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4 November 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence

FROM: Chief, DCI Interagency Balkan Task Force

SUBJECT: Principals' Committee Meeting on Bosnia
7 November 1994

1. Monday's Principals' Committee meeting will focus on actions the United States will take to comply with the Nunn-Mitchell Amendment to the Defense Appropriations Act. You will be expected to report on modifications the Intelligence Community plans to make to our collection and intelligence sharing operations to comply with the Nunn-Mitchell mandate that no USG funds can be used to support any voluntary measure intended to enforce the arms embargo against the Bosnian Government.

- To best prepare for this meeting, you should familiarize yourself with the JCS (TAB A) and Balkan Task Force/OGC papers (TAB B) behind the MEETING PAPERS TAB. Both papers address intelligence collection and sharing issues. The text of the Nunn-Mitchell Amendment is at TAB C.
- The Balkan Task Force will provide you with specific talking points at the pre-brief on Monday; a representative from the Office of General Counsel will also be present.

2. In general, a strict interpretation of the Nunn-Mitchell language will require minimal operational changes, according to both the JCS and BTF/OGC assessments. OGC is preparing a separate memo for you that provides a legal analysis of the statute.

- According to JCS, effective 12 November, US forces may no longer divert or deliberately delay vessels containing only arms known to be destined for the Bosnian Government. Vessels containing mixed cargos or arms that present a threat to NATO forces are exempted.
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3. The NSC and Principals may perceive a strict interpretation of Nunn-Mitchell to be too limited. Don Kerrick (NSC) fears that the Hill will interpret this as a sign that the Administration is exploiting loopholes in the Nunn-Mitchell Admendment to in effect do nothing. Kerrick nonetheless plans to recommend to Tony Lake that the Principals bless the proposed operational changes, and that CIA and JCS briefers meet with selected members of Congress (or staffers) by Wednesday to solicit their reaction. [REDACTED]

4. Principals are likely to reaffirm the decision reached at the 18 October Principals' Committee meeting on Bosnia to begin to brief selected members of Congress on the implications of lifting the arms embargo. You had indicated to me following the 18 October meeting that Sandy Berger was to provide us with a list of members to be briefed, and that we were to begin the process immediately. I have been in regular contact with the NSC on this issue and we have begun to formulate a briefing. The NSC, however, has yet to produce a list of briefees. [REDACTED]

5. Leon Fuerth will review the status of inter-Serbian sanctions and related US diplomatic efforts based on the paper at TAB D of the MEETING PAPERS TAB. The INTER-SERBIAN SANCTIONS TAB includes the latest developments, including the first 30-day report to the UN Security Council by the monitoring mission, which concludes that Serbia is largely complying with the embargo although there are some violations. The USG view--which we share--is that there is significant leakage. Leon's approach is to establish "litmus tests" in which the USG flags general problems demands that the Serbs take corrective action. He is motivated in part by a desire to protect sources and methods by avoiding a situation in which we focus on downgrading intelligence on each violation.

-- [REDACTED]

6. The USG effort on inter-Serbian sanctions is operating on two levels--something which could cause problems for us. Leon Fuerth and Sandy Vershbow co-chair the Special Working Group, which is tasked with using intelligence information to establish a unified USG view of Serbian compliance and also to prepare demarches and talking points to be used by Charlie Thomas with the Contact Group and Madeleine Albright at the UN. Madeleine Albright and Toby Gati, however, have set up their own parallel system, and they have tasked us separately to prepare materials for Albright's use at the UN. At some point, resource

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constraints could preclude us from supporting both efforts. My understanding is that Leon is not happy about the Albright-Gati effort and may move soon to shut it down. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

7. Time permitting, you will be requested to brief on the situation around Bihac. There is growing concern about the humanitarian situation within the enclave, as well as the problems facing the 30,000 Muslim refugees that fled to Croatia with the collapse of Adzic's movement and the 10,000 Serb refugees that were created by the recent Bosnian offensive in the area. Principals will be looking to see whether there is anything the USG can do to avert a crisis. TAB E behind the MEETING PAPERS TAB includes a paper we circulated this week in advance of the Principals' Committee meeting. We will provide you with talking points on this issue. [REDACTED]

8. You will not be required to do a formal intelligence update, but we will provide you with contingency talking points on any late-breaking developments, recent military developments, status of inter-Serbian sanctions, and an update on arms transfers to the Bosnian Muslims. This briefing book contains background papers on all of these issues. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

10. I will accompany you to the meeting and serve as notetaker. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

A. Norman Schindler

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