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THE WHITE HOUSE

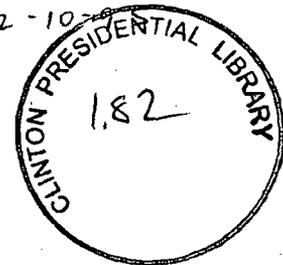
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

WASHINGTON

December 7, 1995

INFORMATION

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE

SUBJECT: Conclusions of December 5 Principals Committee
Meeting on Bosnia

Principals met Tuesday to address a number of the remaining bumps in the road from Dayton to Paris, including: handling of the Dole resolution on IFOR; eliminating threats from the mujahedin and the Iranians; addressing the security concerns of the Serb population of Sarajevo; and ensuring that the Bosnian Serbs will comply with the terms of the Dayton agreement.

Congressional Resolutions: Principals reviewed the draft text of Dole's resolution. They agreed we should try to get rid of the offensive language in the preamble, which characterizes the Dayton agreement as "ratification of ethnic cleansing," but we should focus our efforts on modifying the operative paragraphs. In particular, we will want to scale back Dole's efforts to commit us to "lead" rather than "coordinate" international efforts to equip and train Bosnian forces. Principals agreed that we could live with a requirement to report to the Congress within 30 days on efforts to equip and train the Bosnians, but not in impractical detail. They also agreed that we could accept a requirement to report regularly on IFOR's mission, rules of engagement, costs and exit strategy.

Eliminating Mujahedin and Iranian Threats: Principals agreed we must press the Bosnians more firmly on the need not only to remove foreign military and paramilitary forces as required by the Dayton agreement but also to break their military links and operational intelligence cooperation with Iran. Dick Holbrooke will travel to Sarajevo on Friday to deliver a strong message along these lines, stressing the risks that Tehran-backed terrorist groups pose to our troops and to our larger interests. John Deutch has agreed that we can present some of our intelligence about Iranian activities inside Bosnia so that Izetbegovic will have no doubt about the depth of our concern. Dick will make clear that our readiness to help the Bosnians -- both militarily and economically -- will be jeopardized if the Bosnians do not break the Iranian connection.

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Security for Serbs in Sarajevo: A second aspect of Holbrooke's mission to Sarajevo will be to encourage the Bosnians to take immediate, concrete steps to reassure the Serb population of Sarajevo that their security will be protected when they come under Federation control. We want to avoid a mass exodus of Serbs from the capital as the first fruit of the Dayton agreement. Among the steps that Dick will recommend include: delaying the deployment of Federation military forces to former Serb areas (which would be permitted after 90 days), with IFOR maintaining a presence; phasing in gradually the introduction of Muslim police and establishing a multiethnic police force under international supervision; forming a transitional city government with multiethnic representation; and establishing a local human rights commission. For our part, we will try to accelerate the deployment to Sarajevo of international police advisors and human rights monitors even before they are deployed country-wide. While these steps will not in themselves be enough to discourage all Serbs from leaving the capital, we believe that this is an important opportunity for Izetbegovic to demonstrate his commitment to preserving a unified, multiethnic Bosnia.

Ensuring Bosnian Serb Acceptance of the Agreement: The most critical subject on the Principals' agenda was how we can be sure that the Bosnian Serbs have accepted the terms of the agreement and are committed to implementing its provisions. The recent demonstrations and statements by Mladic and Karadzic have cast doubt on Milosevic's ability to deliver the Bosnian Serbs by the time of Paris. We had always stressed that we will only deploy U.S. troops to Bosnia if there is a genuine peace agreement that all the parties have accepted and are committed to implementing. Principals agreed that we needed to press Milosevic to do more between now and Paris to rein in recalcitrant elements among the Bosnian Serbs, although we should not make any one action a deal-breaker. Holbrooke will go to Belgrade from Sarajevo to warn Milosevic that, if we are not convinced that the Bosnian Serbs are committed to complying with the agreement, we will have no choice but to reimpose sanctions.

Other Issues: Principals also reviewed the state of play in New York on the UN resolution that will grant authority to IFOR. Our aim is to have the resolution enacted no later than the day after Paris, so that there will be no delay in deployment of the main force. They also discussed implementation of the Eastern Slavonia agreement: we intend to appoint a retired U.S. military officer as head of the civilian administration, as Tudjman has requested; we are trying to find additional NATO countries to reinforce the existing Belgian and Russian battalions as the core of a UN peacekeeping force.

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