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21 July 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR: Acting Director of Central Intelligence  
 FROM: Chief, DCI Interagency Balkan Task Force  
 SUBJECT: Deputies' Committee Meeting on Bosnia, 22  
 July 1995

1. We have not yet received a formal agenda for Saturday's Deputies' Committee meeting on Bosnia. Sandy Vershbow told me that he expected that the meeting would focus on next steps after today's meeting in London attended by Secretary Christopher and Secretary Perry. If time permits, the Deputies will consider longer-term options for Bosnia, particularly if UNPROFOR is forced to withdraw. We finally received the close-hold paper from the NSC that will serve as the basis for this discussion--see the MEETING PAPERS TAB. [redacted]

2. You may be asked to lead off the meeting with a situation update. We will provide you with points to make and relevant intelligence reports at the 1400 pre-brief.

- [redacted] Tony Lake has expressed particular interest in fighting in the Bihac area and the possibility it might prompt a Croatian attack on Sector North.
- The CROATIA TAB includes a new assessment on the likelihood and implications of renewed fighting in Croatia. [redacted]

3. Results of the London meeting are just now beginning to come in. There appears to have been general agreement to give the Serbs a warning that attacks on Gorazde would be met with strong NATO airstrikes. UK Foreign Secretary Rifkind told a news conference, however,

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that UN commanders on the ground would continue to have an effective veto over use of air power. Mike McCurry proclaimed the results "very encouraging," but acknowledged that further military discussions and diplomacy were necessary. A contact in State/EUR reports strong disappointment there with the results of the meeting. He suggested that the agreement on airstrikes is tentative and that there was no real movement on the issue of bolstering UNPROFOR forces in Gorazde. [REDACTED]

4. The AFSOUTH airstrike plan is included behind the MEETING PAPER TAB. We have been involved in consultations today with JCS on the political impact of various possible targets. The current plan considers five target sets ranging from fixed targets associated with a Bosnian Serb offensive to regional and national C3 facilities. Some of the options would require additional agreement within NATO. Based on information available to us earlier today, Pentagon planners were to be prepared to begin airstrikes as early as next Wednesday.

- The AIR DEFENSE TAB includes background information on Bosnian Serb air defenses.
- The AIRSTRIKES TAB provides our assessment of how the Bosnian Serb and Bosnian Government would react to airstrikes; [REDACTED]

5. Any discussion of long-term options is likely to be vague. I would continue to argue that maintaining some international presence in Bosnia is important in deterring Bosnian Serb action against Sarajevo and helping to contain tensions in the Croat-Muslim federation that almost certainly will be exacerbated by the need to resettle Muslim refugees from the eastern enclaves. On lifting the arms embargo, we believe that the eventual prospect of Serbian intervention would more than outweigh the benefits the

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Muslims would derive from new weapons shipments. Ultimately, we believe a political settlement is in the best interests of the Muslims, and achievement of one will require a diplomatic initiative that moves in the direction of the Serbs. [redacted]

6. Time permitting, Leon Fuerth may raise several sanctions issues. He sent a memo to Tony Lake this week to remind him of the potential risk to international monitors stationed along the Serbian border with Bosnia--40 of whom are Americans--if NATO conducts air attacks in eastern Bosnia. In late May, the US Government had received a report from the Bosnians claiming that the Bosnian Serbs might try to take US monitors as hostages and US personnel were moved away from the border temporarily. Leon may also propose a US Government effort to stop the deterioration of UN sanctions enforcement against Serbia in frontline states such as Albania and Macedonia.

- The SANCTIONS TAB includes an assessment we prepared this week at Leon's request on the status of sanctions enforcement. It concludes that there has been some deterioration in sanctions enforcement since January, with the most serious enforcement shortcomings being in Albania, Macedonia, and Romania. [redacted]

7. I will accompany you to the meeting and serve as note-taker. [redacted]

[redacted]  
A. Norman Schindler

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