.
- We are not seeking to impose a preconceived American plan. Rather, we are exercising American leadership by engaging with our allies, the Russians, and the parties in an intensive diplomatic effort to reach settlement.
- We are basing our effort on the principles of the Contact Group plan, which preserve Bosnia as a single state within its current borders and establish equitable territorial arrangements between the Muslim/Croat Federation and a Bosnian Serb entity.
- We do not have a map in hand, nor are we insisting on any side giving up any particular piece of territory.
- That said, we are urging the parties to think more realistically about precise territorial arrangements and constitutional issues, in light of recent developments on the ground and the need to ensure that the new Bosnian state will be viable in economic, political and security terms.
- In tandem with our efforts to achieve a Bosnian settlement, we are also pressing for a political solution in Eastern Slavonia, the remaining Serb-occupied area of Croatia, to head off renewed fighting there.
- Should our initiative produce a settlement, we will need to ensure that peace holds over the long term by being prepared to participate in implementation and by having plans for economic reconstruction assistance at the ready.

Post Settlement Military Implementation

- On the first point, the President stands by his earlier decision that the U.S. would be willing, under certain conditions, to deploy troops as part of a NATO operation to implement a settlement in Bosnia. Deployment would naturally be the subject of Congressional consultations.

- Planning is now underway. At this point, we cannot say what will be the size of the U.S. contribution or the NATO force.

Reconstruction Assistance

- On the second point, we think a reconstruction plan will be a critical incentive toward settlement. Our allies agree, and the European Union has signaled it would take the lead in developing a comprehensive regional program. We hope the IMF, EBRD, and IBRD will play major roles as well, and the moderate Islamic states and Japan will make sizable contributions.
- We believe the U.S. should be an active participant in economic reconstruction planning and implementation: our efforts will not only help repair the damage caused by three years of war but will also encourage others to participate.
- We are still in the early stages of discussion on the actual elements of a reconstruction plan; a team is in Europe to consult with the European Union. (IF PRESSED) We have not put any hard numbers on the table in Europe, but if there is a settlement, and if the EU and others make a major financial donation, we think the U.S. should play an important role and be prepared to contribute in the range of \$250 to \$500 million, or perhaps more, over several years.
- We will inform the parties and Europeans over the coming weeks that the President wants to work with the Congress to shape the program and provide funds for a contribution in this range. In our discussions overseas, we have not been more specific about the exact U.S. contribution, what our funds would cover, and what period of time we would participate, since the substance of the program is evolving.
- As I have said, the new situation presents us with important opportunities. But significant risks remain: an escalation and spreading of the war and the collapse of the UN operation, either of which could draw the U.S. deeper into the conflict.
- We believe our plan increases the chances for regional, comprehensive peace. Other courses of action, such as unilaterally lifting the arms embargo, would jeopardize the chances of achieving a negotiated settlement in the coming weeks.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
011. paper	U.N. Actions for Implementation. (1 page)	09/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

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012. paper	Duplicate of 011. (1 page)	09/1995	P1/b(1)

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BOSNIA HILL STRATEGY (5 Sept.)

Briefings to be held in House and Senate, Wednesday, 6 September.

Senate briefing: leadership to call; all Senators

House briefing: Joint HIRC/HCONS; may have to wait until Thursday, since House doesn't swing into action until then

Suggested Briefing team: Tarnoff/White/Owens or Estes

JCS to call Rep. McHale

NSC to call Reps. Neumann and Hoyer

(FYI: Possible amendments to DoD Approps bill in House on Bosnia:

-- Neumann: conditions participation of U.S. forces in specified operations on a prior authorization; prohibits use of FY 96 funds for costs incurred in connection with the deployment of U.S. armed forces in Yugoslavia above the level deployed on Aug. 4, 1995; amend. does have a waiver.

-- Stockman: President "must" submit an emergency supp. request for certain overseas deployment of U.S. armed forces (bill now reads President "should").

-- Obey: Deletes a provision in bill that recommends that President seek an emergency supp. to cover the costs of U.S. participation in international humanitarian, peacekeeping or peace enforcement operations.

-- DeFazio: Prohibits obligation of FY 96 or prior year funds for costs incurred as a result of introduction of U.S. armed forces in FRY unless authorized by law.

-- Skelton: Prohibits use of FY 96 funds to provide military training for Bosnian military forces.)

DoD is checking with Skelton and DeFazio about their amendments. I have called Neumann's office.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
014. memo	For the National Security Advisor from Ambassador Madeleine Albright. (3 pages)	09/04/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
015. paper	Principals Committee on Bosnia, September 5, 1995. Issues Checklist. (2 pages)	09/05/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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016. email	Sue Bremner to Alexander Vershbow. Subject: Meeting at Treasury. (1 page)	09/05/1995	P1/b(1)
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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

21024

September 1, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR

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

MR. KENNETH C. BRILL
Executive Secretary
Department of State

COL. ROBERT P. MCALEER
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 &
International Affairs
Office of Management and
Budget

MR. LEON PANETTA
Chief of Staff to the
President

MR. DOUGLAS GARTHOFF
Executive Secretary
Central Intelligence Agency

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

SUBJECT: Principals Committee Meeting on Bosnia ~~(S)~~

There will be a Principals Committee meeting on Bosnia, Tuesday, September 5, 1995 from 2:30 p.m. - 3:30 p.m. in the Situation Room. Attendance is principals plus one. An agenda for the meeting is attached at Tab A. ~~(S)~~



Andrew D. Sens
Executive Secretary

Attachment
Tab A Agenda

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

By VZ NARA, Date 7/30/2014
2013-0087-F

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~SECRET~~

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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017. agenda	Principals Committee Meeting on Bosnia, September 5, 1995. Record ID: 9521024. (1 page)	09/01/1995	P1/b(1)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
018. cable	re: Balkan Crisis. (6 pages)	09/05/1995	P1/b(1)

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UNITED NATIONS



NATIONS UNIES

United Nations Peace Forces - Headquarters
Forces de Paix des Nations Unies - Quartier Général

Lieutenant General Bernard JANVIER
Force Commander

ZAGREB, 03 September 1995

General

After extensive consultations with both United Nations and NATO authorities, I must inform you that your response to my letter dated 30 August 1995 has not been accepted.

Your assurance that you will not conduct any combat operations or threaten attacks against the Safe Areas is welcomed. However, the form of your agreement on the withdrawal of heavy weapons from the Sarajevo 20 kilometre Exclusion Zone is unacceptable. It does not provide sufficient assurance of your cooperation. Your position on freedom of movement offers no improvement over the current situation. This is wholly unacceptable to the international community, which demands that the UN implement its mandate.

Notwithstanding these differences, political authorities have given their support for a further temporary suspension of NATO air strikes. The continuation of the pause is subject to the following conditions:

- There must be no attacks on Sarajevo or other Safe Areas. Any attack will result in immediate resumption of air operations.
- You must begin immediately the withdrawal of Heavy Weapons from the 20 km exclusion zone around Sarajevo, and complete the withdrawal without any halts or delays. Your progress towards complete withdrawal by 2300 hours on 4 September will be assessed as a measure of your compliance.
- The UN and authorized international humanitarian organizations must be granted complete freedom of movement and the unrestricted use of Sarajevo airport, with no requirement to comply with the "normal procedures" which you have hitherto imposed.

NATO and the UN will assess your compliance with these conditions at 2300 hours (local time) on 4 September 1995. If compliance is not fully satisfactory, air strikes will resume immediately. [If compliance is initially satisfactory but there is non-compliance later, air strikes will resume.] The London Declaration of 21 July 1995 will remain in effect. I reminded you of the terms of this declaration in my letter of 14 August.

During the pause, NATO aircraft will continue air patrols over Bosnia-Herzegovina. They will react immediately to any attack or display of hostility.

Assuming your compliance, NATO and the UN will expect Bosnian Government forces to show restraint in and around Sarajevo.

I expect a reply to this letter within 24 hours. On receipt of your reply, UNPROFOR headquarters will issue instructions concerning the withdrawal of heavy weapons and the establishment of freedom of movement.

General Rado Mladic

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Rado Mladic'.

PRESS POINTS ON NATO AIR STRIKES

- We and our NATO allies have agreed today on next steps in the NATO air campaign against the Bosnian Serbs. We have also been in close contact with the United Nations.
- We have concluded that the position taken by Bosnian Serb General Mladic in his meeting yesterday with the UN Commander, General Janvier, is not a sufficient basis for ending the air strikes.
- The Alliance made clear that, if there is any shelling of Sarajevo or the other safe areas, then NATO commanders are authorized to resume air strikes immediately.
- We have also made clear we expect the Bosnian Serbs to comply with the other conditions laid down by the UN Commander:
 - to begin without delay the withdrawal of all heavy weapons from the 20-kilometer exclusion zone around Sarajevo; and
 - to permit complete freedom of movement for the UN and non-governmental organizations, including the opening of all ground routes into the city and the opening of the Sarajevo airport.
- We and our Allies want to see prompt evidence that the Bosnian Serbs are complying with these conditions. Otherwise, the brief suspension of air strikes will end.
- But to repeat, if the Bosnian Serbs shell Sarajevo or the other safe areas, NATO commanders are authorized to resume air strikes immediately.
- The Bosnian Serbs should have no doubt about our determination to persevere with the course we and our allies adopted at the London Conference in July.

(If asked why bombing didn't occur today in response to Serb shelling of Sarajevo:)

- The artillery of the UN Rapid Reaction Force carried out retaliatory strikes against the Serb shelling that occurred today.

(If asked how long the "brief suspension" will last:)

- The UN and NATO commanders will decide how much time is needed for the Bosnian Serbs to demonstrate compliance. (On background only: Allies have agreed that this period should be between 48 and 72 hours, and we will work with the UN to make it as short as possible.)
- As I have stressed, if the Bosnian Serbs shell Sarajevo or the other safe areas, NATO commanders are authorized to resume air strikes immediately.

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a1056

^BC-YUGOSLAVIA-BOSNIA-MLADIC 2NDLD

^Mladic responds to U.N. demands with ceasefire bid
(Recasts with new Mladic letter, writes through)

BELGRADE, Sept 4 (Reuter) - Bosnian Serb General Ratko

Mladic on Monday responded to U.N. demands to lift the siege of Sarajevo or risk air attack hours before the deadline expires by offering a ceasefire but apparently failing to meet U.N. terms.

In a letter to U.N. commander General Bernard Janvier Mladic renewed an earlier ceasefire offer and proposed other conditions which the U.N. has already rejected in its demands for the Bosnian Serbs to pull back heavy weapons around Sarajevo.

A copy of the letter was sent to Reuters.

Mladic called for talks with all sides, but said: ``Until the holding of such a meeting, I unilaterally declare a cessation of hostilities in the region of Sarajevo, where we shall not undertake any actions, except in self-defence.''

His terms appeared to go no further than an earlier letter to Janvier which set conditions NATO said were unacceptable.

By late afternoon U.N. officials in Sarajevo and elsewhere said they had seen no sign of a movement of heavy weapons from around the Bosnian capital ahead of the 11 p.m. (2100 GMT) deadline backed with the threat of renewed air strikes.

But they did say that the absence of firing from Bosnian Serb artillery on Monday may offer some evidence of compliance.

A U.N. spokeswoman said Bosnian Serb political authorities had sent ``an indication of their willingness'' to meet the demands to lift the siege of Sarajevo ``but on the ground we have no indication of any withdrawal of their heavy weapons.''

NATO launched devastating air attacks against Serb positions last Wednesday in response to a mortar attack a week ago which killed 37 Sarajevans and injured 85. NATO paused the air attacks on Friday to give the Bosnian Serbs time to respond to demands including pulling heavy weapons from around Sarajevo.

In the five-page letter to Janvier, Mladic reiterates most of the points made in his first formal response to U.N. demands on Saturday after 13 hours of talks between the two men.

Received in Belgrade just a few hours before the expiry of the effective 11 p.m. deadline, Mladic's letter accuses NATO and

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the U.N. of siding with the Moslem-led Bosnian government.

``I propose that you replace ultimatums with negotiations, and bombings with agreements which will ensure equal treatment and guarantees for both the Serb and Moslem populations of Sarajevo..." Mladic said in the letter.

``Realising the seriousness of the moment and in a desire to give my full contribution to the peace process," Mladic said, he was proposing the U.N. convene talks among all parties to the war. Until then, he was offering a unilateral ceasefire.

But he also warned he had no right under the ``constitution" of the self-styled Bosnian Serb republic to order a withdrawal.

^REUTER

RB-- 09/04/95 13:51:00

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322-728-4666

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019. cable	re: Koljevic Letter on Acceptance. (2 pages)	09/04/1995	P1/b(1)

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National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
OA/Box Number: 896

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - September 1995 (Early): Early Sept. [1]

2013-0687-F
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RESTRICTION CODES

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- 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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020. cable	re: Belgrade Talks. (4 pages)	09/04/1995	P1/b(1)

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European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
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