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1OCT2013

4 December 1995

**MEMORANDUM FOR:** Director of Central Intelligence

**FROM:** Deputy Chief, DCI Interagency Balkan Task Force

**SUBJECT:** Principals' Committee Meeting, 4 Dec., 1430-1600,  
The White House Situation Room

**1. PURPOSE OF MEETING** This meeting is an opportunity for the Principals to update themselves on some issues as the deployment of the enabling force takes place. NSC and State will report on Congressional strategy--both the status of existing resolutions and on the handling of equip and train. US/UN will update on the status of UN resolutions, JCS will update on the status of IFOR deployment, and State will update progress on civilian implementation.

**2. The key questions that need resolution are:**

- How do we eliminate the Mujahedin and Iranian threat? Walt Slocombe in the Deputies' Committee meeting today said it was important to decide exactly what is wanted with regards to the Iranians. As he has point out before, to have the Bosnians eliminate all military contacts with the Iranians goes beyond the Dayton agreement. The same provisions of the treaty that allow the US to do lift and train also apply to the Iranians.
- How do we provide security for the Serbs and encourage them to stay in Sarajevo? Last weekend some Bosnian Serb leaders mentioned the need for special security arrangements for ethnic Serbs living in areas that will go under the control of the Federation. The Administration is concerned that the agreement not condone the ethnic cleansing of the 60,000-80,000 Serbs still living in Sarajevo.

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- How do we get Bosnian Serb strategic consent to the deployment of IFOR? At the DC today, there was an apparent disagreement between Holbrooke and Slocombe regarding Mladic's attitude. Holbrooke basically argued to ignore whatever Mladic is saying and going ahead with the IFOR deployment. Slocombe, on the other hand, does not want to go ahead with the deployment until Mladic makes more accommodating statements or other assurances are received.

2. **YOUR ROLE** You do have not any responsibility for this meeting, but can comment usefully, making some of the following points on these issues.

*Arms*

- The Iranian arms pipeline to Bosnia is vulnerable to interdiction at several points. Checkpoints could be established on the border near Croatian airfields. Croatia could be pressed to stop its tolerance of Iranian arms ships. Frontline states could deny overflight clearance requests. Also, Turkey could be pressed to withdraw its support for Iranian flights, such as by allowing them to refuel in Ankara.

*Bosnian Serb Exodus*

- Although it is still only a trickle, the Bosnian Serbs living in Sarajevo are beginning to vote with their feet and we expect tens of thousands of them will eventually leave. The Bosnian Serb leadership is trying to discourage this flight to bolster their position that the terms of Sarajevo need to be renegotiated. However [redacted] a 100-vehicle convoy was spotted carrying ethnic Serbs and their belongings in the direction of the airport.
- [redacted] the departing Serbs would use a scorched earth policy, which could damage the natural gas, electricity, and transportation infrastructure.

*Mladic and the Bosnian Serbs*

- We generally interpret some of the Bosnian Serbs statements as posturing to try to reopen the deal on Sarajevo. They feel betrayed by Milosevic and are seeking a better deal. The Bosnian Serbs are also aware of French concerns about implementing the existing accord and hope to sow dissension between the US and French in hopes that changes can be made.

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- Many of the Bosnian Serb leaders have made the point that NATO would not be endangered as long as it was even handed and stayed within the terms of the mandate.

**3. PREPARING FOR THE MEETING** The **MEETING PAPERS TAB** contains a letter from Karadzic to the President, suggesting a need to help the Serbs or build them a new Sarajevo. There are also draft papers on Dealing with the Terrorist Threat and the Deployment of IFOR. You should in particular review the paper in the tab **BOSNIAN SERB VIEWS**. Also, you should review the papers in the **MUJAHEDIN** tab. Also, the **CTC** paper summarizing the threat appears in **THREATS TO IFOR TAB**. Finally, in the **ARMS TAB** is a paper laying out how the Bosnian Government gets its arms and another piece on how the gray arms market works generically.

Ray Converse

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