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> EURA-0014/93 8 February 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Deputies Committee Meeting on the Former Yugoslavia, 8 February 1993

- 1. The meeting focused on separate diplomatic, public/press, and Congressional strategies on the former Yugoslavia. In attendance were Berger (NSC), Fuerth (Vice President's office), Walker (NSC), Tarnoff (State), Wisner (OSD), Jeremiah (JCS), and the DDCI.
 - -- There was a minor role for intelligence in the meeting in what became largely an editorial exercise, but the more assertive policy under discussion portends a growing intelligence role in collection, monitoring, and military contingency planning.
- 2. Berger summarized the assumptions of US policy, which framed much of the discussion that followed:
 - -- The US government would work within the framework of the Vance-Owen initiative. There will no alternative American plan. The US must be seen as supporting an international, UN, NATO effort. But we will continue to uphold the principles of the London Conference, including the firm denunciation of territorial gains through ethnic cleansing. We will push hard for a better deal for the Muslims.
 - -- The US will not impose a settlement but will help to develop consensus among the three parties to the conflict. We need to "shape the Bosnian mind to make concessions", according to Frank Wisner. Others asserted that the Muslims now know they will have to settle for less than their current demands.
 - -- We are prepared to use diplomatic inducements and pressure--including tougher sanctions--to keep the parties engaged. Leon Fuerth is chairing an IWG on sanctions, which will complete a paper on tougher enforcement by COB 9 February, prior to the Principals Meeting on 10 February.

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- We will name a high-level US negotiator within the Vance-Owen framework, a respected diplomat but not of Vance's stature. Abramowitz, Armacost, and Ridgeway have turned down the offer. Hartman and Aaron will be pitched. The search is "not easy," according to Peter Tarnoff.
- -- We will intensify the US humanitarian initiative, improving our capabilities to collect information about the situation on the ground and to distribute food, clothing, and medicine. A proposal to send a fairly senior fact-finding team to Bosnia was approved in concept and will be developed.
- -- The US would not rule out military participation in UN enforcement of a peace settlement. Neither, however, would it help a military effort to "achieve" or impose a settlement.
- -- The US remains committed to containing the conflict within the former Yugoslavia, and will continue to talk tough with Milosevic about his need to show restraint in Kosovo.
- 3. The meeting turned to a lengthy discussion of a three-tiered approach to communicating new US policy on the former Yugoslavia: (a) Presidential phone calls, (b) letters from the Secretary of State, and (c) Ambassadorial talking points. A Presidential statement may follow and a speech by Warren Christopher will complete the cycle--all within the next week. Drafts for key foreign players were reviewed:
 - -- The Russians need special handling. Deputy Secretary Cliff Wharton was proposed as special emissary to meet with Yeltsin. Tarnoff said Christopher likes the idea.
 - -- Izetbeovic will likely get an invitation to meet in Washington with Tony Lake and then pass through the Oval Office.
 - -- With Boutros-Ghali, we need to stress the importance of NATO's role in enforcement but as a complement to a larger international effort to include the Russians. We recognize Yeltsin's vulnerability on Serbia, and will consult closely with him.
 - -- The demarche to Belgrade needs to be strengthened to include demands on closing detention camps, ending the size of Bosnian cities, and guaranteeing the "humanitarian life line."
- 4. Congressional Strategy. Lee Hamilton has asked Vance to come to Washington to meet with selected Congressmen.

Christopher will ask Vance to hold off until the policy review is completed this week.

- -- Berger proposed deleting the proposal to have the President summon key Congressional leaders to the White House to explain his Yugoslav policy. Too "imperial." All agreed.
- 5. Berger, on adjourning, invited members to review the late arriving drafts more carefully in the afternoon and call in proposed language changes to Ralph Johnson at State. The Deputies will meet again on 9 February at 0930 for final clearance.
 - -- CIA suggested that the President's letter to Izetbegovic might regret the "destruction of Bosnian towns and cities," rather than the "destruction of your nation."

John C. Gannon Director of European Analysis

Attachments: