Extent

183 folders, approximately 10,074 pages

Summary

This collection consists of records from the files of Alexander Vershbow related to Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1994 to early 1996. The collection includes documents previously declassified as part of the Central Intelligence Agency’s program “Bosnia, Intelligence, and the Clinton Presidency: The Role of Intelligence and Political Leadership in Ending the Bosnian War.” It also includes several publicly released United Nations Security Council decisions regarding the former Yugoslavia as well as a number of recently declassified Summaries of Conclusions of Principals Committee and Deputies Committee meetings on Bosnia. The files also contain letters, memos, and drafts related to former President Jimmy Carter’s efforts to achieve a cease fire agreement in Bosnia.

Scope and Content Note

The materials in FOIA 2013-0687-F are a selective body of documents responsive to the topic of the FOIA. Researchers should consult the archivist about related materials. This Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request was for all the records of Alexander Vershbow related to Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1994 and 1995. The remainder of Vershbow’s files will be opened at a future date in FOIA 2016-0156-F. This collection dates from early 1994 to September 1996. Open records in this FOIA include documents previously declassified as part of the Central Intelligence Agency’s program “Bosnia, Intelligence, and the Clinton Presidency: The Role of Intelligence and Political Leadership in Ending the Bosnian War.” It also includes administrative paperwork such as profile sheets and tracking documents. It includes several publicly released United Nations Security Council decisions regarding the former Yugoslavia. The collection also includes a number of recently declassified Summaries of Conclusions of Principals Committee and Deputies Committee

meetings on Bosnia. The collection also includes letters, memos, and drafts related to former President Jimmy Carter's efforts to achieve a cease fire agreement in Bosnia. As this collection deals largely with issues of foreign policy and national security a significant portion of the records are closed for reasons of national security. Communism collapsed in the late 1980s and the republics that made up Yugoslavia declared independence in the early 1990s. Slovenia and Croatia were first to declare independence in 1991 followed by Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. As one author notes, "From 1989 onwards the neighboring nationalisms of Serbia and Croatia had become intimidating presences, with the ultimate ambitions of Milosevic and Tudjman barely concealed." (Malcolm, 217) Religious and political differences quickly led to war between Serbia and Croatia. This nationalist, or ethnic, war spilled over the border into Bosnia which had long been the home of very diverse populations. The Serbs, led by Slobodan Milosevic, fought to create a Greater Serbia. In the summer of 1992 it became clear that Serb forces operated numerous detention facilities and were engaged in a large-scale massacre of Bosniak Muslims. During the presidential campaign of 1992 then Governor Clinton turned the situation in Bosnia Herzegovina into a critique of George H. W. Bush's foreign policy. He claimed that Bush was not doing enough to stop the genocide and human rights abuses. Clinton called for lifting the arms embargo and for establishing a no-fly zone with the potential for air strikes as punitive measures. Immediately following his election President Clinton established the guidelines to study the issue of humanitarian aid and military role in the former Yugoslavia. Presidential Review Determination 1 (PRD/NSC-1) was signed on January 22, 1993. It was the only PRD or PDD directly related to the former Yugoslavia or Bosnia-Herzegovina. The war continued with Serbs, Bosniaks, Croats, and separatist Islamic groups fighting to control their own portion of the former Yugoslavia. Alexander Vershbow, sometimes referred to as Sandy, came to the White House with tremendous experience in European affairs. From 1991 to June 1993 he was a member of the United States mission to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), serving as Deputy Chief of Mission, Deputy U.S. Permanent Representative to the Council of North Atlantic Organizations, and as Acting U.S. Permanent Representative. When chosen for the National Security Council, Vershbow was Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs at the Department of State. Vershbow began his position as Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for European Affairs, National Security Council in June 1994. He remained in this position until nominated by President Clinton to serve as

U.S. Permanent Representative on the Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization on September 8, 1997. During Vershbow's tenure as Senior Director of European Affairs, the situation in Bosnia grew from nationalist rhetoric to outright war. In early 1994 the United States worked diplomatically and succeeded in the establishment of a Bosniak-Croat Federation. This federation never really amounted to anything more than signatures on paper and war quickly broke out. By May the United States, Britain, France, Germany, and Russia—the Contact Group—were again working on a diplomatic effort to stop the fighting. In July and August of 1994 the United States worked diligently toward the acceptance of the Contact Group 51/49 plan. This plan gave 51 percent of the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina to the Bosnian Federation and 49 percent to the Serbs. None of the fighting parties saw this as a viable solution. Former President Jimmy Carter held a series of negotiations that led to a four month cease-fire agreement in December 1994. Unfortunately within days Serb shelling of Bihac quickly brought an end to this agreement, though it did slow the fighting. The fighting intensified in 1995, artillery barrages in May caused significant casualties among innocent civilians. Peacekeepers were regularly kidnapped and held hostage. The United Nations and NATO were slow to offer any resistance, if they offered any at all, and Bosnian Serb General, Ratko Mladic took advantage in July. The Serbs attacked a number of UN safe havens capturing them in a matter of days. It became quickly apparent that the majority of refugees from these safe havens were female. "The [International Committee of the Red Cross] noticed that 90 percent of [the arriving refugees] were women, children, and elderly men," writes author, Richard Sale. Sale further notes, "this was disconcerting and puzzling, since it meant roughly between ten thousand and twenty thousand people, mainly young males, were missing" (131). The Croatian army began an intense offensive in August 1995 sweeping across territory lost to Serb forces in 1991. The brutality of the war in 1995 and the crushing defeat of Serb forces drove Milosevic to the negotiating table once again. August, September, and into the fall, diplomatic teams were in seemingly constant negotiation to find an end to the war. The culmination of the negotiations was the signing of the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, more commonly called the Dayton Accords, in December 1995.

Record Type

Textual

System of Arrangement

Records that were responsive to this request were found in these collection areas—Clinton Presidential Records: Staff and Office Files. Staff and Office files were maintained at the folder level by staff members within their individual offices and document all levels of administration activity. A special note regarding arrangement: Vershbow maintained his records primarily in chronological order. Typically FOIA requests are arranged alphabetically. In an effort to best preserve Vershbow's original order the first two boxes of this collection are topical while the remainder are chronological. Of note too is that Vershbow or his assistant mistakenly filed September 1996 records as September 1995 records. The files are in boxes 12 and 13; the files are named Bosnia – September 1995 [1] to [7] and are from OA/ID 851. While not responsive to the request it was decided by the processing archivist to maintain the mistake as a reflection of original order.

Access

Collection is open to all researchers. Access to Clinton Presidential Records is governed by the Presidential Records Act (PRA) (44 U.S.C. Chapter 22, as amended) and the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) (5 U.S.C. 552, as amended) and therefore records may be restricted in whole or in part in accordance with legal exemptions.

Copyright

Documents in this collection that were prepared by officials of the United States government as part of their official duties are in the public domain. Researchers are advised to consult the copyright law of the United States (17 U.S.C. Chapter 1) which governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material.

Provenance

Official records of William Jefferson Clinton’s presidency are housed at the Clinton Presidential Library and administered by the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) under the provisions of the Presidential Records Act (PRA).

Processed by

Staff Archivist, 2014. Previously restricted materials are added as they are released.

Last Modified Date

2016-07-08

Container List

The following is a list of documents and folders processed in response to 2013-0687-F:
Box 1
Clinton Presidential Records: White House Staff and Office Files
National Security Council
European Affairs
Alexander Vershbow
9504958 [Loose] [1] [OA/ID 1076]
9504958 [Loose] [2] [OA/ID 1076]
9504958 [Loose] [3] [OA/ID 1076]
9504958 [Loose] [4] [OA/ID 1076]
Bosnia and Bihac, November 1994 [1] [OA/ID 850]
Bosnia and Bihac, November 1994 [2] [OA/ID 850]
Bosnia and Bihac, November 1994 [3] [OA/ID 850]
Bosnia and Bihac, November 1994 [4] [OA/ID 850]
Bosnia and Bihac, November 1994 [5] [OA/ID 850]
Bosnia and Bihac, November 1994 [6] [OA/ID 850]
Box 2
Bosnia Post-Bihac (Mid-Nov. – Early-Dec. 1994) [1] [OA/ID 850]
Bosnia Post-Bihac (Mid-Nov. – Early-Dec. 1994) [2] [OA/ID 850]

Bosnia Post-Bihac (Mid-Nov. – Early-Dec. 1994) [3] [OA/ID 850]
Bosnia Post-Bihac (Mid-Nov. – Early-Dec. 1994) [4] [OA/ID 850]
Bosnia Post-Bihac (Mid-Nov. – Early-Dec. 1994) [5] [OA/ID 850]
Bosnia Post-Bihac (Mid-Nov. – Early-Dec. 1994) [6] [OA/ID 850]
Bosnia Post-Bihac (Mid-Nov. – Early-Dec. 1994) [7] [OA/ID 850]
Bosnia Post-Bihac (Mid-Nov. – Early-Dec. 1994): Bosnia DC 12/23/1994 [1] [OA/ID 850]
Bosnia Post-Bihac (Mid-Nov. – Early-Dec. 1994): Bosnia DC 12/23/1994 [2] [OA/ID 850]
Bosnia Post-Bihac (Mid-Nov. – Early-Dec. 1994): Bosnia DC 12/23/1994 [3] [OA/ID 850]
Bosnia Post-Bihac (Mid-Nov. – Early-Dec. 1994): Bosnia DC 12/23/1994 [4] [OA/ID 850]
Bosnia – Old Papers [Empty] [OA/ID 898]
Operation Joint Endeavour [Loose] [OA/ID 1076]
Box 3
Bosnia 1994 [OA/ID 1073]
Bosnia 1994: December (Late) [1] [OA/ID 1073]
Bosnia 1994: December (Late) [2] [OA/ID 1073]
Bosnia 1994: December (Late) [3] [OA/ID 1073]
Bosnia 1994: Lift [Arms Embargo] [1] [OA/ID 1073]
Bosnia 1994: Lift [Arms Embargo] [2] [OA/ID 1073]
Bosnia 1994: Lift [Arms Embargo] [3] [OA/ID 1073]
Bosnia 1994: Principals Committee 8/10 [1] [OA/ID 1073]
Bosnia 1994: Principals Committee 8/10 [2] [OA/ID 1073]
Bosnia 1994: Principals Committee 8/10 [3] [OA/ID 1073]
Bosnia 1994: Principals Committee 8/10 [4] [OA/ID 1073]
Bosnia 1994: Principals Committee 8/17 [1] [OA/ID 1073]
Bosnia 1994: Principals Committee 8/17 [2] [OA/ID 1073]
Bosnia 1994: Principals Committee 8/17 [3] [OA/ID 1073]
Box 4
Bosnia 1994: Principals Committee 8/17 [4] [OA/ID 1073]
Bosnia 1994: Principals Committee 8/17 [5] [OA/ID 1073]
Bosnia – July 1994 [1] [OA/ID 851]
Bosnia – July 1994 [2] [OA/ID 851]
Bosnia – July 1994 [3] [OA/ID 851]
Bosnia – July 1994 [4] [OA/ID 851]

Bosnia – July 1994: Not the Latest [1] [OA/ID 851]
Bosnia – July 1994: Not the Latest [2] [OA/ID 851]
Bosnia – July 1994: Not the Latest [3] [OA/ID 851]
Bosnia – July 1994: Not the Latest [4] [OA/ID 851]
Bosnia – July 30, 1994 (Contact Group Ministerial) [1] [OA/ID 851]
Bosnia – July 30, 1994 (Contact Group Ministerial) [2] [OA/ID 851]
Bosnia – July 30, 1994 (Contact Group Ministerial) [3] [OA/ID 851]
Bosnia – July 30, 1994 (Contact Group Ministerial) [4] [OA/ID 851]
Box 5
Bosnia – October 1994 [Folder 1] [1] [OA/ID 851]
Bosnia – October 1994 [Folder 1] [2] [OA/ID 851]
Bosnia – October 1994 [Folder 1] [3] [OA/ID 851]
Bosnia – October 1994 [Folder 1]: Principals Committee 9/13 [1] [OA/ID 851]
Bosnia – October 1994 [Folder 1]: Principals Committee 9/13 [2] [OA/ID 851]
Bosnia – October 1994 [Folder 1]: Principals Committee 9/13 [3] [OA/ID 851]
Bosnia – October 1994 [Folder 1]: Principals Committee 9/13 [4] [OA/ID 851]
Bosnia – October 1994 [Folder 2] [1] [OA/ID 851]
Bosnia – October 1994 [Folder 2] [2] [OA/ID 851]
Bosnia – October 1994 [Folder 2] [3] [OA/ID 851]
Bosnia – October 1994 [Folder 2] [4] [OA/ID 851]
Bosnia – October 1994 [Folder 2] [5] [OA/ID 851]
Box 6
Bosnia – January 1995 [1] [OA/ID 850]
Bosnia – January 1995 [2] [OA/ID 850]
Bosnia – January 1995 [3] [OA/ID 850]
Bosnia – January 1995 [4] [OA/ID 850]
Bosnia – January 1995 [5] [OA/ID 850]
Bosnia – January 1995 [6] [OA/ID 850]
Bosnia – January 1995 [7] [OA/ID 850]
Bosnia – January 1995 [8] [OA/ID 850]
Bosnia – February 1995 [1] [OA/ID 850]
Bosnia – February 1995 [2] [OA/ID 850]
Bosnia – February 1995 [3] [OA/ID 850]
Bosnia – February 1995 [4] [OA/ID 850]
Box 7
Bosnia – February 1995 [5] [OA/ID 850]
Bosnia – February 1995 [6] [OA/ID 850]

Bosnia – February 1995 [7] [OA/ID 850]
Bosnia – February 1995 [8] [OA/ID 850]
Bosnia – March 1995 [1] [OA/ID 898]
Bosnia – March 1995 [2] [OA/ID 898]
Bosnia – March 1995 [3] [OA/ID 898]
Bosnia – March 1995 [4] [OA/ID 898]
Bosnia – March 1995 [5] [OA/ID 898]
Bosnia – March 1995 [6] [OA/ID 898]
Bosnia – March 1995 [7] [OA/ID 898]
Bosnia – March 1995: Inter-Serbia Sanctions [1] [OA/ID 898]
Box 8
Bosnia – March 1995: Inter-Serbia Sanctions [2] [OA/ID 898]
Bosnia – March 1995: Late March [1] [OA/ID 898]
Bosnia – March 1995: Late March [2] [OA/ID 898]
Bosnia – March 1995: Late March [3] [OA/ID 898]
Bosnia – March 1995: Late March [4] [OA/ID 898]
Bosnia – April 1995 [1] [OA/ID 898]
Bosnia – April 1995 [2] [OA/ID 898]
Bosnia – April 1995 [3] [OA/ID 898]
Bosnia – April 1995 [4] [OA/ID 898]
Bosnia – April 1995: DC/PC 04/27-28 [1] [OA/ID 898]
Bosnia – April 1995: DC/PC 04/27-28 [2] [OA/ID 898]
Bosnia – April 1995: DC/PC 04/27-28 [3] [OA/ID 898]
Bosnia – April 1995: DC/PC 04/27-28 [4] [OA/ID 898]
Box 9
Bosnia – May 1995: Early [1] [OA/ID 897]
Bosnia – May 1995: Early [2] [OA/ID 897]
Bosnia – May 1995: Early [3] [OA/ID 897]
Bosnia – May 1995: Early [4] [OA/ID 897]
Bosnia – May 1995: Mid.-Late [1] [OA/ID 897]
Bosnia – May 1995: Mid.-Late [2] [OA/ID 897]
Bosnia – May 1995: Mid.-Late [3] [OA/ID 897]
Bosnia – May 1995: Mid.-Late [4] [OA/ID 897]
Bosnia – May 1995: Mid.-Late [5] [OA/ID 897]
Bosnia – May 1995: Mid.-Late [6] [OA/ID 897]
Bosnia – May 1995: Mid.-Late [7] [OA/ID 897]
Bosnia – June 1995: Early [1] [OA/ID 897]

Bosnia – June 1995: Early [2] [OA/ID 897]
Box 10
Bosnia – June 1995: Early [3] [OA/ID 897]
Bosnia – June 1995: Early [4] [OA/ID 897]
Bosnia – June 1995: Early [5] [OA/ID 897]
Bosnia – June 1995: Early [6] [OA/ID 897]
Bosnia – June 1995: Mid.-Late [1] [OA/ID 897]
Bosnia – June 1995: Mid.-Late [2] [OA/ID 897]
Bosnia – June 1995: Mid.-Late [3] [OA/ID 897]
Bosnia – June 1995: Mid.-Late [4] [OA/ID 897]
Bosnia – June 1995: Mid.-Late [5] [OA/ID 897]
Bosnia – June 1995: Mid.-Late [6] [OA/ID 897]
Bosnia – June 1995: Mid.-Late [7] [OA/ID 897]
Bosnia – June 1995: Mid.-Late [8] [OA/ID 897]
Box 11
Bosnia – July 1995 (Early July) [1] [OA/ID 897]
Bosnia – July 1995 (Early July) [2] [OA/ID 897]
Bosnia – July 1995 (Early July) [3] [OA/ID 897]
Bosnia – July 1995 (Mid.-July) [1] [OA/ID 897]
Bosnia – July 1995 (Mid.-July) [2] [OA/ID 897]
Bosnia – July 1995 (Mid.-July) [3] [OA/ID 897]
Bosnia – July 1995 (Mid.-July) [4] [OA/ID 897]
Bosnia – July 1995: Mid.-Late [1] [OA/ID 896]
Bosnia – July 1995: Mid.-Late [2] [OA/ID 896]
Bosnia – July 1995: Mid.-Late [3] [OA/ID 896]
Bosnia – July 1995: Mid.-Late [4] [OA/ID 896]
Bosnia – July 1995: Mid.-Late [5] [OA/ID 896]
Bosnia – July 1995: End July-Early August [1] [OA/ID 896]
Bosnia – July 1995: End July-Early August [2] [OA/ID 896]
Bosnia – July 1995: End July-Early August [3] [OA/ID 896]
Bosnia – July 1995: End July-Early August [4] [OA/ID 896]
Bosnia, July 1995, Late-Early August: Carl Bildt Visit [OA/ID 897]
Bosnia – August 1995: Early [1] [OA/ID 896]
Box 12
Bosnia – August 1995: Early [2] [OA/ID 896]
Bosnia – August 1995: Early [3] [OA/ID 896]
Bosnia – August 1995: Early [4] [OA/ID 896]

Bosnia – August 1995: Late [1] [OA/ID 896]
Bosnia – August 1995: Late [2] [OA/ID 896]
Bosnia – August 1995: Late [3] [OA/ID 896]
Bosnia – August 1995: Late [4] [OA/ID 896]
Bosnia – August 1995: Late [5] [OA/ID 896]
Bosnia – September 1995 [1] [OA/ID 851]
Bosnia – September 1995 [2] [OA/ID 851]
Bosnia – September 1995 [3] [OA/ID 851]
Bosnia – September 1995 [4] [OA/ID 851]
Box 13
Bosnia – September 1995 [5] [OA/ID 851]
Bosnia – September 1995 [6] [OA/ID 851]
Bosnia – September 1995 [7] [OA/ID 851]
Bosnia – September 1995: Early [1] [OA/ID 851]
Bosnia – September 1995: Early [2] [OA/ID 851]
Bosnia – September 1995: Early [3] [OA/ID 851]
Bosnia – September 1995 (Early) [1] [OA/ID 896]
Bosnia – September 1995 (Early) [2] [OA/ID 896]
Bosnia – September 1995 (Early): Early Sept. [1] [OA/ID 896]
Bosnia – September 1995 (Early): Early Sept. [2] [OA/ID 896]
Bosnia – September 1995 (Early): Early Sept. [3] [OA/ID 896]
Bosnia – September 1995 (Early): Early Sept. [4] [OA/ID 896]
Box 14
Bosnia – September 1995 (Early): Early Sept. [5] [OA/ID 896]
Bosnia – September 1995 (Early): Early-Mid. [1] [OA/ID 896]
Bosnia – September 1995 (Early): Early-Mid. [2] [OA/ID 896]
Bosnia – September 1995 (Early): Early-Mid. [3] [OA/ID 896]
Bosnia – September 1995 (Early): Early-Mid. [4] [OA/ID 896]
Bosnia – September 1995 (Early): Early-Mid. [5] [OA/ID 896]
Bosnia – September 1995 (Early): Early-Mid. [6] [OA/ID 896]
Bosnia – September 1995 (Early): Early-Mid. [7] [OA/ID 896]
Bosnia – September 1995 (Late) [1] [OA/ID 896]
Bosnia – September 1995 (Late) [2] [OA/ID 896]
Bosnia – September 1995 (Late) [3] [OA/ID 896]
Bosnia – September 1995 (Late) [4] [OA/ID 896]
Box 15
Bosnia – September 1995 (Late) [5] [OA/ID 896]

Bosnia – September 1995 (Late) [6] [OA/ID 896]
Bosnia – September 1995 (Late) [7] [OA/ID 896]
Bosnia – September 1995 (Late) [8] [OA/ID 896]