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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 22, 1995 95 NOV 22 A 7:43

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-22-95INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

ANTHONY LAKE *AL*Approved for Release CIA
Historical Collections Division
AR 70-14 1OCT2013

SUBJECT:

Your Participation in Principals' Committee Meeting
on Bosnia, November 22, 1995, 10:45-11:45 a.m.

Principals are meeting with the U.S. negotiating team to receive a report on the peace agreement and to discuss the immediate steps needed to follow up. We suggest you attend the first part of the meeting to thank the negotiators personally for their efforts and hear their read-out and assessment of the tasks ahead. Principals then will tackle a long list of issues (attached) relating to the IFOR, Congressional consultations, and civilian implementation. You may want to participate in a portion of this discussion, which will include options for your personal involvement.

Dayton Follow-up: In the coming days, we will see whether the parties remain committed to the peace agreement and are able to deal with domestic critics of its terms. The biggest question mark is the Bosnian Serbs. They refused to initial the documents in Dayton because they had no say in the negotiation of the map, but they agreed Milosevic could be "guarantor" of their compliance. The Bosnian Serbs must sign the final agreement in Paris, and we have put the onus on Milosevic to deliver Pale in the next few weeks.

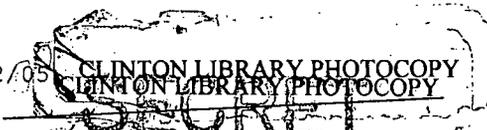
IFOR Planning and Congress: We are working with Shali and George Joulwan to speed up NATO planning so that you can be briefed on the final OPLAN early next week. That would permit you to make your final decision on U.S. participation and request Congressional support, after which roughly two weeks of intensive Hill consultations would begin leading to a vote in the Senate and House. We will work to ensure that the Paris conference is scheduled at a point that allows Congress to give the agreement and military plan a thorough examination, and permits us to make our case for U.S. involvement. At the same time, the Paris conference will set a time limit on Congressional deliberations. In the run-up to Paris, we expect the UN will pass a resolution endorsing the IFOR mission.

Civilian Implementation: In addition to IFOR, we have been planning for the range of civilian tasks that will be essential to the success of the peace agreement: economic reconstruction; organizing elections and protecting human rights; monitoring of

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cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

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civilian police; assisting in return of refugees; and implementing an arms reduction regime. The OSCE, UN, EU and IFIs will be responsible for different aspects of this program. At the planned London Conference, to be held sometime in December, a structure will be established to coordinate these civilian efforts, with the G-7 plus Russia and the OIC Presidency likely to serve as the steering group. A "High Representative" (possibly Carl Bildt) will be named as senior coordinator on the scene; we are seeking to have an American as his principal deputy.

Your Involvement: There are a number of issues regarding your involvement, including: key calls over the weekend (e.g. Bush, Thatcher, Powell); Oval Office address before next week's European trip; Congressional "Big 40" meeting before the trip; timing of key military decisions; how to convey the request for Congressional support and whether you should address a joint session of Congress; whether you should attend the final signing of the peace agreement in Paris; whether you should visit U.S. troops who will take part in IFOR during next week's trip.

Issues for discussion:

- What are the potential fault lines in the agreement?
- How committed are the parties to making the central government institutions work?
- What are we expecting Milosevic to do to deliver the Bosnian Serbs between now and the Paris conference? How do we respond to their belligerent statements in the meantime?
- What is required from the Bosnian Serbs between now and Paris for us to go forward with IFOR deployment?
- Can we finalize the NATO OPLAN early next week? Are there any serious differences to resolve with key Allies (e.g. robust ROE)?
- Do we need to preposition significant U.S. forces before signature? How will this affect Congressional support for the IFOR mission?
- How will we come to closure on Russian participation in IFOR?
- Which civilian implementation tasks are most critical to the success of the settlement?
- Status of UN resolutions (lift of arms embargo and sanctions suspension as early as Wednesday; endorsement of implementation mission later).

Attachment

Tab A Dayton Follow-up: Checklist for November 22 PC Meeting

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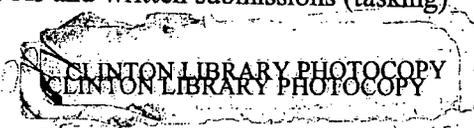
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DAYTON FOLLOW-UP: CHECKLIST FOR NOVEMBER 22 PCI. IFOR Issues

- Enabling force (How many U.S. troops? When? POTUS approval?)
- Reservists? Timing for call-up? POTUS approval?
- NATO IFOR approval timetable/Timetable for U.S. approval
 - Designation of U.S. forces
 - Finalizing military planning
 - Military Committee
 - POTUS update/instruction to Hunter
 - NAC Approval
 - Joulwan briefing of POTUS on final plan
 - POTUS approval/request to Congress
 - ACTORD
 - Signing
 - Deployment
- Policy issues requiring further guidance or follow-up in NATO:
 - Clear mission statement/measures of success
 - Duration of operation
 - IFOR presence in Serb territory
 - IFOR presence on international border
 - Other issues in military annex affecting IFOR mission?
 - Conditions on ground before deployment?
 - NATO funding
- Russian participation: Next steps

II. Congress

- Form of "request" for Congressional support?
- Timing of request
- Appropriations (for IFOR and civilian aspects)?
- Time limit on Congressional debate/deadline?
- POTUS address to Congress?
- How many U.S. troops: in Bosnia? related to Bosnia?
- Congressional Qs & As and written submissions (tasking)



III. International Conferences

- Date of Paris peace conference.
- Relationship to NAC timetable/Congressional timetable?
- Other subjects for Paris conference?
- London implementation conference: Timing? Level of representation? Scope?
- Possible Moscow conference: Timing? Agenda?

IV. UN

- Status of resolutions on sanctions suspension and lifting of arms embargo
- Resolution authorizing military and civilian implementation:
 - Form (one or two resolutions? endorsement vs. authorization?)
 - Timing (vis-à-vis NATO, Congress and conference timetables)?

V. Peace Agreement Issues

- Civilian implementation issues:
 - Civilian implementation structure (to be established in London): G-7 plus Russia/OIC as steering group?
 - Choice of High Representative (Bildt?). U.S. and Russian deputies?
 - Police Task Force: Concept, U.S. role, relationship to UN, next steps?
 - Economic Reconstruction Program: next steps? pledging conference in December?
 - Human rights/elections: Status of OSCE planning?
 - Arms Control/CBMs: Bonn conference, follow-up negotiations, implementation of cantonment areas?
- Equip/train: next steps, U.S. role, status of possible side-letter for Izetbegovic?
- Brcko arbitration - follow-up?
- Next steps vis-à-vis Karadzic/Mladic?
- Steps to help influence Bosnian Serb follow-through?
- Completion of Bosnia Implementation Plan (ExComm)

VI. President's Trip to Europe

- Visit troops
- Other scheduling issues?

VII. Eastern Slavonia

- Mandate for new peacekeeping force (augmented UNCRO, with Russians and Belgians?)
- Civilian implementation: Response to Croatian request for U.S. head of transitional administration?

