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Folder Title:

Bosnia - September 1995 (Early): Early Sept. [3]

Staff Office-Individual:

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. paper	U.N. Actions for Implementation. (8 pages)	08/26/1995	P1/b(1)
002. note	26 August Sarajevo Firing Incident. (1 page)	08/29/1995	P1/b(1)
003a. memo	For Samuel Berger from Sue Bremner. Subject: Deputies Committee Meeting on Bosnia. Record ID: 9521013. (6 pages)	08/28/1995	P1/b(1)
003b. agenda	Deputies Committee Meeting on Bosnia. Record ID: 9521007. (1 page)	08/28/1995	P1/b(1)
003c. paper	Implementing a Balkan Peace Settlement. (4 pages)	08/25/1995	P1/b(1)
003d. draft	Balkan Settlement Force Mission Statement. (1 page)	08/26/1995	P1/b(1)
003e. paper	Ensuring the Viability of Gorazde. (3 pages)	08/25/1995	P1/b(1)
003f. paper	Bosnia: Additional Tasks for the PIF. (2 pages)	08/26/1995	P1/b(1)
003g. paper	Multilateral Equipping and Training of the Bosnian Federation. (5 pages)	08/22/1995	P1/b(1)
003h. memo	For Brigadier General Kerrick. Subject: Multilateral Equipping. (1 page)	08/22/1995	P1/b(1)
003i. paper	Duplicate of 001. (8 pages)	08/26/1995	P1/b(1)
003j. paper	Achieving a Bosnian Peace Settlement: Draft Memorandum for Principals. (5 pages)	08/27/1995	P1/b(1)

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003k. memo	For Sandy Vershbow and Leon Fuerth from David Scheffer and Jim O'Brien. Subject: Proposed Sanctions Relief Package. (4 pages)	08/24/1995	P1/b(1)
003l. draft	Paper: The Balkan Settlement Force and Population Movements. (6 pages)	08/27/1995	P1/b(1)

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NEWS

FROM
THE 
CARTER
CENTER

ONE COPENHILL ATLANTA, GA 30307

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Tues., Aug. 29, 1995

Contact: Carrie Harmon
Director, Public Information
404-420-5107

Deanna Congileo
Associate Director
404-420-5108

FORMER U.S. PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER RECEIVES MESSAGE FROM BOSNIAN-SERB LEADER KARADZIC

ATLANTA, GA....I have just received a message from Dr. Radovan Karadzic in which he welcomes the current U.S. peace initiative in Bosnia. Following are several of his main points:

The message advocates the earliest possible resumption of peace talks, and sets forth the basis for his willingness to accept the U.S. peace initiative, which is understood to include the earlier Contact Group Plan, as well as other elements. As soon as agreement is reached on recommencing peace talks, the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement of Dec. 31, 1994, would be reinstated on a permanent basis.

Dr. Karadzic believes the talks can lead to a comprehensive peace agreement within which the outstanding territorial issues between the sides can be settled. The 51-49 parameter of the U.S. peace initiative territorial proposal would remain the basis for settlement and be open for adjustment through negotiation to benefit the interests of both parties.

In addition, there is an acknowledgement that in any future Bosnian entity the full range of human rights and fundamental freedoms will be respected, including the right of refugees and displaced persons to return to their homes of origin.

This is an important statement which I have already shared with the U.S. government. The most recent tragic attack on Sarajevo has demonstrated, once again, that peace will not come easily. But there is good reason to take Dr. Karadzic's statement and put it to the test, and to seek comparable helpful efforts from all the other parties involved to move rapidly to talks.

###

**РЕПУБЛИКА СРПСКА
ПРЕДСЕДНИК РЕПУБЛИКЕ
САРАЈЕВО**



**REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC
SARAJEVO**

TO PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER

28 August 1995

Dear President Carter,

In order keep you informed about our position, I wish to convey the following message to you and to ask that you do all you can to use it to promote the earliest possible resumption of peace talks on Bosnia.

You should know that the Republika Srpska welcomes the current US peace initiative and reiterates its commitment to a peaceful solution. In the light of this, the Republika Srpska is prepared to negotiate a comprehensive peace agreement which could lead to the formation of a Union constituted by the Republika Srpska and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The outstanding territorial issues between the Republika Srpska and the Federation of Bosnia Herzegovina would be settled in the course of the negotiations.

To provide an indication of the provisions which we believe should guide the negotiations, I am attaching a statement which sets forth the basis for our willingness to accept the US peace initiative as a welcome effort.

Your sincerely,



**Dr. Radovan Karadzic
President, Republic of Srpska**

The Republika Srpska is prepared to negotiate a comprehensive peace agreement, on the basis of the current US peace initiative, which could lead to the following arrangement:

- A. A union may be constituted by the Republika Srpska and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.**
- B. There shall be balanced and equal treatment of the Republika Srpska and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.**
- C. Both the Republika Srpska and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall have the right to establish parallel special relationships with neighboring countries.**
- D. Any future political arrangements brought about by any community within either the Republika Srpska or the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina will not change the status of the other side, as described in subparagraphs A, B, and C.**
- E. The territorial proposal contained in the US peace initiative will remain the basis for settlement and will be open for adjustment to benefit the interest of both parties.**
- F. The full catalogue of human rights and fundamental freedoms as set out in international instruments will be respected, including the right of refugees and displaced persons to be able to return to their homes of origin, which must be an overall process.**
- G. As soon as agreement is reached on recommencing peace talks, the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement of 31 December 1994 will be reinstated on a permanent basis.**

818-568-1223

cc: Beth Jones

S
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D

P

UNW

S/SO

PM

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SWO

ED

Yesterday a single mortar shattered the lives of more than a hundred citizens of Sarajevo. As a result of an unprovoked and barbaric attack against this city over 30 people were killed and over 80 wounded. The area that was targeted didn't have any military installations but was simply an area of markets, shops and cafes where people were busy enjoying the treacherous calm.

After reviewing the results of the investigation conducted by UN military experts Commander UNPROFOR Gen Smith concluded beyond any reasonable doubt that the attack against the civilians of Sarajevo came from Bosnian Serb positions. UNPROFOR condemns this brutal attack against the population of Sarajevo.

The findings of the investigation have now been passed on to the United Nations HQ in Zagreb. Consultations between the Commands continue on an urgent basis. All options are being reviewed including the use of air-power.

Beth Jones

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002. note	26 August Sarajevo Firing Incident. (1 page)	08/29/1995	P1/b(1)

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Izlibovic Proposal

Bosnia: Post-Peace Agreement Constitutional Structure

- 1.) The existing Republic would continue to exist, with existing borders and international recognition.
- 2.) It would be composed of two autonomous entities, the existing Federation and an autonomous Serb entity, (ASE).
- 3.) The Republic's foreign affairs functions would be delegated to and fulfilled by appropriate officials of the Federation in the name of the Republic.
- 4.) Although the ASE would not be an internationally recognized state and would be unable to field a recognized diplomatic corps, it would have the right to post ASE representatives at Republic embassies.
- 5.) Since both constituent entities have an interest in the enforcement of internationally recognized human rights, the Republic, (acting on behalf of both constituent entities), would maintain a seven-person Human Rights Court, (two Bosnians, two Croats, two Serbs, and an international member appointed by the President of the International Court of Justice), to hear and decide and provide an appropriate remedy for any human rights complaint voiced by any citizen of either constituent entity.
- 6.) Either constituent entity would have the right to maintain cultural and economic relations with other countries, (eg., as between the ASE and Serbia).

SENSITIVE

FROM: JIM PARDEW
BGEN KERRICK

B-6

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATION AMBASSADOR HOLBROOKE PARTY PARIS, FRANCE

TOR 13492
SK 0949L
STU III
FAX



TO:	CABLES	FROM:	Paris
Office:	USDP/NSC	Jim Parden Brig Gen Kerrick Col Lowe	
Phone:		Comm Phone:	011-33-1-42-68-0483
Fax:	(703)614 0158	Fax Class or Unclass to:	Above number
Pages w/ Cover:	2		
CLASSIFICATION		"SENSITIVE"	

REMARKS:

CABLES,
Pass to MR SLOOMBE, MR LODAL, MR NYE and Brig Gen
OSTERTHAUER (From Jim Parden). Also Pass to MR SANDY
VERSHEDW at NSC (from Brig Gen Kerrick). No security
classification but mark SENSITIVE. Thanks,

Col Bob Lowe

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003a. memo	For Samuel Berger from Sue Bremner. Subject: Deputies Committee Meeting on Bosnia. Record ID: 9521013. (6 pages)	08/28/1995	P1/b(1)
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003b. agenda	Deputies Committee Meeting on Bosnia. Record ID: 9521007. (1 page)	08/28/1995	P1/b(1)

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TAB II

Post-settlement Assistance Package
for Bosnia and Croatia

(State)

Summary

- o \$1 billion is estimated USG assistance required over three years if peace breaks out (out of a total \$4 billion, at least \$3 billion from the EU, Japan and Muslim countries).
 - Reconstruction (\$435 million) would focus on Bosnia and Croatian UNPA's--where war damage has occurred.
 - Humanitarian aid (\$450 million paid out of existing budgets) would be distributed more broadly, assuming the ban on U.S. aid in Serbia is lifted.
 - Payment of arrears to IFI's (U.S. share as much as \$125 million) is critical to Bosnia joining the IMF and IBRD; it is essential post-settlement assistance.
- o The USG would look to the European Union to provide the largest portion of the assistance package and to coordinate the process, with major contributions also from Japan and Muslim countries. We have not yet discussed the global needs or burdensharing with other countries.

Principles

- o Humanitarian assistance should be driven by needs
 - equal treatment across ethnic groups
 - strong focus on repatriation of DP's and refugees, and on demining
 - delivery continues through U.N. organizations, PVOs and national governments
 - clear phasedown strategy required
- o Reconstruction assistance should reinforce political and economic objectives
 - preservation of territorial integrity of sovereign states (in particular Bosnia-Herzegovina)
 - multiethnic democracy
 - return of refugees
 - development of private enterprise and a market economy
 - regional integration and integration with Western Europe
 - implementation coordinated with Zagreb, Sarajevo and NGO's, donor coordination through the IBRD

Country-specific considerations

o Croatia

--Humanitarian: needs should decline as displaced persons and refugees return to their homes

--Reconstruction/development: aid should be focussed on the former UNPA's, where it should be used to encourage return of Serb as well as Croat refugees

o Bosnia

--Humanitarian: obstacles to return of Croat, Muslim and Serb DP's and refugees should be removed, but realistically many may choose not to do so; continuing but declining need for humanitarian assistance

--Reconstruction/development: aid should aim at reestablishment of multiethnic society, which would mean limited assistance to areas that will not permit return of DP's and refugees or refuse to build up democratic institutions open on an equal basis to all

o FRY:

--Humanitarian: Croatian Serb refugees should be encouraged to return by establishment of conditions of safety and decency in Croatia, but realistically speaking many may choose not to do so; there will be a continuing need for humanitarian assistance

--Reconstruction/development: Serbia proper has suffered no war destruction; assistance should be through normal IFI and bilateral mechanisms, including USG support for democratic institutions; USG would not help clear arrears (but not object to others doing so)

International context

- o Current spending is at about \$1.2 billion/year
 - Humanitarian assistance: current expenditure (FY 95) about \$1 billion, not counting UNPROFOR; this should decline with a settlement
 - Reconstruction/development: current expenditure is almost entirely in Bosnia, at perhaps \$220 million per year (\$170 million from Western Europe)
- o International aid package in the event of a settlement: \$4.0 billion over three years
 - \$1.9 billion in the first year
 - Humanitarian assistance: \$1000 million
 - Reconstruction/development: \$400 million
 - Payment of arrears: \$500 million (one-time)
 - \$1.2 billion in the second year, \$900 million in the third, with humanitarian assistance declining, reconstruction/development increasing (see charts)
- o U.S. share
 - Less than one-quarter of total (\$500 million in the first year, \$1 billion total)
 - Burdensharing
 - More than one-quarter from Europe
 - One-quarter from Islamic moderates
 - One-quarter from the Japanese (with emphasis on humanitarian assistance)
 - Neither burdensharing nor global needs have yet been discussed with other countries.

Former Yugoslavia Comprehensive Post Settlement Assistance Package								
					Millions of dollars			
	Current U.S. Spending	U.S. Share of Projected Needs			Global Projected Needs			Current Global Spending
	FY 95	CY96	CY97	CY98	CY96	CY97	CY98	
Humanitarian	200	200	150	100	1000	600	300	1000
Re- Construction								
Bosnia	25.2	100	150	100	300	500	500	220
Croatia	14.5	30	30	25	100	100	100	
Arrears Payment	0	125	0	0	500	0	0	
Total	340	455	330	225	1900	1200	900	1200

The Bottom Line:

81B

84B

TAB III

8/25/95

(TREASURY)

BOSNIA -- SUPPORTING RECONSTRUCTIONIntroduction

The prospects for peace in Former Yugoslavia, especially Bosnia-Hertzegovina (B-H), could be enhanced by western efforts to put forth a vision of reconstruction and external financing for this process.

But at the same time, the international financial community faces a shortage of resources. Financing Bosnia's reconstruction will necessarily need to be pieced together through a concerted effort of the international community -- by bilateral donors, by the international financial institutions, and hopefully by the private sector. In this regard, the Europeans have told us, in the context of assembling other country financing packages, that they would have adequate resources to help Bosnia at the appropriate time. It will thus be critical to engage them to step forward, while we do enough for our part so that we can exercise leadership. Also, under existing guidelines, the IMF and World Bank together could be expected to provide \$500 million in loans for this purpose in the first year or two, some possibly on concessional terms.

Financing Plan -- Terms and Conditions

Reconstruction finance for Bosnia should entail several stages.

1. **Needs Assessment:** The IMF, World Bank and EBRD should quickly assemble a task force for a quick needs assessment study. The task force could be joined by experts, designated by capitals. It would prepare a paper for the international financial community, outlining: the macroeconomic stabilization, structural reform, and infrastructure requirements in B-H; a timetable for their implementation; their costs; and potential associated external financing.

The Netherlands has already started backing a Trust Fund at the World Bank to which the United States is now in the process of making a contribution. This Fund was created to allow the World Bank to defray the costs of conceptualizing a plan for reconstruction and its financing before B-H joined the IFIs. Financing from other donors would be welcomed and helpful for timely completion of the assessment.

2. **Coordinating Mechanism:** A coordinating mechanism should be quickly established to bring together IFIs and donors. The coordinating body will need to develop a financing package on the basis of the needs assessment task force report. The World Bank would be a logical choice to head the coordinating body. It has played such a role elsewhere in the world and also has established such expertise through its longstanding leadership of the consultative group process. If we are not resolute in supporting the Bank, the EU may volunteer itself for a coordinating role.

3. **Financing:** Reconstruction will require an extraordinary effort by bilateral donors, complementing the efforts of the IFIs. Additionally, B-H must still become a member of the Fund and Bank. It has arrears, however, of \$409 million to the World Bank and \$36 million to the IMF -- inherited from Yugoslavia -- that must be cleared prior to commencement of IFI activities.

Bilateral Donors' Role:

Bilateral donors will need to play a financing role in three respects.

First, they will need to support arrears clearance to allow B-H to normalize relations with the IFIs. Arrears-clearance exercises have typically been conducted by "support groups." Under a support group, a country takes the lead in assembling donor financing that can be lent to the arrears country once it has agreed to an IFI-supported reform package and covered by IFI disbursements. Germany (or the EU) might be a logical candidate to head the support group.

Second, they will need to provide new money for reconstruction. While it is not feasible to approximate these costs absent a needs assessment, the fact is that reconstruction costs for B-H will be large due to the ravages of war. Thus, substantial bilateral resources will be required. The donor community may wish to consider co-financing such lending with the IFIs, to leverage bilateral resources and to leverage sound reform.

Apart from small amounts of World Bank net income, the IFIs cannot provide grants. They do have the possibility of providing concessional support, though these amounts are limited. This reality underscores the imperative of active bilateral donor support.

For the United States, this means that we need to consider whether we can meet our responsibilities from the SEED budget or whether new appropriations will be required. We may be hard pressed to make an extraordinary bilateral commitment in the current budget environment as a supplemental appropriation is unlikely. In these circumstances, recourse to SEED funding may be inevitable.

Third, Treasury has agreed with B-H on and established a Fiscal Technical Assistance project. This project could be quickly activated to support reconstruction.

Additionally, there remains the thorny question of allocating the assets of the Former Yugoslav states. Bilateral donors may need to play a role in helping address this issue, perhaps either through the ICFY (International Conference on Former Yugoslavia) or some other mechanism.

IMF

The IMF would take the lead in providing general balance of payments support for macroeconomic stabilization.

- o Under normal IMF loan terms, Bosnia could have access up to \$200-300 million over two years at market terms, with repayments completed in five years. This financing would be strictly conditioned.
- o It might be possible subsequently to roll such a loan into an IMF loan on concessional terms, assuming B-H fell under the per capital income threshold for such lending. With very generous treatment, B-H might receive \$350 to 475 million from the IMF's concessional arm over a three year period. Such financing would also require strenuous adjustment measures.
- o Sale of IMF gold to support B-H would be exceedingly difficult. It would require Congressional authorization and an 85% IMF super-majority vote. Such sales could probably only be used to finance interest rate subsidies on loans.

World Bank

The World Bank would take the lead on structural reform and reconstruction.

- o Rehabilitation (critical import) lending, requiring an appropriate macroeconomic framework, might quickly infuse B-H with \$100-200 million of disbursements in the first year following membership.
- o Structural adjustment lending could quickly follow on, continuing the infusion of fast-disbursing balance of payments support.
- o Project loans would be disbursed much more slowly and over a longer period, in support of infrastructural needs.

EBRD

The EBRD also can provide invaluable support for infrastructure projects, especially in the area of transport and telecommunications. The Bank has established expertise in helping privatize firms and developing financial sectors. It has a demonstrated track record in catalyzing private sector resources for its operations.

TAB IV

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003c. paper	Implementing a Balkan Peace Settlement. (4 pages)	08/25/1995	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. [3]

2013-0687-F
vz2756

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]
- 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]

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)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003d. draft	Balkan Settlement Force Mission Statement. (1 page)	08/26/1995	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. [3]

2013-0687-F

vz2756

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003e. paper	Ensuring the Viability of Gorazde. (3 pages)	08/25/1995	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. [3]

2013-0687-F
vz2756

RESTRICTION CODES

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TAB VII

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003f. paper	Bosnia: Additional Tasks for the PIF. (2 pages)	08/26/1995	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. [3]

2013-0687-F
vz2756

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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TAB VIII

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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003g. paper	Multilateral Equipping and Training of the Bosnian Federation. (5 pages)	08/22/1995	P1/b(1)
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COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - September 1995 (Early): Early Sept. [3]

2013-0687-F

vz2756

RESTRICTION CODES

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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.

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

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003h. memo	For Brigadier General Kerrick. Subject: Multilateral Equipping. (1 page)	08/22/1995	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. [3]

2013-0687-F
v22756

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]
- 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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TR3 IX

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003i. paper	Duplicate of 001. (8 pages)	08/26/1995	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. [3]

2013-0687-F
vz2756

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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~~SECRET~~**SUBJECT: Sanctions Relief Issues for Deputies Discussion**

Deputies agreed that sanctions against Belgrade (except for frozen assets) will be suspended once there is a signed agreement and lifted upon implementation. This paper lists remaining sanctions relief issues and indicates how the OVP proposal addresses each. OVP discussed the proposed sanctions relief package with Assistant Secretary Holbrooke and his negotiating team on 8/24. Where appropriate, the team's views on these issues are also listed.

1. Duration of offer: Open-ended or finite?

OVP plan says finite -- offer is withdrawn if there is no peace agreement by a date specified (tbd), but Contact Group has option of returning to a "neo-Bildt" approach. The negotiating team likes the idea of a limited-time offer but does not want to specify a termination date prior to getting the FRY's initial reaction to the overall relief plan.

2. When are sanctions and the border closure on Pale suspended?

The OVP plan suspends sanctions against Pale and allows opening the border once initial implementation steps are accomplished. These might include initial withdrawal of forces to territorial limits, safe deployment of the NATO implementation force, achievement of specified milestones in the PIF's peace enforcement mission, and/or other clearly identifiable performance criterion.

The negotiating team proposed keeping the border closed between the FRY and the Bosnian Serbs until the settlement is fully implemented. In any event, the team recommends reserving decision on timing of Pale sanctions suspension and opening the border until we have a better idea of how the power struggle between Belgrade and Pale will play out.

3. When are Pale sanctions lifted?

The OVP plan lifts Pale sanctions after FRY sanctions are lifted to help guarantee continued Bosnian Serb good behavior.

4. How long should Belgrade be held responsible for Pale's actions?

The OVP plan reduces the extent to which Belgrade is held accountable for Pale's behavior at the point when Pale sanctions and the border closure are suspended. Prior to this time, full sanctions against Belgrade are reimposed if the Bosnian Serbs impede operation of the PIF, violate the cease-fire, block humanitarian supplies, or otherwise violate provisions of the settlement. Once Pale sanctions are suspended, Bosnian Serb misbehavior will lead to reimposition of sanctions and the border closure against Pale. Sanctions against Belgrade would be reimposed only if Belgrade failed to close the border or otherwise support Pale sanctions.

~~SECRET~~

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PER E.O. 13526
12 10/1/2013

5. *What are our minimum reimposition requirements?*

a. The OVP plan calls for automatic reimposition of sanctions (as outlined in item 4.) if the PIF commander declares that his force cannot accomplish its peace enforcement mission because of action by the Pale Serbs. The negotiating team recommends that there also be provisions for automatic reimposition if Pale blocks implementation of political aspects of the agreement, as reported by whatever international body is charged with implementing political commitments.

b. The OVP plan also allows reimposition of sanctions by a vote in the UN Security Council so that members of the Security Council can credibly threaten reimposition to punish behavior that does not trigger the automatic reimposition of sanctions. There are two options:

1. Sanctions are suspended for a finite period (60-120 days). The UNSC must vote to extend sanctions relief at the end of each period. A veto by any permanent member would prevent the extension of sanctions relief and force reimposition.

2. Sanctions are suspended for an indefinite period, but any permanent member of the Security Council can call for their reimposition at any time based on evidence that the Serbs are renegeing on the settlement. Three out of the five permanent members must agree for reimposition to take place.

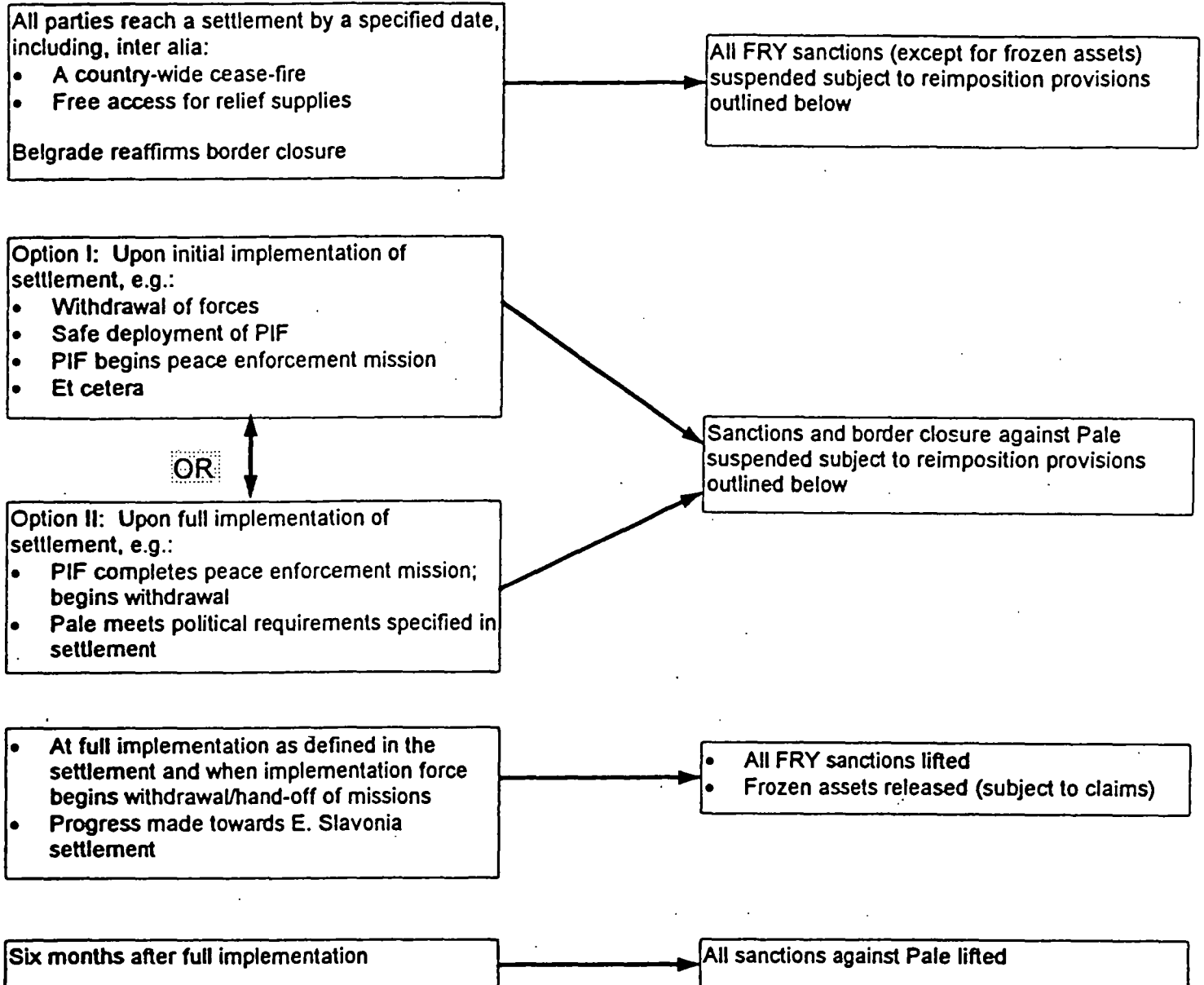
6. *Should there be a Croatia linkage?*

OVP plan makes recognition of Croatia a condition for final lift of FRY sanctions. The negotiating team agrees that the U.S. plan must contain a Croatia linkage. At issue is whether progress in Eastern Slavonia should be linked to lift of UN economic sanctions, or to easing the "outer wall" of sanctions (access to IFIs, membership in international organizations, etc.).

7. *Should there be a linkage to the War Crimes Tribunal?*

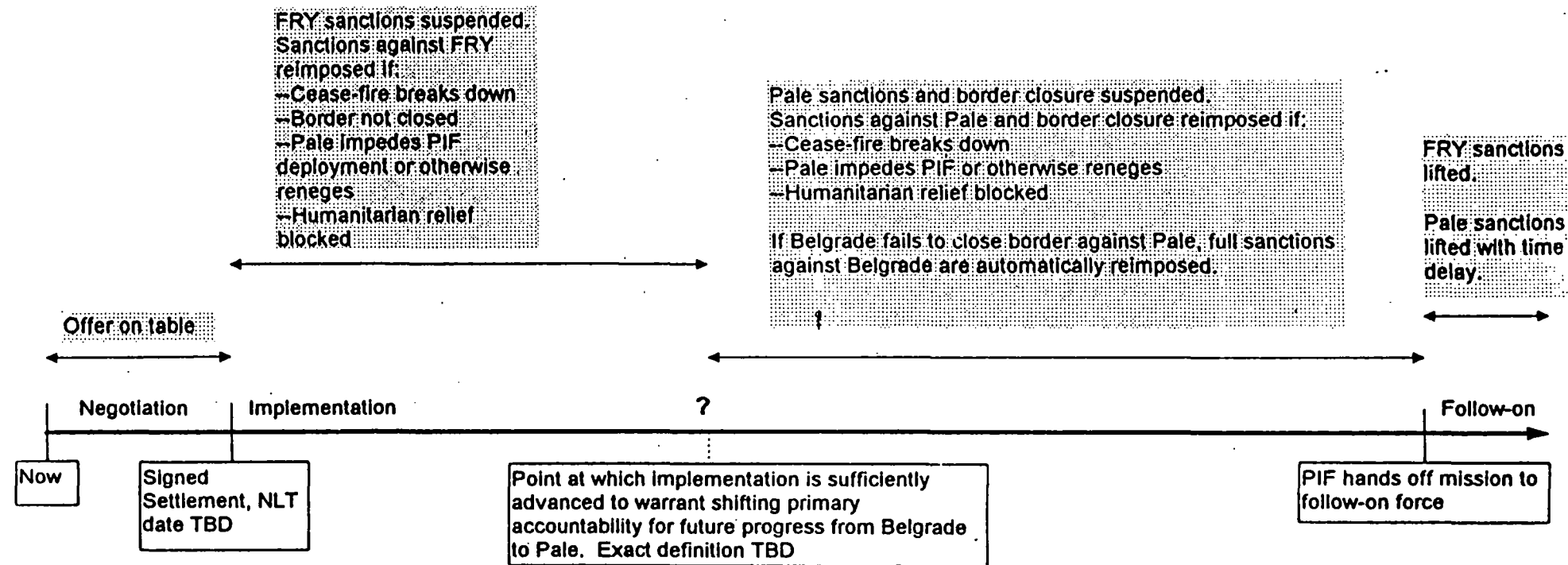
OVP plan has no such linkage, although it may possible to tie cooperation with the Tribunal and progress on other issues (such as Kosovo) to the pace at which Serbia is allowed to re-enter the international political and financial community.

Sanctions Relief Strategy - 8/25/95

Reimposition mechanisms:

- Automatic reimposition upon report by implementation force commander or other international body charged with responsibility for supervising political aspects of implementation that Pale and/or Belgrade is impeding implementation or otherwise failing to fulfill obligations.
- By direction of UNSC:
 - Option I: Sanctions suspended for finite period (60-120 days); UNSC must vote to extend sanctions relief at end of each period.
 - Option II: Sanctions suspended for indefinite period; any of Perm-5 can call for reimposition vote; sanctions reimposed if 3 of Perm-5 vote for reimposition.

This time-line illustrates reimposition arrangements and how primary accountability could be shifted from Belgrade to Pale during the implementation process.



h/h



Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003j. paper	Achieving a Bosnian Peace Settlement: Draft Memorandum for Principals. (5 pages)	08/27/1995	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. [3]

2013-0687-F

vz2756

RESTRICTION CODES

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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TAB XII

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003k. memo	For Sandy Vershbow and Leon Fuerth from David Scheffer and Jim O'Brien. Subject: Proposed Sanctions Relief Package. (4 pages)	08/24/1995	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. [3]

2013-0687-F

vz2756

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TAB XIII

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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0031. draft	Paper: The Balkan Settlement Force and Population Movements. (6 pages)	08/27/1995	P1/b(1)
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COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - September 1995 (Early): Early Sept. [3]

2013-0687-F
vz2756

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