

FOIA MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Folder Title:

Bosnia - September 1995 (Late) [1]

Staff Office-Individual:

European Affairs-Vershbow, Alexander

Original OA/ID Number:

896

Row:

34

Section:

2

Shelf:

1

Position:

1

Stack:

v

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	For Commander Joint Chiefs of Staff from Lieutenant General Wesley Clark. Subject: Daily Negotiations Update, 2 October. (2 pages)	08/06/1995	P1/b(1)
002. paper	Council Decisions on NATO's Role in Implementing a Peace Agreement. [NATO] (8 pages)	09/29/1995	P1/b(1)
003. memo	For Anthony Lake from Richard Schifter. Subject: Proposed U.S. Observer Status in COE. Record ID: 9507284. (2 pages)	10/03/1995	P1/b(1)
004. memo	For Under Secretary of Defense for Policy. Subject: 2 October Meeting with Kofi Annan. (4 pages)	10/02/1995	P1/b(1)
005. cable	re: October 3 Principals Meeting. (2 pages)	10/02/1995	P1/b(1)
006. memo	For Sandy Vershbow. Subject: Non-NATO Participation. (1 page)	10/02/1995	P1/b(1)
007. memo	For Ambassador Albright from David Scheffer. Subject: Monday Morning Meeting with Kofi Annan. (4 pages)	10/02/1995	P1/b(1)
008a. memo	For the Commander, Joint Chiefs of Staff from Lieutenant General Wesley Clark. Subject: Daily Negotiations Update, 29 September. (3 pages)	09/29/1995	P1/b(1)
008b. memo	For the Commander, Joint Chiefs of Staff from Lieutenant General Wesley Clark. Subject: Daily Negotiations Update, 27 September. (2 pages)	09/28/1995	P1/b(1)
008c. draft	Bosnian Peace Implementation Agreement. (9 pages)	09/28/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - September 1995 (Late) [1]

2013-0687-F

vz2766

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.

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009. draft	For the Commander, Joint Chiefs of Staff from Lieutenant General Wesley Clark. Subject: Daily Negotiations Update, 30 September-1 October. (4 pages)	10/01/1995	P1/b(1)

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January 9, 1996

*Q Bosnia / Sept
(in files)*

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

FROM: ALEXANDER VERSHBOW *AV*

SUBJECT: Summary of Conclusions for the Principals
Committee Meeting on Bosnia, September 25, 1995

Attached at Tab A is the Summary of Conclusions from the Principals Committee meeting on Bosnia with the President that was held on September 25, 1995. I apologize for the delay.

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize Andrew Sens to sign the memo to the agencies

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Alternatively, that you approve the Summary of Conclusions for the files without circulation to the other agencies.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachments

Tab I Memo to the Agencies
Tab A Summary of Conclusions

~~UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS~~
Initials: _____ Date: _____

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

By VZ NARA, Date 9/1/2014
2013-0087 -F

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: 9/25/15
Reason: 1.5 (a,b,d)

MEMORANDUM FOR

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

MS. MARISA LINO
Acting 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 M. ADAMS
Associate Director for
National Security &
International Affairs
Office of Management and
Budget

MR. RICK E. YANNUZZI
Executive Secretary
Central Intelligence Agency

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

SUBJECT: Summary of Conclusions, Principals Committee Meeting on
Bosnia, September 25, 1995 ~~(S)~~

Please pass to Principals the Summary of Conclusions attached at
Tab A. ~~(S)~~

Andrew D. Sens
Executive Secretary

Attachment
Tab A Summary of Conclusions

~~SECRET~~

Classified by: Andrew Sens
Reason: 1.5 (a,b,d)
Declassify on 9/25/15 (x4)

~~UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS~~
Initials: _____ Date: _____

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines,

September 11, 2006

By VC NARA, Date 8/1/2014
2013-687-F

Summary of Conclusions for
Meeting of the NSC Principals Committee

DATE: September 25, 1995

LOCATION: White House Situation Room

TIME: 2:30 - 4:00 p.m.

SUBJECT: Summary of Conclusions of Principals Committee Meeting
on Bosnia ~~(S)~~

PARTICIPANTS:

THE PRESIDENT

THE VICE PRESIDENT

CHAIR

Anthony Lake

OVP

Richard Saunders

State

Warren Christopher
(via SVTS from NY)

Strobe Talbott

Richard Holbrooke
(via SVTS from NY)

DOD

Secretary Perry
Edward Warner

USUN

Amb. Madeleine Albright
(via SVTS from NY)
James O'Brien

OMB

Alice Rivlin
Gordon Adams

Chief of Staff

Leon Panetta

CIA

George Tenet
Dennis Blair

JCS

Charles Krulak
Michael Byron

White House

Sandy Berger
Nancy Soderberg

NSC

Alexander Vershbow
John Feeley

Summary of Conclusions

1. Principals, joined by the President and Vice President for part of the meeting, were briefed by the U.S. delegation on the U.S. diplomatic initiative and discussed next steps in the peace process and preparations for implementation of a possible peace settlement in Bosnia. (U)

~~SECRET~~

Classified by: Andrew Sens
Reason: 1.5 (a,b,d)
Declassify on 11/22/15 (x4)

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

VZ 2010-0533-M

5/9/2014

2. New York Foreign Ministers Meeting: Secretary Christopher and Ambassador Holbrooke briefed Principals on the preparations for the next day's meeting in New York of the Foreign Ministers of Bosnia, Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. They agreed that, following agreement by the three on "further agreed principles" for a settlement, building on the September 8 Geneva principles, the next priority would be to negotiate a country-wide cessation of hostilities. ~~(C)~~

3. International Conference: Principals agreed that, following the New York Foreign Ministers' meeting and attainment of a cessation of hostilities, we would need to move beyond shuttle diplomacy to the convening of an international conference in "proximity talks" format. They agreed that Ambassador Holbrooke should seek the parties' agreement to a date for such a conference in mid-to-late October, subject to their acceptance of the following conditions: a) each of the three parties will send representatives with the authority to make decisions; b) the parties will not threaten to walk out of the talks once they have convened; and c) the parties will agree not to talk to the press for the duration of the talks. Principals agreed that the international conference should be held in a location isolated from the media (i.e. not Geneva or New York), but they deferred a decision on a specific venue. They agreed in principle that the international conference would be co-chaired by the U.S. and EU, unless this posed serious difficulties for our relations with the Russians. ~~(S)~~

4. Military Implementation Planning: The Acting Chairman of the JCS briefed Principals on the status of NATO planning for implementation of a peace agreement. Principals agreed that, in response to the anticipated request from SACEUR for an estimated U.S. force contribution, we should continue to indicate a readiness to provide 20-25,000 ground troops. ~~(C)~~

5. Civilian Implementation Structure: Principals approved the civilian implementation structure proposed by State, but deferred a decision on whether to seek the appointment of an American national as Senior Coordinator. They agreed that we should seek to reduce the UN's role to the extent possible, with the authority for the civilian coordinator flowing from the peace agreement itself rather than a UNSC resolution. ~~(C)~~

6. Allied and Congressional Consultations: Principals reviewed plans for upcoming consultations with key Allies, noting the importance of engaging the Italians as well as our Contact Group partners in discussions of implementation planning. The President stressed the importance of early consultations with the Congress on NATO planning in order to defuse potential opposition to U.S. participation in the NATO Implementation Force. ~~(C)~~

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September 27, 1995



"Today's agreement moves us closer to the ultimate goal of a genuine peace.... If and when the parties reach a settlement, America should help to secure it. The path to a lasting peace in Bosnia remains long and difficult, but we are making progress, and we are determined to succeed."

President Clinton
Tuesday, September 26, 1995

CC: Vukoban
P4F

Making a Real Difference. Over the past months, American leadership has helped to bring Bosnia closer to peace than at any time since the war began four years ago.

Another Step on the Path to Peace. Last July, President Clinton directed American negotiators to seize the new window of opportunity and step up their efforts to achieve a lasting peace. That leadership has brought another positive step on the path to peace:

- o Yesterday in New York, President Clinton's negotiating team secured an agreement from the foreign ministers of Bosnia, Serbia, and Croatia on a set of basic principles for an overall settlement to the war, spelling out the constitutional structures of the state of Bosnia
- o That agreement builds on the work American negotiators did in Geneva, where they achieved the agreement of the Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian foreign ministers to the principles of our peace plan.
- o Now, President Clinton has directed his negotiating team to return to the region to continue their intensive shuttle diplomacy and to push the peace process forward.

Pressing Forward. There are many tough obstacles still to overcome, but we are determined to press forward for a lasting, peaceful settlement. We will spare no effort to find a peaceful solution, and we will work through NATO to implement a settlement once the parties reach it.

Support for the Peace Process. President Clinton has worked to help the parties in Bosnia to resolve their differences at the bargaining table, not on the battlefield. He has worked to:

- o Support the search for peace in Bosnia;
- o Stop the conflict from spreading beyond its borders; and
- o Ease the terrible suffering of the Bosnian people.

Diplomacy Backed by Force. Thanks to the combination of military muscle and diplomatic determination, there is now a real chance for peace in Bosnia. When a Bosnia Serb shell slaughtered 38 people in Sarajevo, President Clinton insisted that NATO and the U.N. protect Sarajevo from further attacks. When the Serbs refused our demand to stop offensive actions against the safe areas, NATO began heavy and continuous air strikes against Bosnian Serb military targets.

The Use of NATO Force Worked. The NATO air strikes convinced the Bosnian Serbs to comply with our demands:

- o They stopped shelling Sarajevo.
- o They moved their heavy weapons away from Sarajevo.
- o They opened the roads and the airports to convoys carrying food and medicine and other supplies.

Because of those air strikes, today the people of Sarajevo can walk the streets more free from fear than at any time in many months. And President Clinton has warned that if the Bosnian Serbs strike again in Sarajevo or the other safe areas, NATO's air strikes will resume.

- MORE -

American Leadership in the World. The progress we are making toward peace in Bosnia demonstrates the importance of American leadership around the world at the end of the Cold War. American diplomacy, backed by force and determination, has made real progress around the world:

- o Restored democracy to Haiti;
- o Helped bring greater peace in the Middle East and in Northern Ireland;
- o Ensured that Russian nuclear weapons are no longer aimed at our people;
- o Secured the indefinite extension of a nuclear nonproliferation treaty;
- o Achieved real progress toward a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty;
- o Reached an agreement with North Korea to end its nuclear weapons program.

Each one of these achievements is a product of American leadership. In a new and changing world, America is the one country that can nearly always make a difference.

TO: WEBSTER, W

FROM: LAKE

DOC DATE: 29 SEP 95
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: SP

PERSONS: DREW, NELSON
FRASURE, BOB

KRUZEL, JOE

SUBJECT: SP FOR PRESENTATION OF PRES CITIZENS MEDAL TO FAMILIES OF DREW /
KRUZEL & FRASURE

ACTION: LAKE SGD SP

DUE DATE: 03 OCT 95 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: VERSHBOW

LOGREF:

FILES: PA

NSCP:

CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO
HILLIARD
KESSINGER
NSC CHRON
SENS
SESTAK
VERSHBOW

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSVJD

CLOSED BY: NSDRS

DOC 2 OF 2

UNCLASSIFIED
ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

RECORD ID: 9507216

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 LAKE
002

Z 95092920 FOR SIGNATURE
X 95092915 LAKE SGD SP

DISPATCH DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC DATE DISPATCH FOR ACTION

DISPATCH FOR INFO

002 950929 WEBSTER, W

UNCLASSIFIED

National Security Council
The White House

PROOFED BY: _____

LOG # 7216

URGENT NOT PROOFED: _____

SYSTEM ~~PHS~~ NSC INT

BYPASSED WW DESK: _____

DOCLOG ~~mc~~ A/O _____

	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL/DATE	DISPOSITION
15 Harmon	4		
Dohse			
Sens	1	ADS	
Soderberg	copy ✓		
Berger	2	ON	
Lake	3		
Situation Room		Natl Sec Advisor has seen	
West Wing Desk	4	DB 9/29	D
Records Mgt.	5		N

A = Action I = Information D = Dispatch R = Retain N = No Further Action

cc: ~~Nichols~~
~~Hessinger~~

Sens
~~DeLoach~~
Verfahrow
Sisk

COMMENTS:

SP-Award Presentation
to Drew, Krugel, Frangose

Exec Se

WWD Dpls
provide dts of
this to
Lake 9/29
JB

Where is the letter to them?

TC Copied 6/3/89

Schedule Proposal	THE WHITE HOUSE	date <u>9</u> / <u>29</u> / <u>95</u>
	WASHINGTON	
<u> </u> ACCEPT	<u> </u> REGRET	<u> </u> PENDING

TO: Billy Webster
Director of Scheduling and Advance

FROM: Anthony Lake

REQUEST: Award Presentation

PURPOSE: Presentation of the Presidential Citizens Medal to the families of Nelson Drew, Joe Kruzel, and Bob Frasure

BACKGROUND: The President approved the award of the Presidential Citizens Medal to the men who died in Bosnia. It was felt that an award ceremony would be appropriate at a date not too long after the funeral services.

PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION: None

DATE AND TIME: Recommend early October 1995

BRIEFING TIME: TBD

DURATION: 30 minutes

LOCATION: Oval Office and Rose Garden

PARTICIPANTS: Families of the three men who died and appropriate Administration officials

OUTLINE OF EVENTS: Families meet with the President in the Oval Office followed by the award presentation in the Rose Garden

REMARKS REQUIRED: To be provided by NSC

MEDIA COVERAGE: WH photographer in Oval office; open press in the Rose Garden

FIRST LADY'S ATTENDANCE: As desired (it would be an appropriate gesture)

cc: Stephanie Streett

VICE PRESIDENT'S ATTENDANCE: As desired (it would be an appropriate gesture)

RECOMMENDED BY: NSC

CONTACT: Sandy Vershbow, x69151

ORIGIN OF THIS PROPOSAL: NSC

SECOND LADY'S ATTENDANCE: As desired (it would be an appropriate gesture)

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

7216

September 29, 1995

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

FROM: ALEXANDER VERSHBOW *AV*
SUBJECT: Presidential Award Presentation

Attached at Tab I is a schedule proposal for the presentation of the Presidential Citizens Medal to the families of Nelson Drew, Joe Kruzel, and Bob Frasure.

Concurrence by: Joe Sestak *JFS*

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the schedule proposal at Tab I.

Attachment
Tab I Schedule Proposal

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
006. memo	For Sandy Vershbow. Subject: Non-NATO Participation. (1 page)	10/02/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - September 1995 (Late) [1]

2013-0687-F
vz2766

RESTRICTION CODES

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
007. memo	For Ambassador Albright from David Scheffer. Subject: Monday Morning Meeting with Kofi Annan. (4 pages)	10/02/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - September 1995 (Late) [1]

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EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATION AMBASSADOR HOLBROOKE PARTY BELGRADE



TO:		FROM:	Belgrade
Office:	White Horse St Rm Sandy Vershbow	COMMO Control Rm	Comercial: 381 11 222 1234 Room 12077208 00871683138755 -FORWARD
Phone:		Comm Phone:	Direct: 381 11 222 3067
Fax:		Fax Class To: TS	Above and INMARSAT
Pages w/ Cover:		INMARSAT	873 683-313-3899 873 683-313-3986
CLASSIFICATION		INMARSAT	871 383-130321

REMARKS:

To Dial the above numbers you must include the access number to the international line (i.e., 011 from the US and 00 from Germany)

Press to Sandy Vershbow OUR Monday, Oct 2
30 Kernick

PLEASE CONFIRM RECEIPT AND DELIVERY WITH DATE TIME GROUPS.

NEED TO WASHFAX THIS IMMEDIATELY.
(IF NOT SOONER) ☺

Issue for Decision: Venue for Balkans Proximity Peace Talks

This memorandum contains the unanimous views and recommendations of all Interagency principals on the Bosnia Delegation.

Background: Holbrooke delegation has completed four shuttle diplomacy trips throughout region. Notable progress so far:

- Agreed basic principles on governmental superstructure at Geneva and New York meetings of Foreign Ministers.
- Ended shelling of Sarajevo, and obtained withdrawal of most heavy weapons.
- Reopened Sarajevo airport and now trying to expand use to non-UN flights.
- Ground routes to Sarajevo opening in stages now.
- Delegation now discussing country-wide cease-fire for Bosnia-Herzegovina and reopening of Gorazde-Sarajevo route, and greater freedom for Sarajevo.

Basic Concept:

- Shuttle diplomacy has produced a rough framework for a single B-H state. However, shuttle diplomacy is unlikely to be able to complete the job. Map discussions have defined wide differences that can only be addressed in "proximity" setting under U.S. pressure.
- Convene proximity peace talks bringing three Balkan Presidents together to tackle remaining issues. Aim should be about two weeks of intensive negotiations in which maximum pressure can be brought to bear.
- Summit of Contact Group nations with the parties could follow to sign final agreement. Offers option of U.S. President's (and Vice President's) participation. If desired, Foreign Ministers could be substituted.
- NATO implementation begins immediately with the reflagging of the RRF and will be well underway within 30 days following the signing.

Key Constraints:

- European ambivalence and Russian neuralgia about U.S. role.
- Presidential contact with Milosevic will be politically sensitive; with Bosnian Serbs it is unacceptable--but can be avoided. No decision or commitment, real or implied, need be made now.

Proximity Peace Talks Venue:

- Option 1: Hold in Europe.
 - ⇒ Preferred European option (although there is increasing in-fighting among countries competing for the honor) but would give U.S. least amount of control and lower chances of success.
 - ⇒ Reduces availability of senior USG officials for "drop-ins" to move process forward if necessary.
- Option 2: Hold in non-Washington U.S. venue, possibly outside New York or other Northeast U.S. location.
 - ⇒ Higher-level U.S. participation more possible if and when necessary.
 - ⇒ Easily linked to UN. Reduced downside risk for U.S. If conference succeeds, U.S. takes more visible role.

Level of U.S./Contact Group Representation

- Option 1: Political Directors.
 - ⇒ Political Director (Holbrooke for U.S.) level. Most consistent with a longer negotiation, but might sacrifice clout for staying power.
 - ⇒ Keeps focus on regional players.
 - ⇒ Absence of senior U.S./European officials means less political risk if negotiations go badly.
- Option 2: Foreign Ministers.
 - ⇒ Hold at Ministerial level. Higher profile enhances political pressure on parties.
 - ⇒ Involves more political risk and could tie up Secretary's time for a prolonged period. From U.S. perspective, U.S. venue would make this more palatable.
- Option 3: Mixed.
 - ⇒ Begin at Political Director level (Holbrooke U.S. chair/Bildt EU Co-Chair/ Ivanov as Russian "Co-Chair")

- ⇒ Allows for longer negotiation with Ministers brought in at an agreed point where they can bring maximum pressure to bear.
- ⇒ Less demanding of Ministers' time.

Signing Summit

- Option 1: Hold in Washington.
- Option 2: Hold at UN in New York.
- Option 3: Hold in Europe (Geneva or Paris):
 - ⇒ Preferred by Europeans, although Milosevic, Tudjman and Izetbegovic all strongly prefer Washington.
 - ⇒ Would be in keeping with European nature of conflict and European contributions to UNPROFOR.
- Option 4: Hold in Moscow.
 - ⇒ Yeltsin's strong desire Contact Group summit is Yeltsin idea, which he has pressed for more than a year.
 - ⇒ Welcome gesture to Russians which could help in summit follow-up in Balkans and in U.S.-Russian relations.
 - ⇒ Not clear other Contact Group members would support. Could be perceived as giving Russians more than their due, generating domestic political criticism.

Recommendation:

- Venue:
 - ⇒ Option 3. Hold Proximity Peace Talks in Northeast U.S. beginning on _____. Exact location TBD. Need controlled environment that is isolated and can be sealed off from press; each delegation needs its separable area.
- Level of U.S. Representation:
 - ⇒ Option 3. Holbrooke/Bildt (EU)/Ivanov Co-Chair Proximity Peace Talks with three Balkan Presidents and Contact Group Political Directors.

- Signing Summit:

⇒ (Decide later: Hold in Washington if proximity talks ^{produce} ~~proceed~~ agreement. If talks fail to produce ^{comprehensive} ~~comprehensive~~ deal, proclaim that talks are step in peace process and U.S. efforts continue.)

Gameplan

- Holbrooke delegation continues shuttle diplomacy in region this week (and perhaps next) seeking cease-fire and further agreement on territorial issues.
- If cease-fire agreement agreed, President announces in Washington that cease-fire has been achieved and proximity peace talks will begin in the United States on _____.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
008a. memo	For the Commander, Joint Chiefs of Staff from Lieutenant General Wesley Clark. Subject: Daily Negotiations Update, 29 September. (3 pages)	09/29/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - September 1995 (Late) [1]

2013-0687-F
vz2766

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
008b. memo	For the Commander, Joint Chiefs of Staff from Lieutenant General Wesley Clark. Subject: Daily Negotiations Update, 27 September. (2 pages)	09/28/1995	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
008c. draft	Bosnian Peace Implementation Agreement. (9 pages)	09/28/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
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