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## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

INFORMATION

September 11, 1995

## MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

ANTHONY LAKE

Approved for Release CIA Historical Collections  
Division AR 70-14 1OCT2013

SUBJECT:

Drop-by at the September 11 Principals Meeting on  
Bosnia

You have agreed to stop by the Principals Meeting, thank Dick Holbrooke and his team for their efforts, hear a report on where we stand and what we need to accomplish next, and perhaps discuss the NATO air campaign. You could stay in the meeting for as little as ten minutes or as long as your schedule allows.

Diplomatic Initiative

**Geneva Results:** Friday's gathering in Geneva of the foreign ministers of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia with Contact Group representatives produced agreement on "Basic Principles" of a settlement in Bosnia, including: preservation of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a single state within its present borders; the 51:49 parameter as the basis for the territorial division between the Federation and the Serb Republic, but with adjustments possible by mutual agreement; rights for both entities to establish "parallel special relationships" with Croatia and Serbia consistent with the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina; and agreement in principle on mechanisms for dealing with displaced persons, human rights abuses and dispute resolution..

The preservation of Bosnia as a single state represents an important concession on the part of the Bosnian Serbs, who were present at the meeting but operating under Belgrade's proxy. Bosnian Government agreement to the term "Republika Srpska," on the other hand, confers a degree of legitimacy on the Bosnian Serbs that Sarajevo has been reluctant to grant. Additionally significant is the fact that ranking Serbian leaders met for the first time with Bosnian government officials and agreed to statements that come close to recognition of Bosnia.

**Next Steps in Negotiations:** Still, the Geneva meeting was important largely for political and symbolic reasons. Many questions remain to be resolved before we have a full-fledged peace agreement. Territorial bargaining has just begun, and negotiations promise to be contentious. Members of Holbrooke's

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team will be meeting with DOD's mapping experts today to help firm up our own ideas, especially regarding Sarajevo, the Posavina corridor, the Livno Valley corridor to Bihac and the corridor to Gorazde.

In addition to territorial questions, we still have to determine how the constitutional framework, which will link the Federation with the Bosnian Serb republic and specify arrangements with Serbia and Croatia proper, should be handled by our negotiators. Holbrooke may also raise sanctions and the possibility of some early reward for Milosevic prior to signature of a peace agreement. Our new initiative has been premised on no further sanctions relief for interim steps such as mutual recognition.

**End-game Conference Possibilities:** The Holbrooke team will travel to Geneva mid-week for a Contact Group meeting, followed by another intensive round with the parties. Holbrooke may express views on the need to move fairly soon from shuttle diplomacy to an "endgame" conference, perhaps involving the presidents of the three sides and Contact Group foreign ministers. This could occur in the U.S. at a nearby site such as Williamsburg, which would allow for pep-talks from the Vice President or from you, if necessary. The conference could move to Washington for a final Summit and signing ceremony if all went well.

Next Steps on Air strikes:

As the diplomatic process moves forward, we need to review the bidding on the NATO/UN retaliatory campaign, which as you know continued over the weekend to include Tomahawk missile strikes. Per our discussion last Thursday, we have continued to support the strikes until the Bosnian Serbs comply with the UN/NATO conditions. We (along with the French and British) have sought to convince them to comply by pressing Izetbegovic for clear assurances that Bosnian Government forces will not take advantage of the air campaign to gain ground around Sarajevo. With Mladic still obdurate, we may want to approach the Bosnian government again and call for concrete measures of restraint, such as a "no offensive action commitment" in and around Sarajevo.

Attachment

Tab A      Talking Points

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POINTS TO BE MADE FOR DROP-BY AT  
PRINCIPALS COMMITTEE MEETING ON BOSNIA

Diplomatic Initiative

- Thanks for your fine efforts over past two weeks.
- Getting sides to sit down face to face, accept the Geneva principles a real achievement.
- Know you acutely aware much work remains to be done. Like to hear your views on how to achieve final settlement.
- What do you expect from sides on territory?
- What will be critical aspects of negotiations on constitutional framework?
- (If early sanctions relief for Milosevic is raised) Like to have Principals consider that question before we move.

Next Steps on Air Strikes

- Are we still satisfied with UN/NATO conditions for ending current air strikes?
- What effect if we continue campaign; what impact of use of Tomahawks over weekend?
- How can we encourage restraint by Bosnian government?

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