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(BosnQ&A.doc)
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11/24/95 3:43 PM

Q-and-A's on Administration Balkan Policy

I. Bosnia: Broad Issues

Why send U.S. troops to Bosnia? Is Bosnia worth a single American life?

- **Iron Logic:** The security of Europe is of vital interest to the United States.
 - Twice this century, we have paid a heavy price for turning our backs to conflict in Europe and delaying our involvement until it was too late.
 - Bosnia is the most dangerous threat to Europe since WWII. The current conflict could spread and involve us and our allies. Without peace, we face an increased risk of a much broader war in Europe.
 - US has vital interests in security and prosperity of Europe because of our immense trade relationship, historic ties, and lasting partnership in pursuing our shared values of democracy and market economies throughout the globe.
- **U.S. leadership and participation is critical to peace.**
 - The participants in the agreement have stated that U.S. participation is required.
 - Leadership in the past two months has brought us to the brink of peace
 - U.S. military resolve to use airpower to stop Serb aggression
 - Shuttle diplomacy leading to successful cease-fire and basic principles
 - Leadership in Proximity Talks.
- **Peace in Bosnia would help end the suffering and atrocities in the Balkans and help us realize our goal of a stable, secure and democratic Europe that benefits our own security and prosperity.**

II. US/IFOR Mission

What is the IFOR mission?

- There are two complementary aspects to the peace implementation mission -- civil and military.
 - Civil aspect includes rebuilding the infrastructure, economic development, elections, refugee resettling.
 - Military aspect -- task of IFOR -- is to create a secure environment for the civil aspects to proceed.
- We will have the IFOR deployed long enough to give the civil aspects an opportunity to take hold and to start making an impact on the lives of the people in the country.
- We expect to create a secure environment shortly after IFOR deployment.
 - Agreement obliges the parties to complete withdrawal of all their forces behind the agreed cease-fire line within 30 days. And it establishes zones of separation (about 2 km wide) on both sides of cease-fire line.
 - Agreement obligates parties to withdraw all heavy weapons and forces to barracks areas within 120 days.
 - Obligates parties to furnish information on mines and other unexploded ordnance.
 - Establishes a Joint Military Commission (headed by IFOR commander) with representatives of the forces of the parties to resolve military complaints, questions and problems.
- We expect that the IFOR will need to be present for about a year. In this time we will monitor and enforce compliance with these military aspects. The civil aspects will continue for many years.

Are our troops ready for this type of task?

The troops to be assigned have been in intensive training for months to insure their readiness.

How does this mission impact on readiness in other areas?

Readiness is my number one priority and one that requires constant monitoring. We will shift some units and personnel into the European theater to help in the effort, but I believe that we have the flexibility to do that and still be ready to fulfill our other commitments. We're watching this.

III. IFOR Duration/Cost

How long will the U.S. forces stay? What will it cost?

- Our objective is for NATO to complete its job in about 12 months.
- NATO will deploy about 60,000 troops on the ground in Bosnia; 20,000 U.S.
 - Will not go in until after the peace agreement is signed in Paris
 - We will join at least 10,000 NATO nation troops (currently UNPROFOR) already there
 - Air, naval, logistics forces to support IFOR, including c.10,000 US personnel (outside Bosnia)
- Initial 'ballpark' estimate of U.S. cost: \$1.5 billion.
- Prepositioning (Enabling Force) may occur before the peace agreement is signed to allow rapid deployment.
- Basic concept: send a heavy force; withdraw as soon as possible.

How will you pay for this?

- We will work closely with Congress on funding US participation in IFOR.
- Until appropriations have been finalized for FY 1996, we will not be in a position to determine how best to fund this operation.

IV. Equip and Train

What have we promised the Muslims in terms of military support and training for their army? Did the Serbs and Croats agree with this? Are the British, French and Germans in agreement?

- Our strong preference is that military stabilization be achieved by limitations and reductions, not by the introduction of new arms in the region. But we also believe that it is important that Federation armed forces be capable of providing for their own defense.
- Peace agreement obligates parties to start negotiations within seven days, under OSCE, to agree on a series of confidence-building measures. (restrictions on military deployments and exercises, notification of military activities, etc.)
- Peace agreement also establishes an arms control mechanism for setting numerical limits (within 180 days) on holdings of tanks, artillery, armored combat vehicles, combat aircraft and attack helicopters. Negotiations begin within 30 days under the auspices of OSCE.
- On November 22, the UN passed a Security Council resolution which provides for the phased lifting of the current arms embargo against all states of the former Yugoslavia, when the peace agreement is signed by all three parties.
 - Lifting of the arms embargo has three phases -- designed to minimize risks to the safety of military personnel participating in the IFOR:
 - For the first 90 days after the agreement is signed, all provisions of the embargo remain in place.
 - During the second 90 days, heavy weapons (defined in Dayton agreement) and their ammunition, mines, military aircraft and helicopters would be prohibited until the arms control annex to the Dayton agreement has taken effect.
 - 180 days after signature and after a SecGen report that arms control annex has taken effect, all provisions of the embargo terminate, unless the council decides otherwise.
- The U.S. will coordinate with other interested countries to ensure that Federation armed forces receive the necessary equipment and training needed to establish an effective self defense capability.

- Support of this effort is contingent upon BH compliance with the peace settlement and on BH terminating any military support and cooperative arrangement with Iran.

Just a few months ago US and NATO air forces were striking against the Bosnian Serbs. Why should they now trust us as impartial peacekeepers?

- We struck in response to attacks on civilians and UNPROFOR perpetrated by the Bosnian Serb forces.
- Because the Peace Agreement provides the foundation for a just and lasting peace. The Serbian signature on the agreement indicates their willingness to comply.

How does the US stay neutral while carrying out 'Equip and Train'?

- IFOR will maintain impartiality between the two sides during the implementation of the peace settlement.
- Any Equip and Train effort will be separate from IFOR. This effort intends to improve the defensive capability of the Bosnian Federation forces.

V. More on IFOR

What will IFOR's mission be if fighting breaks out again?

- In the event of sporadic violations of the peace agreement, IFOR will act against those responsible for the violation, in such a way that the offender won't want to try it again
- If there is a significant change in the willingness of the signers of the peace agreement to maintain the peace, NATO will have to reassess the IFOR mission.

Will IFOR patrol Bosnia's external borders?

- According to the peace settlement, IFOR is not responsible for this task.
- The supervision of Bosnia's external borders will be carried out by other organizations, most likely the International Commission (ICFY) which currently performs that function.

Will IFOR do policing?

- IFOR will not act as a police force. That function will be the responsibility of the civilian side of the peace implementation operation
- Peacekeepers will have the authority to detain any persons indicted for war crimes or who interfere with the IFOR mission, but they will not try to track them down

Who exercises political control over IFOR?

- The North Atlantic Council (NAC) will exercise political control over IFOR.

How will we respond to military aid from Serbia?

- Movements of military equipment would constitute a violation of the peace settlement and would be met with appropriate action, possibly including military action.

VI. Non-US IFOR

Will the US be assessed costs for IFOR troops participating from other countries?

- Each country pays its own way.

How many other countries will contribute troops to IFOR? Could you please give a breakdown of how many troops will participate?

- Of a total of 60,000 IFOR ground troops in Bosnia, we anticipate 30,000+ from 14 of our 16 NATO allies (the exceptions are Iceland and Luxembourg), including about 12,000 from the UK and about 10,000 from France.
- From non-NATO countries, we expect about 10,000 -- from Russia, Ukraine, Poland, Pakistan, Egypt, and others.

Will non-NATO countries participate in the peace force?

-- Will they be integrated into a NATO command structure?

-- What are the criteria for allowing other countries to participate in this force?

- Non-NATO nations will participate in IFOR, as long as they can provide troops and equipment that can perform a function for IFOR and meet minimum criteria for military effectiveness, and pay their own way.
- Yes. All IFOR forces will be under NATO command and control.

Why not use European troops only? It's a European problem.

- Bosnia is not just a European problem. The US has a vital interest in a stable, secure Europe.
- This is a question of U.S. leadership on a global scale. We cannot exercise such leadership by 'leading bravely from the rear'. Experience tells us that such a course significantly decreases the chances for success. And recent diplomatic experience tells us the consequences of our nonparticipation would be broader than the risks, in terms of NATO, European security, and our vital interests in a militarily, politically, and economically stable Europe.

VII. Congressional Authorization

Does U.S. participation need congressional authorization?

- President Clinton has said that he will seek Congressional support
- I believe it is important and desirable that Congress support American leadership in bringing peace to the Balkans and stability to Europe
 - We are working closely with Congress.
 - This is an historic opportunity for peace in the area.
- The Constitution gives the President the authority to use military force.

At what point in the peace process will consultations take place with Congress on the US troop commitment?

- We have been in touch with many Congressmen already. Further meetings are scheduled. We welcome the support of Congress.

VIII. Russia

Why is Russian participation necessary?

- Russia has played a key role in the peace process.
 - Contact group
 - Russian rep at Proximity talks
 - Russian rep at SHAPE
- NATO/Russian cooperation will be an important step toward European stability.
- In their meeting at Hyde Park, NY, Presidents Clinton and Yeltsin instructed Minister Grachev and me to work out the details of Russian participation in operations to sustain peace in Bosnia.
- Meeting earlier this month in Brussels, Russian Defense Minister Grachev and I reached agreement on Russian participation in IFOR
 - One Russian brigade is to be in the area of responsibility of an American Division.
 - Operational control will be exercised by GEN Joulwan, through a Russian deputy. Tactical control will be exercised by the US division commander.
 - Russian elements intended for the unit agreed in October could be merged into this brigade.
- We will continue discussions on remaining unresolved issues, including political oversight.
- I go to Brussels on Tuesday to meet again with Grachev on this.

IX. War Crimes

Why isn't the U.S. doing more to stop them?

- War criminals must be held accountable at War Crimes Tribunal.
- We have condemned ethnic cleansing by all parties.
 - Have raised issue repeatedly with officials.
 - Will supply all possible information to Tribunal to aid prosecution of guilty parties
 - Will make particular effort to make sensitive information available both in a timely manner and in a way that will avoid compromising the sources of such information.
- The peace agreement explicitly excludes war criminals from holding any official positions in the new government

Is the US going after Mladic and Karadzic?

If IFOR encounters them, they will be detained and turned over to the Tribunal.

X. Implications of Peace Agreement

Doesn't a settlement giving the Bosnian Serbs nearly half of Bosnia reward aggression? What sort of message does this send?

- This is a settlement that all sides have agreed to. We believe it is the best framework for establishing a durable peace in Bosnia.

It's obvious that this peace agreement has been won only through pressure on the parties. That's not real peace -- why are we helping to implement it?

- The parties want an end to the war. Our assistance and our participation in the IFOR are to help them achieve their goal. A continuation of the war threatens our interests.

What are the plans for returning refugees? Will US troops have a role?

- The peace settlement includes a provision that refugees may return to their homes. Within the implementation structure, the responsibility for returning refugees will go to civilian agencies. Mechanisms are being developed to coordinate the activities of those agencies with IFOR. IFOR will create the environment, in accordance with the agreement, that allows refugees and displaced people to move freely.

How much is the US committed to provide for reconstruction? Where will the funds come from?

- We have not yet established definite aid figures. We expect to discuss this subject at an international conference in London shortly before the formal signing of the Peace Settlement.

XI. Peace Settlement and the Future of Bosnia

We let the Serbs, Croats and Muslims break up their country in the first place -- why would we try to put them all back together again? (Aren't we reversing our position and just seeking a rationale that doesn't make sense?)

- The policy of leaving a Bosnian solution to the Europeans did not succeed.
- US leadership was vital for the peace settlement reached 21 November. US participation is now necessary to carry out the settlement to which the parties have agreed. We believe that the settlement terms are achievable, and the signatures of the parties on the agreement signify their commitments to work toward that end.

XII. Related Congressional/Budget Questions

President Clinton has still not signed the Fiscal Year 1996 defense appropriations bill sent to him about a week ago. If he vetoes it, as some have indicated he might, the Congress has said it would be very difficult to fund military operations in Bosnia. What advice have you given the President and does he really understand the problems this creates for you, Mr. Secretary, in carrying out the Administration's peacekeeping plans?

- Of course, I'd like to have a final spending bill for the Department of Defense. By not having the bill, we were subject to the recent shutdown of the Government and the disruptions that went with it.
- Let's remember, however, that the President has a responsibility to look at each bill sent to him by the Congress within the context of the Administration's overall spending priorities. It is difficult to defend a Defense bill that adds \$7 billion to the President's request when other Administration priorities are being unreasonably cut back.
- The way to carry out the peacekeeping plan is to work with the Congress to achieve its goals. Congress has a vital role in allowing the United States to carry out its end of this hard-fought peace agreement. I will work to convince members of the need for funding an effort that seizes this opportunity for peace.

XIII. Admiral Macke

Q: Why didn't you relieve Admiral Macke as the CINC immediately? Why does he continue to serve as the CINC?

- We felt that Admiral Macke would face significant obstacles in working effectively with the government and people of Japan in the future.
- However, we also felt that the requirement for an orderly transition made it absolutely necessary that he remain in place until a successor is confirmed.

Q: Has Admiral Macke formally requested retirement?

- Admiral Macke has formally requested retirement and it is working it's way through the process.
- The exact date of retirement has not been determined.

Q: How long does it take to select a new CINC?

- Impossible to generalize. Process involves the services, the JCS, the SecDef, the President and the Senate.

Q: At what grade will Admiral retire; 2- or 4-star?

- That is ultimately determined by the Senate after a recommendation by the President.
- The President normally bases his recommendation on the advice of the SecDef and appropriate service secretary.
- It would be premature to speculate about the grade at which he will retire at.

XIV. AIR FORCE RESERVE C-141 BASKETBALL TRIP

Q. What do you intend to do about the Air Force Reservists' use of a C-141 aircraft to travel across country to watch basketball games?

A. I am always concerned anytime there are allegations of misuse of government aircraft.

-- I don't want to prejudge or influence the ongoing investigation launched by the chief of the Air Force Reserves immediately after learning of the alleged incident.

-- In general however, I believe that all members of the Department of Defense have a duty to spend the taxpayers money wisely.

-- It is essential that managers and commanders at all levels prevent not only the misuse of transportation resources but the perception of misuse as well.

-- Earlier this year the Department issued new guidelines to all DOD employees on the procedures to be followed for the use of military aircraft for travel of government employees.

-- I expect those rules to be followed and if violations of the rules occur, I expect managers and commanders at all levels to hold individuals accountable for their actions.