

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) [5]

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. draft	Paper: Equipping and Training the Federation. (3 pages)	09/29/1995	P1/b(1)
002. agenda	Deputies Committee Meeting, September 29, 1995. Record ID: 9521122. (1 page)	09/28//1995	P1/b(1)
003a. letter	To President Bill Clinton from Russian President Boris Yeltsin. Record ID: 9507141. [English Translation] (2 pages)	09/22/1995	P1/b(1)
003b. letter	To President Bill Clinton from Russian President Boris Yeltsin. Record ID: 9507141. [Russian] (2 pages)	09/22/1995	P1/b(1)
004. memo	For Anthony Lake from Richard Schifter. Subject: A Proposal for A Southeastern European Cooperative. Record ID: 9506886. (3 pages)	09/18/1995	P1/b(1)
005. draft	Paper: Russian Participation in IFOR. (4 pages)	09/22/1995	P1/b(1)
006. cable	re: Draft Decision Sheet. (3 pages)	09/25/1995	P1/b(1)
007. draft	Further Agreed Basic Principles. (2 pages)	09/25/1995	P1/b(1)
008. draft	Further Agreed Basic Principles. [with marginalia] (2 pages)	09/25/1995	P1/b(1)
009a. memo	For Anthony Lake from Alexander Vershbow. Subject: Checklist for September 25 PC on Bosnia. Record ID: 9521108. (2 pages)	09/23/1995	P1/b(1)
009b. draft	Implementation Structure in a Bosnian Settlement. (8 pages)	09/20/1995	P1/b(1)
009c. draft	Confidence Building/Arms Control. (2 pages)	09/20/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - September 1995 (Late) [5]

2013-0687-F

vz2770

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
009d. draft	Further Agreed Principles. (2 pages)	09/20/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - September 1995 (Late) [5]

2013-0687-F

vz2770

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]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Paper: Equipping and Training the Federation. (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) [5]

2013-0687-F
vz2770

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]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

21122

September 27, 1995

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL BERGER

THROUGH: ALEXANDER VERSHBOW *V*
FROM: JOHN F. FEELEY, JR. *JF*
SUBJECT: Deputies Committee Meeting on Bosnia,
September 29, 1995

Attached at Tab A is the agenda for the Deputies meeting on Bosnia to be held September 29, 1995. The memorandum to the agencies is attached at Tab I.

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize Andy Sens to sign the memorandum to the agencies at Tab I.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the Agencies
Tab A Agenda

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

By *VZ* NARA, Date *8/1/2014*
2013-0687 -F

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

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 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. AARON S. WILLIAMS
Executive Secretary
Agency for International
Development

MR. RICK E. YANNUZZI
Executive Secretary
Central Intelligence Agency

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

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

There will be a Deputies Committee meeting on Bosnia
September 29, 1995 from 5:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m. in the White House
Situation Room. Attendance will be Principals plus one. The
agenda is attached at Tab A. ~~(C)~~

Andrew D. Sens
Executive Secretary

Attachment
Tab A Agenda

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

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

By VZ NARA, Date 8/1/2004

2013-0687-K

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
--------------------------	---------------	------	-------------

002. agenda	Deputies Committee Meeting, September 29, 1995. Record ID: 9521122. (1 page)	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) [5]

2013-0687-F

vz2770

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or
financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President
and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of
personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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.

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]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial
information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of
personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement
purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of
financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information
concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Bosnia Briefings Calendar
(HEUR 3694)

1994 (beginning in September)

September 20	EUR A/S Holbrooke: Hearings before HFAC on European developments
September 26	Staff calls on deferring implementation of multilateral lift
September 27	Izetbegovic UNGA speech
September 29	Amb.-designate Charles Redman: Courtesy call with Senator Warner
September 30	EUR DAS Bob Frasure, L: SASC staff briefing on Nunn-Mitchell
October 5	EUR DAS Bob Frasure hearing before HFAC EUR subcommittee (Engel chair): Kosovo
October 11	EUR DAS Bob Frasure, L: HFAC Staff briefing on Bosnia
October 11	EUR DAS Bob Frasure, L: SFRC Staff briefing on Bosnia
October 26	Pre-consults on shifting 614 money to pay for financing Serbian sanctions
October 27	EUR DAS Bob Frasure, EUR Dan Serwer to brief SFRC staff on Bosnia developments
October 27	EUR DAS Bob Frasure, EUR Dan Serwer to brief HFAC staff on Bosnia developments
November 9	J-5 Gen. Clark, NSC Vershbow, CIA Schindler, EUR DAS Frasure, OSD Lodal with Sen. Nunn & SASC staff on Nunn-Mitchell amendment
November 11	NSC, DOD, State staff level calls on Nunn-Mitchell implementation
November 14	A/S Holbrooke with Dole staffer Baratta on Bosnia
November 15	JCS, OSD, CIA, State (Frasure) brief of Senate leadership, SFRC, SASC, and staff per Nunn-Mitchell on "plans" for training and unilateral lift
November 15	JCS, OSD, CIA, State (Frasure) brief of House leadership, HFAC, HASC, and staff per Nunn-Mitchell on "plans" for training and unilateral lift
November 29	DepSec Talbott hearing before HFAC (Bosnia only one of many issues)

November 30 U/S Peter Tarnoff: SFRC member briefing on "tactical shift" on Bosnia policy

December 1 U/S Peter Tarnoff: HFAC member briefing on "tactical shift" on Bosnia policy

December 1 Amb. Crowe: Courtesy calls on Sen. Warner, Senator Levin.

December 2 Amb. Crowe: Courtesy call on Sen. Lugar, Rep. Skelton & 6.

December 7 U.S. Support for UNPROFOR withdrawl. Courtesy Call

December 12 EUR DAS Bob Frasure: briefing for Rep. Kopetski (D-OR)

December 14 EUR Chris Hill, EB, Sanctions task force: briefing for HFAC staff on ICFY Serbian border monitoring effort

December 15 EUR Chris Hill, EB, Sanctions task force: briefing for SFRC staff on ICFY Serbian border monitoring effort

December 16 U/S Tarnoff, OSD Slocombe, JCS Gen. Clark before HFAC Hamilton et al on Pres decision to assist UNPROFOR withdrawal

1995

January 5 Bosnia and Croatia Briefing . Ambassador Galbraith with HIRC staff

January 6 Bosnia and Croatia Briefing. Ambassador Galbraith with Senator Levin.

January 6 Bosnia and Croatia Briefing. Ambassador Galbraith with SFRC staff.

January 6 Bosnia Briefing. CIA's Norm Schindler with Dole staff.

January 10 Peacekeeping Issues. Regular monthly briefing for HIRC staff. IO/George Ward, DoD.

January 10 Peacekeeping Issues. Regular monthly briefing for SASC staff. IO/George Ward, DoD.

January 11 U/S Tarnoff, J-5 Gen. Clark, OSD Slocombe to brief HIRC/HCONS on unilateral lift, Bosnia policy

January 12 U/S Tarnoff, J-5 Gen. Clark, OSD Slocombe

	brief SASC on unilateral lift, Bosnia policy
January 12	U/S Tarnoff, J-5 Gen. Clark, OSD Slocombe brief SFRC on unilateral lift, Bosnia policy
January 13	Around the World Peacekeeping Briefing for SFRC staffers. IO Senior Das Ward and DoD.
January 30- February	Siladzic visit to Washington
January 31	Amb. Crowe briefs separately Cong. Berman, Cong. Spence, Sens. Biden, Lieberman, Cohen, and Pell on Bosnia, NATO, UK.
February	Dutch PM Kok meets with Sen. Dole on Bosnia
February 7	Peacekeeping Issues. Monthly brief for SFRC staff. Briefers: IO Ward plus DoD Rep.
February 8	Peacekeeping Issues. Monthly brief for HIRC, HAC staff. Briefers: IO George Ward and DoD Sarah Sewall.
February 8	Peacekeeping Issues. Monthly brief for SFRC. Briefers: IO George Ward and DoD Sarah Sewall.
February 10	Peacekeeping Issues. Monthly brief for SASC staff. Briefers: IO Bob Loftis and DoD Sarah Sewall
February 27	EUR DAS Bob Frasure with SFRC, leadership staff on sanctions relief gambit, Croatia UNPROFOR
February 28	EUR DAS Bob Frasure with HIRC staff on sanctions relief gambit, Croatia UNPROFOR
March 2	Monthly RTW Peacekeeping Briefing. IO/George Ward and DoD/Sarah Sewall to brief HIRC
March 3	Monthly RTW Peacekeeping Briefing. IO/George Ward and DoD/Sarah Sewall to brief SASC.
March 3	Monthly RTW Peacekeeping Briefing. IO/George Ward and DoD/Sarah Sewall to brief SFRC.
March 7	Amb. Albright with Sen. McConnell. Meeting
March 7	UN/Peacekeeping and Intelligence Issues for SSCI. Amb. Albright and Amb. Inderfurth and INR. Closed Meeting

March 14 Bosnia, NATO expansion . EUR A/S Holbrooke with Senator Nunn. Courtesy Call

March 20 EUR DAS Bob Frasure, U.S. Ambassador Peter Galbraith, and OSD Director of Bosnia Task Force Jim Pardue with SFRC staff on prepositioning, status of CG negotiations

March 20 EUR DAS Bob Frasure, U.S. Ambassador Peter Galbraith, and OSD Director of Bosnia Task Force Jim Pardue with HIRC staff on prepositioning, status of CG negotiations

March 20 Staff calls on prepositioning

March 29 CIA's Norm Schindler, EUR DAS Bob Frasure, and OSD Joe Kruzel for SSCI Members on situation on the ground

March 24 Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina issues. Courtesy Call. Arbitrator Roberts Owen with Dole staff

March 29 EUR A/S Holbrooke with Sen. Feingold

March 31 EUR DAS Bob Frasure, OSD Joe Kruzel, and JCS Gen. John Walsh with SASC staff on prepositions, status of negotiations

March 31 EUR DAS Bob Frasure, OSD Joe Kruzel, and JCS Gen. John Walsh with HIRC/HCONS/House leadership staff on prepositions, status of negotiations

March 31 EUR DAS Bob Frasure, OSD Joe Kruzel, and JCS Gen. John Walsh with SFRC staff on prepositions, status of negotiations

April 6 Hearing on Croatia/Bosnia A/S Holbrooke with Helinski Commission.

April 6 Monthly RTW Peacekeeping Issues. HIRC. Witness: IO/Ward and DoD/Sewall. Briefing

April 7 Monthly RTW Peacekeeping Issues. SFRC. Witness: IO/Ward, DoD/Sewall. Briefing.

April 7 Monthly RTW Peacekeeping Issues. HCJS Subcte. Witness: IO/Ward. Briefing.

April 26 Peacekeeping Operations for SASC Airland Subcom(Warner) IO/GWard, DoD/Slocumbe, J-5/Clark. Hearing.

April 28 Serbia Desk, EB/ESO and Sanctions Task Force with SFRC and HIRC staff on sanctions policy and external ring SAM's

May 2 Meeting on the Balkans. Cong. Moran read-out his trip to FRYOM, Albania, and Serbia. EUR and H.

May 4 Monthly RTW Peacekeeping Operations. IO/George Ward, DoD Sarah Sewall to brief HIRC staff.

May 5 Monthly RTW Peacekeeping Operations. IO/George Ward, DoD Sarah Sewall to brief SFRC staff.

May 15 NATO contingency planning for possible UNPROFOR withdrawl. Courtesy Call to members of SFRC, HIRC, CJS, SFOPS

May 19 JCS Gen. Clarke, OSD Kruzal, EUR Kornblum closed consultations with SFRC (Lugar chair) on operational plan for NATO withdrawal of UNPROFOR

May 25 Calls to key staff on NATO air strikes.

May 25 Oplan for NATO withdrawl of UNPROFOR. JCS Gen. Clark , OSD U/S Slocombe, EUR DAS Kornblum. Closed Hearing.

May 26 JCS Gens. Clarke and Estes, OSD Slocombe, EUR Kornblum closed consultations with SASC (Thurmond chair) on operational plan for NATO withdrawal of UNPROFOR

May 29 Calls to key staff on developments, CG Ministerial & NAC

June 1 Calls to staff, some Members on President's Air Force Academy speech on potential use of U.S. ground forces

June 2 NSC's Sandy Vershbow, IO Bill Bartlett, EUR Doug McElhaney & Jack Zetkovic for HIRC staff on Bosnia, potential use of ground troops; OSD, JCS on oplan 40104 (abbreviated).

June 2 Calls to staff on shootdown of F-16 over Bosnia. HACFO, SFRC, HIRC.

June 6 OSD Pardew, J-3 & J-5, EUR (Cunningham)
closed briefing of SFRC and Senate
leadership staff on updated oplan 40104.

June 7 Sec. Perry, CJCS Shalikashvili on Bosnia for
SASC members (open).

June 7 Sec. Perry, CJCS Shalikashvili on Bosnia for
HCONS members (open).

June 8 U/S Tarnoff, J-5 Gen. Clark, OSD U/S
Slocombe for SFRC. Open hearing on Bosnia.

June 8 U/S Tarnoff, J-5 Gen. Clark, OSD U/S
Slocombe for HIRC. Open hearing on Bosnia.

June 9 Gen. Clark, OSD Dep. U/S Kruzel, EUR DAS
Kornblum for SFRC. Closed hearing.

June 9 Monthly RTW Peacekeeping Briefing. IO/PHO
Brims and DoD to brief SFRC staff.

June 14 Bosnia. Hearing. President Carter, Gen.
Galvin before SASC.

June 15 Bosnia. Hearing. Ex-Sec. James Schlesinger,
Harry Sommers before SASC.

June 16 A/S Holbrooke, OSD Joe Kruzel, JCS Gen.
Walsh briefing for leadership, authorizer,
and appropriator staff, House and Senate on
RRF and funding, closed.

June 20 A/S Holbrooke, OSD Joe Kruzel, CIA Norm
Schindler with Democratic Senate caucus,
closed.

June 20 DAS Bob Frasure, Acting A/S George Ward, JCS
with Gingrich and Gilman staff, closed.

June 20 Staff calls on SHAPE request for planning
forces, 40104.

June 20 Bosnia for Senate Democratic National
Security Group. Briefer: A/S Holbrooke.

June 21 UN Ambassador Albright with House CJS
Appropriation Subcommittee

June 21 British Defense Minister Rifkind with SFRC,
SASC, HIRC and HCONS

June 22 1995	UN Ambassador Albright with Democratic Policy Committee
July 10	Presidential Dinner with Congressional Leaders -- Dole, Daschle, Gingrich, and others
July 12	IO PDAS George Ward with SFRC staff, 614 waiver for transfer of equipment to RRF in Bosnia
July 12	IO PDAS George Ward with Senate Appropriations Committee staff, 614 waiver for transfer of equipment to RRF in Bosnia
July 12	IO PDAS George Ward with House Appropriations Committee staff, 614 waiver for transfer of equipment to RRF in Bosnia
July 12	EUR Charles Thomas, Daniel Serwer, and John Sewall briefing SFRC staff on Bosniac-Croat Federation
July 13	RTW briefing on peacekeeping for HIRC Staff, IO PDAS George Ward
July 13	State/OSD/JCS update briefing, joint HIRC/HCONS Members' meeting
July 17	Inter-agency (State/Treasury/CIA) working level team with SFRC staff, Serbia sanctions (closed)
July 14	RTW briefing on peacekeeping for SFRC Staff, IO PDAS George Ward
July 18	Secretaries Christopher and Perry at Senate Democratic caucus lunch
July 18	Secretaries Christopher and Perry at Senate Republican caucus lunch
July 19	Presidential Meeting with Democratic Senators
July 20	EUR Charles Thomas, Daniel Serwer, and John Sewall briefing HIRC Staff on Bosniac-Croat Federation
July 25	Presidential breakfast with Senators

July 25 1995 Presidential letter to Sen. Daschle opposing S.21 on unilateral lift

July 26 Secretary Christopher letter to Sen. Dole briefing him on NATO decisions implementing London decisions on use of air power to protect safe areas

July 26 Secretary Christopher letter to Sen. Daschle briefing him on NATO decisions implementing London decisions on use of air power to protect safe areas

July 26 Secretary Christopher letter to Sen. Byrd briefing him on NATO decisions implementing London decisions on use of air power to protect safe areas

July 27 Presidential letter to Speaker Gingrich opposing S.21 on unilateral lift

July 27 Presidential letter to Minority Leader Gephardt opposing S.21 on unilateral lift

July 25 Secretaries Christopher and Perry at Senate Democratic caucus lunch

((Note: Senate passes S.21 on July 26))

July 27 Secretaries Christopher and Perry with House Republican leadership

July 27 U/S Tarnoff, Deputy Secdef White, VCJCS Admiral Owens update briefing for joint HIRC/HCONS, all Members, closed

July 28 HIRC European Review Hearing, A/S Holbrooke

July 28 EUR Charles Thomas and Daniel Serwer briefing Helsinki Commission on Bosniac-Croat Federation

((Note: House passes S.21 on August 1))

August 1 Presidential meeting with senior House Members (Attending: Secretaries Christopher and Perry, CJCS Gen. Shalikashvili)

August 8 Intel update for HIRC staff, CIA's Balkan Task Force and INR, closed

August 9 1995	Staff calls, update and briefing on Lake/Tarnoff mission to Europe
August 9	Update for SFRC staff, State working-level multibureau (including INR), closed
August 28	President's Letter to Dole on negotiations, sanctions
September 6	U/S Tarnoff, Deputy Secdef White, VCJCS Admiral Owens update briefing for all Senate members, closed
September 7	D/S Talbott, OSD A/S Lodal, VCJCS Admiral Owens update briefing for all House Members, joint HIRC/HCONS meeting, closed
September 8	Working-level EUR/OSD/JCS private update for Gardner Peckham, Speaker's Office
September 8	Staff calls on Geneva meeting and Agreed Principles
September 12	OSD/JCS/EUR (Chris Hill) update briefing for Senate staff, closed
September 14	Secretary Christopher meetings with Sens. Hatfield and Byrd on appropriations matters, some discussion of Bosnia
September 15	Staff Calls: Update and Presidential Statement about UN acceptance of Bosnian Serb offer to comply with conditions for bombing halt
September 19	Working-level EUR/OSD/JCS private briefing for Gardner Peckham, Speaker's Office. Update on OpPlan 40104, and preliminary planning on IFOR
September 21	Secretary Christopher meetings with Reps. Livingston and Obey on appropriations matters, some discussion of Bosnia

TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: YELTSIN, BORIS

DOC DATE: 22 SEP 95
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: YUGOSLAVIA
RUSSIA

NATO
HS

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: LTR TO PRES FM YELTSIN RE SITUATION IN YUGOSLAVIA

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR LAKE

DUE DATE: 30 SEP 95 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: FEELEY

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

FEELEY

FOR CONCURRENCE

BLACKER
HESLIN
WITKOWSKY

FOR INFO

ANDREASEN
APPEL
BASS
BEERS
BELL
CLARKE
DANVERS
FRIED
GRAY
LORIN
PETERS
PIFER
SCHIFTER
SENS
SESTAK
SODERBERG
VERSHBOW
WALES

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSMEC

CLOSED BY:

DOC 1 OF 1

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003a. letter	To President Bill Clinton from Russian President Boris Yeltsin. Record ID: 9507141. [English Translation] (2 pages)	09/22/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - September 1995 (Late) [5]

2013-0687-F
vz2770

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]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003b. letter	To President Bill Clinton from Russian President Boris Yeltsin. Record ID: 9507141. [Russian] (2 pages)	09/22/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - September 1995 (Late) [5]

2013-0687-F
vz2770

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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.

BOSNIA/CROATIA

Diplomatic Track: Next Steps

- Yesterday's New York meeting of the Foreign Ministers of Bosnia, Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia produced another important step toward a peace settlement in Bosnia.
- In a set of "further agreed basic principles" for a settlement, the three Foreign Ministers have spelled out in greater detail the constitutional structures of Bosnia, including the establishment of a national parliament, Presidency and Constitutional Court.
- The new document builds on the September 8 agreement in Geneva.
- In the new document, they also committed to holding free democratic elections under international supervision.
- The parties have agreed that central government will have responsibility for conduct of foreign policy of Bosnia after a settlement. They are still negotiating on other functions of the central institutions --e.g. its role in foreign trade, monetary policy, crime enforcement, etc.
- While many more issues remain to be resolved before we have a final peace agreement, Yesterday's result underscores once again that the political settlement will preserve Bosnia as a single state, with continuing international recognition.
- As the President has said, we will strongly oppose the partition of Bosnia.
- Yesterday's result is further testament to the international community's resolve and persistent diplomacy by our team, supported by our Contact Group partners.
- The President has instructed Ambassador Holbrooke and his team to return to the Balkans on Thursday to press ahead with the search for a settlement.

Peace Plan Implementation

- While many issues remain to be resolved in the negotiations, we have accelerated our internal preparations for the implementation of a possible peace settlement.
- Just as American leadership is critical to the achievement of a peace settlement, so will our leadership be critical to ensuring that the agreement is implemented successfully so that the conflict is ended for good.
- Implementation will have many aspects -- a military implementation force (IFOR) to ensure that the parties maintain a ceasefire and withdraw their forces according to the requirements of the agreement; civilian efforts to safeguard human rights, assist in the return of refugees, help establish political institutions and deliver humanitarian aid; and a regional economic reconstruction program.
- A range of organizations will be involved in the non-military aspects - the UN and its agencies, the OSCE, the European Union, and the International Financial Institutions.

- We believe that, to be effective, the military implementation mission should be led by NATO, with a single chain of command and robust rules of engagement. A strong and decisive NATO presence on the ground at an early stage will provide the best deterrent against violations of the agreement and the resumption of hostilities.
- We and our Allies agree that the implementation force would operate under a UNSC Chapter VII mandate, but operational control would be exercised by NATO (i.e. no dual key).
- The IFOR would likely include forces from non-NATO countries, who would need to connect to the NATO command structure through liaison arrangements that are still being developed. We hope Russia and other members of the Partnership for Peace will form part of the IFOR.
- UNPROFOR's mandate would terminate, although some forces in UNPROFOR could transition to the new NATO-led forces. We hope, in particular, that Allied forces in the Rapid Reaction Force will form the lead elements of the new force.
- NATO planners are now developing a detailed OPLAN, building on previous planning for earlier peace plans and for UNPROFOR withdrawal. They have been tasked to complete the plan by the end of September.
- Until the planning is completed, and until there is a clearer sense of the actual provisions of the peace settlement, it would be premature to speculate on the size of the overall force or the U.S. contribution.
- But the President stands by his commitment -- first made in 1993 -- to contribute a substantial number of U.S. ground forces to a NATO-led force to assist in implementation of a Bosnia peace settlement, subject to consultations with the Congress.

Reaction to Dole letter charging lack of consultations with Congress?

- NATO commissioned planning by the NATO Military Authorities last Wednesday, so the process is still at an early stage.
- We fully intend to consult with the Congress as NATO planning -- and our own thinking - evolve.

Air Strikes

- NATO and UN commanders agreed last week that Serbs have complied with the conditions and the resumption of air strikes is not necessary at this time.
- The Serbs completed the required withdrawal of heavy weapons from the exclusion zone. The Sarajevo airport has remained open. UN and humanitarian traffic is moving along the main routes into the city.
- We welcome this development. The NATO air campaign in Bosnia was successful.
- But as President said last week: renewed attacks on Sarajevo or the other safe areas, or any Serb non-compliance with their other commitments, will trigger a resumption of NATO air strikes.
- All parties should now turn from the battlefield to the bargaining table and complete a political settlement. The time has come to end the fighting for good and begin the task of reconciliation and reconstruction in the Balkans.

- If the Bosnian Serbs uphold their commitments, this should give further impetus to our common search for a lasting political settlement to the Balkan conflict, building on the September 8 agreement on “basic principles” of a settlement by the Foreign Ministers of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia.
- (If asked) While Bosnian Serb compliance was not conditional on Bosnian Government actions, the Bosnian Government continues to abide by its pledge of two weeks ago that it would refrain from offensive actions in and around Sarajevo.

GoBH/Croatian Offensives in western Bosnia/threats to Banja Luka

- We understand that offensive actions in western Bosnia have wound down.
- We believe all parties should exercise restraint and turn their energies to the peace process.
- We have told the Bosnian and Croatian governments that military moves that risk drawing the Serbs into the conflict are risky and unwise, and could lead to increased civilian suffering.
- We welcome the statements last week by Croatian and Bosnian leaders that they will not attack Banja Luka..

(If asked whether the Bosnian Offensive Derail U.S. Diplomatic Efforts)

- We continue to believe that this conflict will not be settled on the battlefield. All parties should redouble their efforts to arrive at an early diplomatic solution. That remains our goal.

Reports of Mass Graves

- Very concerned by reports of mass graves found by Bosnian Government troops in formerly Serb-held areas of western Bosnia.
- We fully support an international investigation of these sites.
- We are committed to seeing the perpetrators brought to justice by the War Crimes Tribunal.

September 8 Geneva Meeting

- Important progress was made at the September 8 Geneva meeting between the foreign ministers of Bosnia, Serbia and Croatia, and Contact Group representatives. Ambassador Holbrooke and EU negotiator Carl Bildt co-chaired the meeting.
 - In specific, the three foreign ministers announced they had agreed to basic principles for further negotiations toward final settlement. The principles are the following:
 - For the first time, all agreed that Bosnia-Herzegovina will continue as a single state, with its present borders, and with continuing international recognition.
 - Consistent with the Contact Group plan, all three agreed that under the terms of a settlement, Bosnia-Herzegovina will consist of two entities: the Federation established under last year's Washington Agreements, and a Bosnian Serb republic.
 - The 51-49 parameter of the Contact Group's territorial proposal will be the basis for a settlement, subject to any adjustments the parties make by mutual agreement.

- The two entities will have the right to establish relationships with neighboring states, but these must be consistent with Bosnia's sovereignty and territorial integrity.
- The parties pledged to adhere to human rights standards, to ensure freedom of movement and the right of the displaced to return to their homes, and to collaborate on joint economic projects that will promote links among all of Bosnia's peoples.
- As the President said, this is an important milestone on the path to peace.
- We hope yesterday's meeting will build on this important progress.

(If asked whether the new diplomatic effort divides Bosnia)

- We have not partitioned Bosnia, nor do we intend to.
- It cannot be emphasized too strongly that according to the Geneva agreements, Bosnia-Herzegovina remains a single state, retaining its seat in international organizations and its bilateral diplomatic relations with other countries in the world, including the U.S.

Downed French Pilots

- As French have indicated Bosnian Serbs may have pilots in their custody. We hold President Milosevic accountable for their safety.
- We can confirm that U.S. forces participated in three rescue attempts, which we regret were not successful. Pentagon can provide details.
- We demand that the Serbs release the pilots immediately and unharmed.

Bosnian Serb Violations of No-Fly Zone?

- We are concerned by reports of Deny Flight violations by Bosnian Serb aircraft based at Banja Luka.
- NATO air patrols continue. NATO aircraft are authorized to intercept any violators of the no-fly zone or to respond to Serb air defense installations displaying hostile intent.

NATO Enlargement Study: Fact Sheet

- NATO approved the enlargement study on September 20.
- The study, which sets out the "how" and "why" of enlargement, will be presented to members of the Partnership for Peace (composed of CEE and NIS countries, including Russia) in Brussels on September 28.
- Individual presentations will also be made to members who request them. NATO will assess the presentations and decide on next steps at its December 5 ministerial meeting.
- The study was commissioned by NATO Foreign Ministers meeting at NATO headquarters in December 1994.
- The study is part of a gradual, deliberate process leading to the enlargement of the Alliance. The goal of enlargement is to extend the security and stability represented by NATO into the new democracies that have arisen in Europe in the wake of the end of the Cold War.
- By integrating them into a common security structure, we hope to promote stable relations among the new democracies and underpin their democratic and market economic reforms.
- No decisions have been taken on whom to invite. Nor is there any timetable for when this will occur. Enlargement will only occur when NATO is satisfied that prospective members can contribute to the overall security of the Alliance.
- The "how" part of the study sets out a number of steps that interested potential members must take in order to be considered for membership. These include political and military steps that contribute to the democratic goals and overall security of the Alliance.
- Political steps include commitment to democracy, civilian control of the military and fair treatment for ethnic minority groups. Military steps include meeting minimum NATO interoperability standards, including command and control procedures and military equipment.
- The study stresses that NATO sees no current need to station nuclear weapons on the territories of new members, but will keep the matter under review. With respect to stationing conventional forces, the study discusses the pros and cons but makes no judgment on the subject. (In our view, it is unlikely that there will be a need for significant forward deployments in the present low-threat environment.)

BOSNIA POINTS FOR CONGRESS

- Calling to bring you up to date on our efforts to achieve a political settlement in Bosnia, including the results of today's meeting in New York of the Foreign Ministers of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia.
- As you know, in early August, the President decided the time had come for the U.S. to launch a new diplomatic initiative.
- The President believed the changing situation on the ground, combined with NATO's renewed commitment to use air power decisively to protect the safe areas, provided a window of opportunity to achieve a comprehensive settlement based on the principles of the Contact Group plan.
- To seize this opportunity, the President dispatched National Security Advisor Tony Lake to present our initiative to our Allies and the Russians, who expressed their strong support.
- Six weeks have elapsed since our negotiating team began its intensive shuttle diplomacy. Their effort was temporarily delayed by the tragic accident near Sarajevo which cost the lives of three talented U.S. diplomats.
- Important results have been achieved, although much work remains to be done.
- NATO has upheld its commitments to defend the safe areas. As a result of NATO's sustained air campaign, the Serbs have withdrawn their heavy weapons from around Sarajevo and opened up land and air routes into the city.
- Thanks to the work of Ambassador Holbrooke and his negotiating team, on September 8 in Geneva the three Foreign Minister of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia met for the first time and agreed on basic principles for a settlement.
- These principles confirmed that Bosnia-Herzegovina will continue as a single state, with its present borders, and with continuing international recognition.
- The parties agreed that the 51-49 formula of the Contact Group's territorial proposal will be the basis for a settlement, subject to any adjustments the parties make by mutual agreement.
- As the President said at the time, this was an important milestone on the path to peace.
- Today in New York, the U.S. and the EU co-chaired a second meeting of the three Foreign Ministers together with our Contact Group partners. This followed another round of active shuttle diplomacy by the U.S. team.
- That meeting produced another important step toward a peace settlement in Bosnia.
- In a set of "further agreed basic principles" for a settlement, the three Foreign Ministers have spelled out in greater detail the constitutional structures of Bosnia, including the establishment of a national parliament, Presidency and Constitutional Court.
- In the new document, they also committed to holding free democratic elections under international supervision.

- The parties have agreed that central government will have responsibility for conduct of foreign policy of Bosnia after a settlement. They are still negotiating on other functions of the central institutions --e.g. its role in foreign trade, monetary policy, crime enforcement, etc.
- While many more issues remain to be resolved before we have a final peace agreement, today's result underscores once again that the political settlement will preserve Bosnia as a single state, with continuing international recognition. We are strongly opposed to a partition of Bosnia.
- Today's result is further testament to the international community's resolve and persistent diplomacy by our team, supported by our Contact Group partners.
- The President has instructed Ambassador Holbrooke and his team to return to the Balkans on Thursday to press ahead with the search for a settlement.

Implementation Planning

- While there is much more work to be done, we have moved forward on internal planning for implementation of a possible settlement.
- Many implementation issues remain to be resolved in the negotiations, but we wanted to give you some indication in advance of the issues to be addressed.
- Just as American leadership is critical to achievement of a peace settlement, so will our leadership be critical to making it succeed on the ground.
- Implementation of the settlement will have many aspects:
 - a NATO-led military implementation force (IFOR) to ensure that the parties maintain a ceasefire and withdraw their forces according to the terms of the agreement;
 - civilian efforts to safeguard human rights, assist refugee return, develop democratic institutions; and deliver humanitarian aid; and
 - a regional economic reconstruction program.
- A range of organizations will be involved in the non-military aspects (the UN and its agencies, e.g. UNHCR; the OSCE; the European Union; the World Bank; and others).

Military Implementation Force (IFOR)

- We will insist that the military implementation effort be NATO-led, with tough rules of engagement and a clear chain of command, without any UN "dual key."
- While we are not imposing a settlement on the parties, there will clearly be continuing tensions after the agreement is signed.
- Thus, a strong, decisive NATO presence on the ground at an early stage is essential to deter violations of the agreement and resumed hostilities.
- For NATO to carry out this mission effectively, U.S. participation in the implementation force is essential.

- That is why the President has reaffirmed his commitment -- first made in 1993 -- to provide substantial U.S. ground forces to help implement a peace agreement, subject to further consultations with Congress.
- NATO planning is now underway, building on previous plans for implementation of earlier peace proposals and for UNPROFOR withdrawal.
- Until the likely provisions of a settlement become clear and planning is complete, it is premature to speculate on the size of the overall force or the U.S. contribution.
- Non-NATO governments, including Russia and other PFP members, are also interested in providing forces for this operation.
- We welcome their participation as a way of demonstrating the international community's commitment to a settlement. We are still developing the arrangements for the involvement of non-NATO forces, which must be consistent with the principle of overall unity of command.

Reconstruction/Assistance

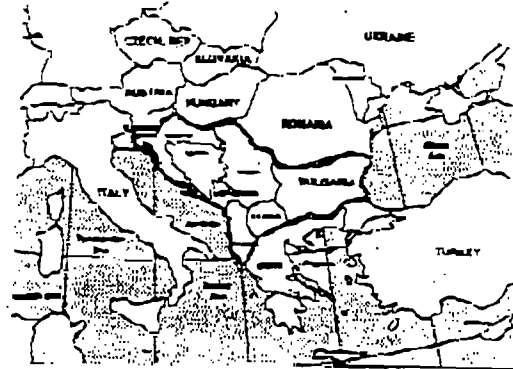
- The Administration is strongly committed to doing its part in supporting post-war economic reconstruction following a peace agreement.
- Promoting economic recovery of war-ravaged areas of Bosnia and Croatia, and encouraging renewed economic cooperation in the Balkan region, will be critical to ensuring that all the parties have a stake in peace.
- We look to the European Union to take the lead in this effort. Some Islamic states have also indicated their desire to participate; we expect Japan will be a donor as well.
- We have outlined three principles for assistance which were well received in meetings with the EU:
 - First, humanitarian aid should be available to all who need it;
 - Second, economic and political reform must be an integral part of the reconstruction effort; and
 - Third, donors must have a strong presence on the ground, where the major contributors, led by the EU, must coordinate closely to avoid duplication and to make sure reconstruction assistance reinforces the peace settlement.
- It is too soon to say what will be the size of the U.S. contribution to the international reconstruction effort. But we expect it could be \$500 million or more over 3-5 years.



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

URGENT**BUREAU OF EUROPEAN AND CANADIAN AFFAIRS****OFFICE OF SOUTH CENTRAL EUROPE (EUR/SCE)****FACSIMILE NUMBER (202) 647-0555 or (202) 736-4853****PLEASE****DELIVER TO:** Sandy Vevshbaw**FAX:** 456-9150**FAX:****MESSAGE DESCRIPTION:**Advance Copy of "mtg"Crosshatch on New YorkMeeting on Bosnia**FROM:** John Burley**REMARKS:**



PAGE 1 OF 7 PAGES, INCLUDING COVER PAGE

09/26/95 18:08

202 647 0987 EUR/SA
OUTGOING TELEGRAM

002/007

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

INITIAL USE 0.1

APPR _____ DRAFT _____
CLEAR 1 _____ 2 _____
3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____
6 _____ 7 _____ 8 _____

UNCLASSIFIED

EUR/SCF:JBURLEY:JDB
09/26/95 67480 SEFEVYUG 11044
EUR:BJONES

EUR/SCF:JZETKULIC
P:JKLEKAS

S/S:
NSC:
S/S-O:

EUR

IMMEDIATE ALDAC, SEP

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREL, BK, SR, HR

SUBJECT: GUIDANCE ON AGREEMENT ON FURTHER BASIC
PRINCIPLES AT NEW YORK MEETING ON BOSNIA, SEPTEMBER 26

REF: STATE 214519

1. THE FOLLOWING GUIDANCE IS PROVIDED FOR POSTS' USE IN BRIEFING HOST GOVERNMENTS CONCERNING THE RESULTS OF THE SEPTEMBER 26 NEW YORK MEETING ON BOSNIA. SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS ARE PROVIDED IN PARA 4. WIRELESS FILE SHOULD CONTAIN TEXT OF PRESIDENT CLINTON'S 3:50 EDT STATEMENT RELEASED BY THE WHITE HOUSE ON SEPTEMBER 26.

2. BACKGROUND. IN NEW YORK ON SEPTEMBER 26, THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF BOSNIA, CROATIA AND THE "FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA" (WHO ALSO REPRESENTED THE BOSNIAN SERBS) MET UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE FIVE-MEMBER CONTACT GROUP AND AGREED TO A SET OF "FURTHER AGREED BASIC PRINCIPLES" TO SUPPLEMENT THOSE ACCEPTED AT THE GENEVA MEETING SEPTEMBER 8 (SEE REFTEL). UPON CONCLUSION OF THE MEETING, ASSISTANT SECRETARY RICHARD HOLBROOKE AND THE EU SPECIAL NEGOTIATOR CARL HILDT MADE A JOINT STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF THE CONTACT GROUP (PARA 3). END BACKGROUND.

DRAFT

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

2

3. TEXT OF JOINT STATEMENT READ TO THE MEDIA BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE IN NEW YORK ON SEPTEMBER 26.

BEGIN TEXT:

FOR THE SECOND TIME IN THREE WEEKS, THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA HAVE MET UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE CONTACT GROUP. THE MEETING WAS HELD AT THE U.S. MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS AND CO-CHAIRLED BY U.S. ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE RICHARD C. HOLBROOKE AND EU SPECIAL NEGOTIATOR CARL BILDT.

THE CONTACT GROUP AND EU SPECIAL NEGOTIATOR ANNOUNCE TODAY THE THREE FOREIGN MINISTERS, SPEAKING FOR THEIR GOVERNMENTS THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA, WHICH ALSO REPRESENTS THE BOSNIAN SERBE IN A JOINT DELEGATION -- HAVE AUTHORIZED US TO ISSUE THE ATTACHED FURTHER AGREED BASIC PRINCIPLES. ALL THREE GOVERNMENTS -- AND THEIR PRESIDENTS -- AGREE THAT THESE PRINCIPLES WILL GOVERN ADDITIONAL NEGOTIATIONS. MOREOVER, THE CO-CHAIRMEN REITERATED THAT THE ISSUES OF EASTERN SLAVONIA, BARANJA, AND WESTERN SRIJEM WILL BE A TOP PRIORITY IN AN OVERALL PEACE SETTLEMENT.

THE PRINCIPLES ISSUED TODAY TAKE US ONE MORE IMPORTANT STEP ON THE ROAD TO PEACE. AS IMPORTANT AS THIS STEP IS, WE REMAIN A LONG WAY FROM PEACE.

ALTHOUGH WE STILL HAVE A LONG AND DIFFICULT PATH AHEAD OF US, TODAY'S AGREEMENT DOES MARK ANOTHER IMPORTANT STEP FORWARD FOR SEVERAL REASONS.

FIRST AND FOREMOST, IT ESTABLISHES CLEARLY THAT BOTH SIDES AGREE THAT BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA WILL HAVE A PARLIAMENT OR NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, A PRESIDENCY, A CONSTITUTIONAL COURT, AND MAKES PROVISIONS FOR FREE AND DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS UNDER INTERNATIONAL SUPERVISION. IN OUR VIEW THIS MEANS DIRECT, FREE AND DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS WOULD BE HELD AS SOON AS POSSIBLE WHEN THE NECESSARY CONDITIONS EXIST.

THESE ARE OBVIOUSLY SIGNIFICANT, IF INCOMPLETE, ACHIEVEMENTS, WHICH MUST BE FLESHED OUT IN MUCH GREATER DETAIL IN THE NEXT ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS. FOR EXAMPLE,

UNCLASSIFIED

DRAFT

UNCLASSIFIED

3

WHAT ARE THE "OTHER MATTERS" REFERRED TO IN THE SECOND SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH 6.6? ALTHOUGH THIS MUST BE NEGOTIATED, IN OUR VIEW THEY SHOULD INCLUDE SUCH IMPORTANT MATTERS AS FOREIGN TRADE, CUSTOMS ADMINISTRATION, INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL AFFAIRS, CURRENCY ADMINISTRATION, CITIZENSHIP AND PASSPORTS, PROTECTION OF BORDERS, AND OTHER MATTERS. THESE ISSUES MUST BE SOLVED BEFORE WE CAN ACHIEVE THE SETTLEMENT WE SEEK.

THERE ARE MANY OTHER IMPORTANT ISSUES NOT RESOLVED, OR EVEN ADDRESSED, IN TODAY'S DOCUMENT. ABOVE ALL, THE TERRITORIAL ISSUES ARE STILL UNRESOLVED, AND WILL BE THE SUBJECT OF VERY TOUGH NEGOTIATIONS. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE CONTRACT GROUP REITERATES ITS STRONG SUPPORT FOR THE SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF THE STATES OF THE REGION.

WE ARE ALSO COMMITTED TO INSURING THAT, AT THE END OF THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS, THE ABOVE INSTITUTIONS AND THEIR MANNER OF OPERATIONS AND DECISION-MAKING WILL BE FULLY CONSISTENT WITH DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES. WE SHALL CONTINUE TO AVOID MECHANISMS THAT COULD MAKE THE GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA UN-DEMOCRATIC OR NON-FUNCTIONING IN THEIR OPERATIONS.

WE ALSO MUST ADDRESS THE PRESENCE OF SEVERAL DIFFERENT MILITARY FORCES ON THE TERRITORY OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA IN SUCH A MANNER AS TO ENSURE THAT THEIR PRESENCE AND ACTIVITIES ARE CONSISTENT WITH THE SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA.

THE AMERICAN NEGOTIATING TEAM WILL RETURN TO THE REGION, STARTING IN SARAJEVO, ON THURSDAY. THE EU SPECIAL NEGOTIATOR, CARL BILDT, WILL CONTINUE WORK ALSO ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL AND RECONSTRUCTION EFFORTS WHICH WILL BE ADDRESSED BY THE EU FOREIGN MINISTERS IN LUXEMBOURG OCTOBER 2 BEFORE HE PROCEEDS TO THE REGION. RUSSIAN NEGOTIATOR, FIRST DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER IGOR IVANOV, WILL RETURN TO THE REGION NEXT WEEK.

THE ATTACHED BASIC PRINCIPLES HAVE BEEN AGREED UPON TODAY BY H.E. MUHAMED SAGIRDEY, FOREIGN MINISTER OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA (BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA), H.E. MATE GRANIC, FOREIGN MINISTER OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA (CROATIA); AND H.E. MILAN MILUTINOVIC, FOREIGN MINISTER OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA (YUGOSLAVIA), AND WITNESSED BY REPRESENTATIVES OF FRANCE, GERMANY, RUSSIA, THE UNITED KINGDOM, AND THE UNITED STATES. AND BY THE

UNCLASSIFIED

DRAFT

UNCLASSIFIED

4

EUROPEAN UNION SPECIAL NEGOTIATOR FOR THE FORMER
YUGOSLAVIA.

END TEXT OF JOINT STATEMENT.

4. THE "FURTHER AGREED BASIC PRINCIPLES" WERE DISTRIBUTED
TO THE PRESS WHEN ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE READ THE
TEXT OF THE "JOINT STATEMENT".

BEGIN TEXT:

FURTHER AGREED BASIS PRINCIPLES

(ADDITIONAL TO THOSE ISSUED SEPTEMBER 8, 1995, IN GENEVA)

4. EACH OF THE TWO ENTITIES WILL HONOR THE INTERNATIONAL
OBLIGATIONS OF BOSNIA HERZEGOVINA, SO LONG AS THE
OBLIGATION IS NOT A FINANCIAL OBLIGATION INCURRED BY ONE
ENTITY WITHOUT THE CONSENT OF THE OTHER.

5. IT IS THE GOAL THAT FREE DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS BE HELD
IN BOTH ENTITIES AS SOON AS SOCIAL CONDITIONS PERMIT. IN
ORDER TO MAXIMIZE THE DEMOCRATIC EFFECTIVENESS OF SUCH
ELECTIONS, THE FOLLOWING STEPS WILL BE TAKEN BY BOTH
ENTITIES.

5.1 BOTH GOVERNMENTS WILL IMMEDIATELY PLEDGE THEIR
FULL SUPPORT, STARTING IMMEDIATELY, FOR (A) FREEDOM OF
MOVEMENT, (B) THE RIGHT OF DISPLACED PERSONS TO REPOSSESS
THEIR PROPERTY OR RECEIVE JUST COMPENSATION, (C) FREEDOM
OF SPEECH AND OF THE PRESS, AND (D) PROTECTION OF ALL
OTHER INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED HUMAN RIGHTS IN ORDER TO
ENHANCE AND EMPOWER THE DEMOCRATIC ELECTION PROCESS.

5.2 AS SOON AS POSSIBLE THE OSCE (OR OTHER
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION) WILL STATION REPRESENTATIVES
IN ALL PRINCIPAL TOWNS THROUGHOUT THE FEDERATION AND THE
REPUBLIKA SRPSKA IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA AND PUBLISH
MONTHLY REPORTS AS TO THE DEGREE WHICH (A) THE OBLIGATIONS
LISTED IN ALL OF THE AGREED BASIC PRINCIPLES HAVE BEEN
FULFILLED, AND (B) SOCIAL CONDITIONS ARE BEING RESTORED TO
A LEVEL AT WHICH THE ELECTION PROCESS MAY BE EFFECTIVE.

5.3 WITHIN 30 DAYS AFTER THE OSCE DELEGATIONS HAVE
CONCLUDED THAT FREE AND DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS CAN BE
PROPERLY HELD IN BOTH ENTITIES, THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE TWO
ENTITIES WILL CONDUCT FREE AND DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS AND
WILL FULLY COOPERATE WITH AN INTERNATIONAL MONITORING

UNCLASSIFIED

DRAFT

UNCLASSIFIED

5

PROGRAM.

6. FOLLOWING THE ELECTIONS, THE AFFAIRS AND PREROGATIVES OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA WILL BE VESTED IN THE FOLLOWING INSTITUTIONS, IN ACCORDANCE WITH ALL THE AGREED BASIC PRINCIPLES.

6.1 A PARLIAMENT OR ASSEMBLY, TWO THIRDS OF WHICH WILL BE ELECTED FROM THE TERRITORY OF THE FEDERATION, AND ONE-THIRD FROM TERRITORY OF THE REPUBLIKA SRPSKA. ALL PARLIAMENTARY ACTIONS WILL BE BY MAJORITY VOTE PROVIDED THAT THE MAJORITY INCLUDES AT LEAST ONE-THIRD OF THE VOTES FROM EACH ENTITY.

6.2 A PRESIDENCY, TWO-THIRDS OF WHICH WILL BE ELECTED FROM THE TERRITORY OF FEDERATION, AND ONE-THIRD FROM THE TERRITORY OF THE REPUBLIKA SRPSKA. ALL PRESIDENCY DECISIONS WILL BE TAKEN BY MAJORITY VOTE, PROVIDED, HOWEVER, THAT IF ONE-THIRD OR MORE OF THE MEMBERS DISAGREE WITH A DECISION TAKEN BY THE OTHER MEMBERS AND DECLARE THAT DECISION TO BE DESTRUCTIVE OF A VITAL INTEREST OF THE ENTITY OR ENTITIES FROM WHICH THE DISSENTING MEMBERS WERE ELECTED, THE MATTER WILL BE REFERRED IMMEDIATELY TO THE APPROPRIATE ENTITY/ENTITIES' PARLIAMENT. IF ANY SUCH PARLIAMENT CONFIRMS THE DISSENTING POSITION BY A TWO-THIRDS VOTE, THEN THE CHALLENGED DECISION WILL NOT TAKE EFFECT.

6.3 A CABINET OF SUCH MINISTERS AS MAY BE APPROPRIATE.

6.4 A CONSTITUTIONAL COURT WITH JURISDICTION TO DECIDE ALL QUESTIONS ARISING UNDER THE CONSTITUTION OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA AS IT WILL BE REVISED IN ACCORDANCE WITH ALL OF THE AGREED BASIC PRINCIPLES.

6.5 THE PARTIES WILL NEGOTIATE IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE AS TO FURTHER ASPECTS OF THE MANAGEMENT AND OPERATION OF THESE INSTITUTIONS.

6.6 THE FOREGOING INSTITUTIONS WILL HAVE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE FOREIGN POLICY OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA. THE PARTIES WILL NEGOTIATE FURTHER TO DETERMINE THE EXTENT TO WHICH THESE INSTITUTIONS WILL ALSO HAVE RESPONSIBILITY FOR OTHER MATTERS CONSISTENT WITH ALL THE AGREED BASIC PRINCIPLES.

END TEXT OF FURTHER AGREED BASIC PRINCIPLES.

UNCLASSIFIED

DRAFT

UNCLASSIFIED

6

5. THE FOLLOWING TALKING POINTS WILL BE USEFUL FOR EMBASSIES IN DISCUSSING THE RESULTS OF THE SEPTEMBER 26 NEW YORK MEETING:

-- THE "FURTHER AGREED BASIC PRINCIPLES" AGREED TO BY THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF BOSNIA, CROATIA AND SERBIA-MONTENEGRO ANNOUNCED IN NEW YORK TODAY MARK AN IMPORTANT STEP FORWARD IN THE LONG JOURNEY TOWARD A PEACE SETTLEMENT IN BOSNIA. THEY SUPPLEMENT THE BASIC AGREED PRINCIPLES REACHED IN GENEVA ON SEPTEMBER 8.

-- THESE ADDITIONAL PRINCIPLES ARE VERY IMPORTANT BECAUSE THEY PROVIDE FOR THE STATE INSTITUTIONS VITAL TO ESTABLISHING AND MAINTAINING A SINGLE BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: A COLLECTIVE PRESIDENCY, A NATIONAL PARLIAMENT, AND A CONSTITUTIONAL COURT.

-- IT WAS AGREED THAT THESE CENTRAL BOSNIAN INSTITUTIONS WILL CONDUCT FOREIGN POLICY AND SUCH OTHER MATTERS AS THE PARTIES THEMSELVES SUBSEQUENTLY DECIDE.

-- IN AN EQUALLY SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENT, THE TWO ENTITIES TO COMPRISE THE BOSNIAN STATE, THE BOSNIAC-CROAT FEDERATION AND THE REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA, WILL HOLD FREE AND DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS UNDER INTERNATIONAL SUPERVISION ONCE THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY CONCLUDES THAT SUCH ELECTIONS CAN BE HELD.

-- THESE FURTHER AGREED BASIC PRINCIPLES WILL SERVE TO ALLAY FEARS OF AN IMPENDING PARTITION OF BOSNIA. TO THE CONTRARY, WHEN ALL THE BASIC AGREED PRINCIPLES ARE VIEWED TOGETHER AS INTENDED, THEY SHOW THAT DESPITE THEIR DIFFERENCES THE WARRING PARTIES IN BOSNIA UNDERSTAND THAT THEY MUST COOPERATE IN THE NEW BOSNIAN STATE.

MUCH WORK REMAINS TO BE DONE TO FLESH OUT THE SPECIFICS OF HOW BOSNIA WILL CONDUCT ITS AFFAIRS AND THE RELATIVE POWERS OF THE NEW INSTITUTIONS. MOREOVER, SIGNIFICANT DECISIONS MUST BE MADE BY THE PARTIES ON THE TERRITORIAL ASPECTS OF IMPLEMENTING THE 51/49 PARAMETER ACCEPTED IN THE BASIC PRINCIPLES.

-- AMBASSADOR HOLBROOKE AND HIS TEAM WILL RETURN TO THE REGION THIS WEEK TO CONTINUE WORK ON THESE AND OTHER VITAL ISSUES, INCLUDING THE STILL-UNRESOLVED TREATMENT OF EASTERN SLAVONIA.

DRAFT

UNCLASSIFIED

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004. memo	For Anthony Lake from Richard Schifter. Subject: A Proposal for A Southeastern European Cooperative. Record ID: 9506886. (3 pages)	09/18/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - September 1995 (Late) [5]

2013-0687-F

vz2770

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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 Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
005. draft	Paper: Russian Participation in IFOR. (4 pages)	09/22/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - September 1995 (Late) [5]

2013-0687-F

vz2770

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]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
006. cable	re: Draft Decision Sheet. (3 pages)	09/25/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - September 1995 (Late) [5]

2013-0687-F

vz2770

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]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
007. draft	Further Agreed Basic Principles. (2 pages)	09/25/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - September 1995 (Late) [5]

2013-0687-F
vz2770

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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.

BOB DOLE
KANSAS

United States Senate

OFFICE OF THE REPUBLICAN LEADER
WASHINGTON, DC 20510

September 25, 1995

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

It is our understanding that your administration, together with our NATO allies, is completing plans to enforce a potential settlement in Bosnia and Herzegovina -- a settlement not yet finalized. Much to our dismay, what we have learned about possible U.S. troop obligations has been largely from press reports. To date, your administration has failed to consult with the Congress on the nature and extent of commitments made to our NATO allies and the Bosnian government regarding U.S. participation in a force to implement a settlement. We are especially concerned since those forces must consist primarily of ground troops. There should be no doubts that without the concurrence of the Congress these commitments will not be fulfilled.

In our view, your administration must answer the following questions as soon as possible in order that the Senate may begin to fulfill its responsibility to carefully evaluate this matter:

- (1) What specific commitments regarding U.S. troop participation have been made by your administration to our NATO allies?
- (2) What specific commitments regarding U.S. troop participation have been made by your administration to the Bosnian government?
- (3) What is the range of total NATO ground force levels, related to enforcement of a Bosnian peace settlement, being considered in the administration and at NATO headquarters? What would the U.S. contribution of forces be? What is the estimate of the number of reservists that would need to be called up? What is the estimated impact of such a deployment on readiness?
- (4) Would this be a NATO-only operation or would Russian troops and/or other troops, from Islamic countries for example, also be a part of that total force enforcing a settlement?
- (5) Would NATO be in complete command of all forces involved in an enforcement operation? Or would Russian forces and non-NATO forces be under different command arrangements? If so, how would these varied command arrangements be ultimately integrated in order to achieve unity of command? Is there to be another dual-

key command?

(6) When would NATO forces be deployed -- immediately after an agreement is signed or after Bosnian government and Bosnian Serb forces withdraw to lines of demarcation? What if the fighting does not stop after an agreement is signed?

(7) Is there a time table for UNPROFOR withdrawal? Would some of these U.N. units, from NATO contributing countries, remain as part of the new force?

(8) When would the "dual key" be eliminated? Would there be any other U.N. input into the command arrangements?

(9) What would the rules of engagement for NATO forces be?

(10) Where would NATO troops be deployed? In Bosnian Serb controlled territory?

(11) Would Bosnian government forces be supplied with additional arms during this enforcement period so that Bosnia can better defend itself against aggression after NATO forces leave? If so, what types of weapons would be provided and by whom? Has a commitment to provide military assistance -- to include arms and/or training-- to the Bosnian government in a post-settlement period been made by Assistant Secretary Holbrooke, or any other administration officials to Bosnian government officials?

(12) How long would NATO troops be deployed? What is the exit strategy?

(13) What are the estimated costs of such a NATO deployment? What would the U.S. share be and how does the administration plan to pay for it?

Mr. President, these are not the only questions that will need to be answered, but they are essential to any Congressional debate and consideration of commitments made by you and your administration with respect to U.S. troops participating in an enforcement operation.

There are also matters of principle that will have to be carefully considered. First and foremost is a very fundamental question -- whether United States forces should be deployed to partition a sovereign and independent country into two entities. Our men and women in the military have protected our freedom and our interests and defended our principles. Do we want to place our soldiers in harms' way to defend the compromise of our principles? We must also ask whether or not any settlement reached has been agreed to freely by the Bosnian government and without coercion. We are concerned about news reports that senior administration officials gained Bosnian government agreement on the first set of "Agreed Principles" by threatening a halt in NATO bombing. Finally, we must ask whether it would

not be more just and more wise to lift the arms embargo on Bosnia and Herzegovina, and allow the Bosnians to fight until there is a stable military balance -- the precondition for any settlement which would not require the deployment of thousands of American and NATO troops to police it.

Mr. President, we have serious concerns about the commitments you and your administration reportedly have made with respect to U.S. participation -- to include thousands of ground forces -- in enforcing a possible Bosnian peace settlement. We hope that you will begin to consult earnestly and forthrightly with the Congress in the very near future.

Sincerely,

John Warner	Don Ston
Paul Coburn	John Kyl
Bob Smith	Dick Lugar
Gene Helms	Frank Lautenberg
Al Swift ^{Bosnia}	Key Bailey Hutchinson

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
008. draft	Further Agreed Basic Principles. [with marginalia] (2 pages)	09/25/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - September 1995 (Late) [5]

2013-0687-F
vz2770

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]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
009a. memo	For Anthony Lake from Alexander Vershbow. Subject: Checklist for September 25 PC on Bosnia. Record ID: 9521108. (2 pages)	09/23/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - September 1995 (Late) [5]

2013-0687-F
vz2770

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]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DRAFT

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE

SUBJECT: Your Participation in Principals' Committee Meeting on Bosnia
September 25, 1995, 2:45-3:15 p.m.

Principals are meeting to review the latest developments in the negotiations on the eve of Tuesday's meeting of the three Balkan Foreign Ministers with the Contact Group, and to discuss planning for implementation of a peace settlement. Chris and Dick Holbrooke will participate in the meeting from New York via video link.

Negotiations: While the Bosnians are still haggling over final details, prospects are good for agreement on Tuesday on a set of "further agreed principles" for a settlement (draft at Tab A). These will round out the text agreed in Geneva on September 8. They set forth the institutions of the central government (rotating three-person presidency, parliament), identify their areas of responsibility, and establish rules for free elections under international supervision. While some points will be controversial, the new principles will help strengthen the case that the peace plan will not partition Bosnia.

Assuming agreement on the principles, the focus of our negotiating team's next round of shuttle diplomacy will be to draft a comprehensive peace agreement based on the principles and to press for agreement on the map. The most sensitive territorial issue will be the status of Sarajevo, which the Bosnians insist must be an undivided city under Federation control.

After another round of shuttling, it will likely be necessary to convene an international conference -- possibly as soon as mid-October -- with the three Balkan Presidents to resolve the most contentious issues and pave the way to a summit where the agreement would be signed. We have not decided whether to hold such a conference in the U.S. or in Europe.

Issues for discussion:

- Will the "further agreed principles" create an effective central government and prevent a formal partition?

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

12 10/1/2013

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

- What are the weak points in the new paper?
- How soon will it be necessary or desirable to move to an international conference?
- Now that the battle lines have stabilized in western Bosnia, is this the time to press for a 1- or 2-month cessation of hostilities?

Implementation Planning: Shali will brief Principals on the status of U.S. and NATO planning for peace plan implementation. The NATO Military Authorities have been tasked to complete a draft OPLAN by the end of the month. This will give a clearer sense of the overall troop requirements -- although, even then, we will need to know the final terms of the settlement before hard figures can be established. Shali told Principals last week that he favors following the Haiti model, i.e. inserting a large and heavily-equipped force at the very outset in order to deter non-compliance by the parties, but then phasing down the force quickly once stable conditions have been established. The NATO-led force would withdraw completely at the end of one year. Still to be worked out are arrangements for associating the Russians and other non-NATO forces with the implementation force (IFOR) while preserving a single chain of command.

Following your departure, Principals will also review planning for implementation of the non-military aspects of a settlement (return of refugees, humanitarian aid, supervising elections, setting up governmental institutions, protecting human rights, etc.). We envisage appointing a senior statesman who would coordinate among the various international agencies involved. He would maintain liaison with the NATO military commander but have no dual key.

Issues for discussion:

- Are we and our Allies in basic agreement on the concept for military implementation of the peace plan? Rules of engagement and command and control?
- When will we need to decide the level of U.S. participation?
- How soon after signature of a peace settlement will we be able to deploy U.S. forces to Bosnia?

Attachment

Tab A Draft of Further Agreed Principles

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
009b. draft	Implementation Structure in a Bosnian Settlement. (8 pages)	09/20/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - September 1995 (Late) [5]

2013-0687-F
vz2770

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]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
009c. draft	Confidence Building/Arms Control. (2 pages)	09/20/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - September 1995 (Late) [5]

2013-0687-F

vz2770

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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 Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
009d. draft	Further Agreed Principles. (2 pages)	09/20/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - September 1995 (Late) [5]

2013-0687-F
vz2770

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]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

BOSNIA HILL CALLS

Beginning week of September 25: Principal calls, as part of process of keeping members informed over next few weeks:

State calls: Gilman, Hamilton, Smith, Hoyer, Helms, Pell, Lugar, Biden, Callahan, Livingston, McConnell, Leahy, Wilson, Obey, Rogers, Mollohan, Kassebaum, Dodd, Kerry, Gramm, Hollings, Hyde, Mikulski, Feinstein and Moran.

DoD calls: Spence, Dellums, Young, Murtha, Thurmond, Nunn, Stevens, Inouye, Levin, Lieberman, Cohen, Warner, McCain, Byrd, Exon.

NSC calls: Dole, Daschle, Specter, Kerrey, Gingrich, Gephardt, Armey, Bonior, DeLay, Combest, Dicks.

Suggested List for Leadership Meeting on Bosnia:

Dole, Daschle, Byrd, Hatfield, McConnell, Leahy, Stevens, Inouye, Gramm, Hollings, Helms, Pell, Lugar, Biden, Thurmond, Nunn, Specter, Kerrey

Other Senate possibilities: Exon, Levin

Gingrich, Gephardt, Livingston, Obey, Callahan, Wilson, Young, Murtha, Rogers, Mollohan, Gilman, Hamilton, Spence, Dellums, Combest, Dicks

Other House possibilities: Hoyer, Neumann

Suggested Administration Representatives:

POTUS, VPOTUS, Secretaries of State and Defense, General Shali, Ambassador Albright, Leon Panetta, Tony Lake, Sandy Berger, Leon Fuerth, Pat Griffin, Al Maldon, Bill Danvers, Wendy Sherman and Sandi Stuart.