

FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title:

Bosnia - September 1995 (Early): Early-Mid [2]

Staff Office-Individual:

European Affairs-Vershbow, Alexander

Original OA/ID Number:

896

Row:

34

Section:

2

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1

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1

Stack:

V

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. memo	For the President from Anthony Lake. Subject: Yeltsin Letter on Bosnia. Record ID: 9506655. (2 pages)	09/08/1995	P1/b(1)
001b. draft	Response to Russian President Yeltsin. (2 pages)	09/08/1995	P1/b(1)
001c. letter	Russian President Boris Yeltsin to President Bill Clinton. [English Translation] (2 pages)	09/07/1995	P1/b(1)
001d. letter	Russian President Boris Yeltsin to President Bill Clinton. [Russian] (1 page)	09/07/1995	P1/b(1)
002a. memo	For Samuel Berger from Sue Bremner. Subject: Deputies Committee Meeting. Record ID: 9521044. (4 pages)	09/07/1995	P1/b(1)
002b. agenda	Deputies Committee Meeting on Bosnia, September 8, 1995. Record ID: 9521035. (1 page)	09/07/1995	P1/b(1)
002c. draft	Paper: Political Implementation Structures in a Bosnian Settlement. (4 pages)	09/05/1995	P1/b(1)
002d. draft	Position Paper: Russian and other Non-NATO Participation. (3 pages)	09/06/1995	P1/b(1)
002e. draft	Paper: Equipping and Training the Bosnian Federation. (6 pages)	09/01/1995	P1/b(1)
002f. draft	Confidence-Building/Arms Control Measures. (2 pages)	08/28/1995	P1/b(1)
002g. paper	Continuation of Air Support Beyond Implementation. (2 pages)	08/31/1995	P1/b(1)
002h. paper	"No-Fly" Operations after IFOR. (1 page)	08/31/1995	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-Mid. [2]

2013-0687-F

vz2760

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 of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003. report	Mladic Running True to Form. [CIA Act] [partial] (3 pages)	09/06/1995	P3/b(3)
004a. memo	Duplicate of 002a. (4 pages)	09/07/1995	P1/b(1)
004b. agenda	Duplicate of 002b. (1 page)	09/07/1995	P1/b(1)
004c. draft	Duplicate of 002c. (4 pages)	09/05/1995	P1/b(1)
004d. paper	Duplicate of 002e. (6 pages)	09/01/1995	P1/b(1)
004e. paper	Duplicate of 002f. (2 pages)	08/28/1995	P1/b(1)
004f. paper	Duplicate of 002g. (3 pages)	08/31/1995	P1/b(1)

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

6655

September 8, 1995

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: COIT BLACKER *AB*

FROM: STEVE PIFER *SP*

SUBJECT: Memorandum to the President on Yeltsin Letter on
Bosnia and Recommended Response

The memorandum to the President at Tab I transmits Yeltsin's September 7 letter (and public statement) on Bosnia and a recommended Presidential response.

Concurrence by: Alexander Vershbow *SP for*

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum to the President at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the President
Tab A Presidential Message to Yeltsin
Tab B September 7 Yeltsin Letter on Bosnia
Tab C September 7 Yeltsin Public Statement on Bosnia

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines,

September 11, 2006

By VZ NARA, Date 7/31/14

2013-0687 -F

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Declassify on: OADR

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001a. memo	For the President from Anthony Lake. Subject: Yeltsin Letter on Bosnia. Record ID: 9506655. (2 pages)	09/08/1995	P1/b(1)

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001b. draft	Response to Russian President Yeltsin. (2 pages)	09/08/1995	P1/b(1)

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001c. letter	Russian President Boris Yeltsin to President Bill Clinton. [English Translation] (2 pages)	09/07/1995	P1/b(1)

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001d. letter	Russian President Boris Yeltsin to President Bill Clinton. [Russian] (1 page)	09/07/1995	P1/b(1)

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For immediate release

Embassy of the Russian Federation

2650 Wisconsin Avenue, Washington D.C., 20007

tel. (202) 298-5718, fax (202) 298-5759

Press Release # 27 September 7, 1995

PRESIDENT BORIS YELTSIN'S STATEMENT (September 7, 1995)

Continued NATO air strikes and artillery shelling of Bosnian Serbs undermine the efforts for political settlement. It goes beyond the framework of the UN Security Council decisions, draws international community into the hostilities against one of the sides in Bosnian conflict. While speaking about its "peacekeeping mission" the North Atlantic alliance virtually has assumed the role of a judge in the conflict, as well as that of an executor. If this policy is to be continued, we'll have to reconsider thoroughly our strategy including our approaches to the relations with the North Atlantic alliance. There is critically little time left to find political solutions to the crisis, but time is still available.

The Russian side will actively contribute to make the Geneva meeting of the foreign ministers of Yugoslavia, Croatia and Bosnia under the aegis of the Contact Group fruitful. Personally I am anxious to cooperate vigorously in search of political solutions. Now the main thing - to abandon the reflexes to use power in favor of well-thought-out approach and collective efforts at the negotiating table. It is understood in Moscow. It should be understood by our partners.

I am calling upon all who are interested in peaceful settlement to understand all seriousness and importance of the moment.

(end)

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002a. memo	For Samuel Berger from Sue Bremner. Subject: Deputies Committee Meeting. Record ID: 9521044. (4 pages)	09/07/1995	P1/b(1)

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002b. agenda	Deputies Committee Meeting on Bosnia, September 8, 1995. Record ID: 9521035. (1 page)	09/07/1995	P1/b(1)

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002c. draft	Paper: Political Implementation Structures in a Bosnian Settlement. (4 pages)	09/05/1995	P1/b(1)

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002d. draft	Position Paper: Russian and other Non-NATO Participation. (3 pages)	09/06/1995	P1/b(1)

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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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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002g. paper	Continuation of Air Support Beyond Implementation. (2 pages)	08/31/1995	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-Mid. [2]

2013-0687-F
vz2760

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002h. paper	"No-Fly" Operations after IFOR. (1 page)	08/31/1995	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-Mid. [2]

2013-0687-F

vz2760

RESTRICTION CODES

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003. report	Mladic Running True to Form. [CIA Act] [partial] (3 pages)	09/06/1995	P3/b(3)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - September 1995 (Early): Early-Mid. [2]

2013-0687-F

vz2760

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.



Washington, D.C. 20505

6 September 1995

MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT: Mladic Running True to Form

(b)(3)

1. Mladic's decision about withdrawing heavy weapons will be determined by both his perception of military and political "realities" and by his familiar patterns of thinking and behaving. (b)(3)

2. The facts and tactical considerations, as Mladic has indicated he perceives them in a variety of recent media appearances, press: (b)(3)

- Negotiations: He wants the "Serb Republic" to be in the strongest position possible when negotiations actually start. Until then, he wants to hold on to all the territory he has, which means keeping the heavy weapons in place. [003]
- Past experience with UN/NATO forces: Mladic's reactions to past NATO strikes suggest he may judge that he can outlast international willingness to pursue military action and that he can manipulate the allies and put them off with token actions.
- Outside support: Based on recent comments by "Yugoslav" Chief of Staff Momcilo Perisic suggesting he remains sympathetic to the Bosnian Serbs, Mladic probably considers that Perisic is willing to keep re-stocking the Bosnian Serb Army and that he probably would try to deter Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic from turning against Mladic for holding out. (b)(3)

(b)(3)

(b)(3)

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

VZ 10/1/2013

~~SECRET~~

(b)(3)

SUBJECT: Mladic Running True to Form.

3. Mladic's typical attitudes and behaviors will influence how he processes and reacts to the facts as he perceives them.

- To Mladic, who strongly identifies with the view of Serbs as historical victims of persecution and injustice, the NATO air strikes are no surprise. His public comments suggest he views them as a continuation of the West's misunderstanding of--and wrongful punishment of--the Serbs. In his 4 September letter to UN Protection Force Commander Janvier, Mladic accused the UN and NATO of "brutal aggression against the Serb Republic."
- He is prepared to be attacked. He was schooled in the basic military doctrine of the former Yugoslav Army: defend against any invaders; assume that they would be outgunned and outnumbered; absorb as much punishment as possible; and continue resisting (in the mountains if necessary) for as long as able. [003]
- His recent practices suggest he feels justified in using whatever means are necessary to "protect" his people--including taking hostages, using human shields, and deliberately misleading interlocutors.
- He strives to be in the active, controlling position. He has demonstrated that he resists any efforts to coerce him by either the international community or his fellow Serbs. He would particularly resist submitting to foreign forces that he believes show favoritism towards the Bosnian Muslims or may even be part of a conspiracy to eradicate his people. (b)(3)

4. Mladic will resist giving in to demands to withdraw Serb heavy weapons until he perceives that the facts--the damage done to his forces and the difficulty of rebuilding them--are already so great that continued NATO attacks will

(b)(3)

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~~SECRET~~

(b)(3)

SUBJECT: Mladic Running True to Form

degrade the BSA to the point that it can no longer defend core Bosnian Serb areas. This will depend on his own battle damage assessment and his perception of Perisic's willingness to resupply and help rebuild the Bosnian Serb Army.

- "Fighting to the last man" may well be within the range of outcomes that he considers acceptable. He told the press on 5 September for example that "the more they [NATO] bombard us the stronger we are" and "they [NATO] can cause destruction and violence but we are on our land and we will win." However, we have seen nothing that would credibly indicate that he would prefer to do so or that he has a "death wish". (b)(3)

5. To consider acceding to an ultimatum, his reported track record and own statements suggest Mladic would be more likely to pay attention to an approach that:

- Recognized him as the Bosnian Serb leader who most conscientiously took care of the troops and knew best what was in the BSA's best interest.
- Cast him as rescuing the Serb nation and assuring its future security.
- Represented his agreement as an active, positive initiative on his part, rather than as a passive submission to foreign ideas or domination.
- Gave him a perceived advantage over Bosnian Serb "President" Radovan Karadzic and Assembly "President" Momcilo Krajisnik. (b)(3)

[003]

(b)(3)

~~SECRET~~

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004a. memo	Duplicate of 002a. (4 pages)	09/07/1995	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-Mid. [2]

2013-0687-F
vz2760

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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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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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004b. agenda	Duplicate of 002b. (1 page)	09/07/1995	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-Mid. [2]

2013-0687-F

vz2760

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004c. draft	Duplicate of 002c. (4 pages)	09/05/1995	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-Mid. [2]

2013-0687-F

vz2760

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004d. paper	Duplicate of 002e. (6 pages)	09/01/1995	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-Mid. [2]

2013-0687-F

vz2760

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004e. paper	Duplicate of 002f. (2 pages)	08/28/1995	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-Mid. [2]

2013-0687-F
vz2760

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004f. paper	Duplicate of 002g. (3 pages)	08/31/1995	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-Mid. [2]

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