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9 December 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence

FROM: Chief, DCI Interagency Balkan Task Force

SUBJECT: Principals' Committee Meeting on Bosnia  
12 December 1994

1. Welcome back! Monday's Principals-only meeting will be dominated by a discussion of how to sell US policy on Bosnia to the Congress and public. You will not be required to do an intelligence update. ☐

2. Admiral Studeman attended the last Bosnia PC on 2 December. He was enjoined not to provide a de-brief on the meeting, but indicated that it amounted to a brain-storming session on future policy options and the implications of committing US ground forces to help extricate UNPROFOR from Bosnia. President Clinton subsequently decided to provide the allies with a commitment, in principle, to provide ground forces "subject to US approval of the plan and further consultations with Congress."

- The US POLICY TAB includes the talking points Administration officials used this week in presenting the new US position to Congress.
- Other aspects of US policy include firm opposition to unilateral lifting of the arms embargo, support for a continued UNPROFOR presence in Bosnia and efforts to achieve a negotiated settlement, and a commitment to multilateral lift if the Serbs refuse to accept a cease-fire and negotiations. ☐

3. Monday's PC probably will also address more general issues, as opposed to how to respond to the particular crisis of the moment. These issues probably will include what types of threats UNPROFOR would face if it decides to withdraw, what can be done to encourage UNPROFOR to remain in Bosnia, how might NATO be drawn into the conflict if it goes in to extricate UNPROFOR, and should the US remain committed to multilateral lift.

- The NSC is concerned that political realities would make it difficult for NATO forces to simply stand by and do nothing while on the ground in Bosnia if the Serbs--in response to the UNPROFOR withdrawal and prospect that the arms embargo would be lifted--are in the process of "strangling" Sarajevo and overrunning the eastern enclaves .



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- As you know from past PCs, several of the Principals believe that multilateral lift is almost as bad as unilateral lift, and the issue could once again arise whether the US should abandon multilateral lift now.

4. In preparation for these general discussions, I recommend that you examine several background papers that the Task Force recently produced:

- The UNPROFOR WITHDRAWAL-PROSPECTS TAB includes a paper that looks at the circumstances that would lead UNPROFOR to withdraw. At the moment, most UNPROFOR members still want to remain in Bosnia despite all the recent press hoop-la to the contrary.
- The UNPROFOR WITHDRAWAL-THREATS TAB looks at how the Bosnian Serbs, Croats, and Muslims would respond to an UNPROFOR decision to withdraw. The paper concludes that the response would depend on what the parties thought would follow a pull-out (e.g. NATO airstrikes).

5. Principals probably will approve an aggressive strategy to influence Congress. The NSC believes that January will be a very tough month for the Administration on Bosnia policy, both in terms of dealing with the Congress and the international community. The White House expects to be confronted with a Congressional unilateral lift resolution. The US is also likely to be isolated internationally when--as is likely--it raises concerns about Serbian compliance with inter-Serbian sanctions when the 100-day review period ends in mid-January.

- You may want to reiterate the Intelligence Community's readiness to assist in briefing the new Congress on the serious implications of unilateral lift. At the moment, State and the NSC seem to be relying more on OSD/JCS to lead the charge. (The OSD/JCS briefing is supposed to be previewed at the meeting.)

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6. There are several other Balkan issues you should be aware of:

- The Task Force recently disseminated a paper on Croatian efforts to procure "long-range" rockets from Iran. This paper is included in the ARMS TRANSFER TAB, along with the latest information on arms shipments to the Muslims.
- The Belgrade media reported this week that the Krajina Serbs had shot down a UAV over UN Sector North. The UAV TAB includes some background materials on this incident, the Croatian UAV program, and on plans for our UAV.

7. At the <sup>1300</sup>1200 pre-brief on Monday, the Balkan Task Force will provide you with contingency talking points on more tactical issues that could arise, including military developments around Bihac and Livno, humanitarian developments, and intelligence on arms transfers.

A. Norman Schindler