

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
Jackson, Wyoming
August 28, 1995

Dear Mr. Leader:

I have received your letter expressing your deep concerns about our recent diplomatic initiatives to bring an end to the Balkan conflict. We share a common desire to see a durable peace achieved throughout the Balkans. I launched our new diplomatic initiative out of a conviction that developments on the ground have created real opportunities for us to break the diplomatic stalemate and avoid yet another round of bloodshed.

The team I sent to Europe earlier this month, led by Anthony Lake, found the Europeans firmly supportive of our proposal and our leadership. The Lake team carried a bold new initiative for peace. Building on the results of the Lake mission, I then asked Assistant Secretary Richard Holbrooke to travel to the former Yugoslav states, where he has had encouraging preliminary consultations.

We all are deeply saddened by the death last Saturday of three members of that team, Ambassador Robert Frasure, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Joseph Kruzal and Colonel Nelson Drew. Nonetheless, we intend to persevere in our efforts to achieve a just and lasting peace in the Balkans and are exploring with the parties ideas that include carrots and sticks designed to encourage an early settlement consistent with the principles of the Contact Group plan.

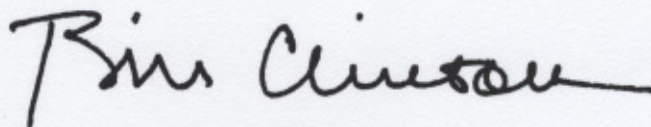
As we have briefed your staff, sanctions remain a critical source of leverage with Serbia in achieving a comprehensive settlement. Thus, we are proposing suspension of a broad range of sanctions -- not full lifting as your letter states -- only if there is agreement on a political settlement in Bosnia.

With regard to your concern over Kosovo, we have already expressed to Milosevic our concern that large-scale resettlement of Krajina Serbs in Kosovo would be a provocative act. Moreover, Belgrade is well aware of the U.S. commitment, which I have reaffirmed, to take action against Serbia in response to Serb-inspired violence in Kosovo. While some Krajina Serbs have moved into Kosovo, others are resisting efforts to resettle them in the

province. We are watching the situation closely. Our position on Kosovo has not changed. We continue to support restoration of autonomy and full respect for the human and civil rights of the people of Kosovo. Furthermore, we will not support full reintegration of Serbia into the international community until a solution for Kosovo is achieved. Our ultimate goal is to achieve a comprehensive settlement that enhances regional stability and provides for economic reconstruction, which is the prerequisite for long-term harmony among states in the region.

I hope this elaboration of our policy makes clear that we have no intention of easing the existing sanctions against Serbia until there is a peace settlement in Bosnia. Our objective here is the achievement of a just peace agreement. While I disagree with your approach of unilateral lift of the arms embargo, I understand that its ultimate purpose is to restore a balance of power that also will lead to negotiations and or peace settlement. I believe we must seize this moment to see if we can achieve a fair and durable settlement now, without another year or more of escalating fighting. I would hope that you will give that effort a full and unencumbered opportunity to be tested and your strong support if it is successful.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Bill Clinton". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal stroke at the end.

The Honorable Robert Dole
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510