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MESSAGE DESCRIPTION Briefing of the SASC by W/S Tarnoff  
12 Jan 95

TO: (Agency)	DELIVER TO:	Extension	Room No.
<u>Bill Danvers</u>	<u>NSC sit room</u>	<u>456 9171</u>	<u>Rm 375</u>

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2008-0994-F-2

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BRIEFING OF THE  
SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE

BY

UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE

PETER TARNOFF

THURSDAY, JANUARY 12, 1995

RUSSELL SENATE OFFICE BUILDING - ROOM 222

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DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526  
Department of State Guidelines, November 6, 2015

By KDE NARA, Date 1/26/23

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## INTRODUCTION

- GOOD MORNING. MR. CHAIRMAN ~~I AM IN MY PRIVILEGE~~ <sup>I AM PLEASED</sup> TO APPEAR HERE THIS MORNING BEFORE THE SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE. *to discuss dip str in Bosnia & ex-Yug*
- ALONG WITH MY COLLEAGUES UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE WALTER SLOCOMBE, LIEUTENANT GENERAL CLARK AND THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF, I WOULD LIKE TO SPEAK TO YOU THIS MORNING ABOUT ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY REGARDING BOSNIA AND THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA.

## U.S. INTERESTS

- ANY DISCUSSION OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY MUST BEGIN WITH A DEFINITION OF OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS. <sup>these</sup> IN BOSNIA THEY ARE:
  - PREVENTING THE SPREAD OF FIGHTING INTO A BROADER EUROPEAN WAR THAT COULD THREATEN BOTH OUR ALLIES AND THE STABILITY OF NEWLY DEMOCRATIC STATES IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE, AND LEAD TO SERIOUS RIFTS WITH RUSSIA;
  - STEMMING THE DESTABILIZING FLOW OF REFUGEES, PROVIDING RELIEF TO THE VICTIMS OF THE WAR, AND HELPING TO STOP THE SLAUGHTER OF INNOCENTS; AND

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-- MAINTAINING A LEADERSHIP ROLE IN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS AND INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS BY BUILDING A COALITION OF STATES TO WORK FOR PEACE;

- WE BELIEVE THE BEST PATH TO ACHIEVING THESE INTERESTS LIES IN A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. LET ME DESCRIBE THE CURRENT DIPLOMATIC SITUATION AND OUR PROSPECTS FOR PROGRESS.

### THE DIPLOMATIC SITUATION

- AS YOU KNOW WE HAVE BEEN WORKING WITH THE BOSNIAN PARTIES THROUGH THE CONTACT GROUP (US, RUSSIAN, EUROPEAN, AND UN REPRESENTATIVES) THAT WE ESTABLISHED IN MARCH 1994 TO FIND A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT.
- EARLY LAST YEAR WE BROKERED AND ACTIVELY SUPPORTED THE FEDERATION AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT AND MEMBERS OF THE BOSNIAN CROAT MINORITY, WHICH HAS IMPROVED THE PROSPECTS FOR AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT, HELPED END THE FIGHTING IN CENTRAL BOSNIA, AND REOPENED SOME HUMANITARIAN CONVOY ROUTES. THE UNITED STATES IS MAKING SPECIAL EFFORTS TO SUPPORT THE CONFEDERATION.

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- WORKING WITH AND THROUGH THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL, WE HAVE MAINTAINED A THOROUGH SANCTIONS REGIME ON SERBIA/MONTENEGRO AND PRESSED TO ESTABLISH THE INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL FOR THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA; WE PROVIDE IT WITH PERSONNEL AND \$6 MILLION WORTH OF GOODS AND SERVICES.

### CURRENT EFFORTS

- OUR GOAL IS TO BRING TO AN END THE WAR IN BOSNIA IN A MANNER CONSISTENT WITH THE CONTACT GROUP PLAN. OVER THE LAST MONTH, WE DEVELOPED A THREE-STAGE, SEQUENCED APPROACH TO REACH THIS GOAL: CEASEFIRE, FORMAL CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES, AND A POLITICAL NEGOTIATION CENTERED ON THE CONTACT GROUP PLAN.
- THE FIRST TWO STAGES ARE NOW ACCOMPLISHED AND THE UNITED NATIONS HAS DONE A GOOD JOB OF FORMALIZING THE GENERAL POINTS OF AGREEMENT THAT WERE REACHED DURING PRESIDENT CARTER'S TRIP TO THE REGION IN DECEMBER. OUR CURRENT TASK IS TO SUCCEED IN THE THIRD PHASE -- THE DIFFICULT NEGOTIATION TO FIND A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. <sup>HERE:</sup> ~~THESE NEGOTIATIONS~~ ARE CRUCIAL:

-- ~~THE PROCESS FOR RENEWING PEACE NEGOTIATIONS~~

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~~THE SUBSTANCE OF THE PEACE PROCESS,~~

~~AND THE SUPPORT OF CONGRESS FOR THIS APPROACH.~~

- THE FOUR-MONTH CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES IS GOING TO BE FRAGILE AND FREQUENTLY VIOLATED, BUT IT DOES CREATE A NEW POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT MORE CONDUCTIVE TO PEACE NEGOTIATIONS. *10/5/98*

-- WE HAVE BEEN URGING ALL PARTIES TO WORK CLOSELY AND CONSTRUCTIVELY WITH THE U.N. IN ORDER TO RESOLVE THESE REMAINING DIFFICULTIES. IN THAT REGARD, WE NOTE WITH INTEREST THE STATEMENT FROM <sup>Bosnian Serb</sup> KARADZIC'S OFFICE THAT THE SERBS ARE PREPARED TO OPEN UP ALL OF THE ROUTES IN AND OUT OF SARAJEVO NOTWITHSTANDING THEIR CONCERN ABOUT THE IGMAN REGION.

- WE HAVE REENGAGED WITH OUR CONTACT GROUP PARTNERS TO SEIZE THE MOMENTUM CREATED BY THE CESSATION AGREEMENT.

-- ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE WAS IN SARAJEVO ON SUNDAY AND MONDAY TO DISCUSS THE SITUATION WITH THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT AND TO REAFFIRM OUR SUPPORT FOR THE CONTACT GROUP PLAN.

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- ON TUESDAY THE CONTACT GROUP POLITICAL DIRECTORS MET IN PARIS, AT A SESSION <sup>MARKED BY</sup> NOTABLE FOR ~~ITS~~ UNITY AND A SHARED SENSE OF <sup>COMMON</sup> PURPOSE. THEY AGREED THAT THE CONTACT GROUP MAP AND PLAN SHOULD BE THE BASIS FOR ANY FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS.
  
- THEY AGREED TO SEND THE CONTACT GROUP EXPERTS TO THE REGION TO ESTABLISH A FORMAT FOR NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE PARTIES. *THEY ARRIVE IN SARAJEVO TODAY.*
  
- *THE CONTACT GROUP WILL* ~~WE HAVE AGREED TO~~ APPROACH KARADZIC, BUT ONLY TO GET PALE'S "ACCEPTANCE" OF THE PLAN. NO OTHER TOPICS WILL BE RAISED IN THE FIRST CG CONTACT WITH THE PALE SERBS.
  
- OUR AIM IS TO LAUNCH A REINVIGORATED DIPLOMATIC PROCESS BY MID-JANUARY UNDER CG AUSPICES.
  
- WE PREFER THAT THIS TAKE THE FORM OF SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY, WHICH ALLOWS THE CG TO PUT DIRECT PRESSURE ON THE DECISION MAKERS, AND ~~IS LESS SUSCEPTIBLE TO~~ *PREFERABLE TO A FORMAL MEDIA MANIPULATION THAN A* CONFERENCE OR PROXIMITY TALKS. *gr. Atk blm  
concrete steps conf*

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- WE ALL RECOGNIZE THAT ANY NEGOTIATION WILL BE VERY DIFFICULT. THE UNITED STATES <sup>WILL</sup> ~~MUST~~ MAKE IT VERY CLEAR THAT WE ARE STICKING TO THE 51/49 <sup>FORMULA of land division</sup> "ALTHOUGH" "LAND SWAPS" CAN BE ARRANGED WITH THE CONSENT OF BOTH PARTIES.
- <sup>Accepted by Bos Govt</sup> WE WILL FULLY SUPPORT THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT IN THEIR EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN THEIR STATE AS AN INTERNATIONAL ENTITY WITHIN ITS PRESENT BOUNDARIES.

**SANCTIONS**

- IN THIS CONNECTION, I WANT TO MENTION OUR DECISION TO AGREE TO ANOTHER 100 DAYS OF LIMITED SANCTIONS RELIEF FOR <sup>Serbia</sup> THE FRY -- A POSITION WHICH ALL THE CONTACT GROUP REPRESENTATIVES IN THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL, INCLUDING RUSSIA, WILL SUPPORT.
  - IN DOING SO, I WANT TO STRESS THAT THIS RELIEF IS INDEED VERY LIMITED, COVERING ONLY PASSENGER AIR SERVICE TO BELGRADE, PASSENGER FERRY SERVICE TO BAR, AND SPORTING AND CULTURAL CONTACTS. ALL OTHER SANCTIONS REMAIN IN FORCE.
  - WE WILL CONSIDER ADDITIONAL SANCTIONS RELIEF MEASURES ONLY IF CONNECTED TO SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS TOWARD A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE CONFLICT IN BOSNIA.

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ON THE WHOLE, LOOKING ACROSS THE 100-DAY PERIOD, WE BELIEVE IT ~~LEGITIMATE~~ <sup>FAIR</sup> TO SAY THAT THE BORDER HAS BEEN EFFECTIVELY CLOSED IN THE SENSE THAT IT HAS BECOME STEADILY LESS POROUS AS LOOPHOLES WERE IDENTIFIED AND SEALED.

THE PROCESS OF CLOSING LOOPHOLES ACCELERATED IN RECENT WEEKS AS A DIRECT RESULT OF U.S. PRESSURE ON BELGRADE, THE UN, AND ICFY IDENTIFYING KEY PROBLEM AREAS AND CALLING FOR CORRECTIVE ACTION. JOINT ICFY/SERBIAN MONITORING HAS LARGELY ELIMINATED THE DANGER OF DIVERSION FROM TRAINS; BETTER ACCESS HAS ALLOWED ICFY TO MONITOR MORE EFFECTIVELY.

*history since*  
-- RECENTLY, ICFY HAS REPORTED SHARPLY IMPROVED COOPERATION INCLUDING PHYSICAL BARRIERS AT 29 CROSSINGS, ACTIONS AGAINST ORGANIZED "ANT TRADE" (SMUGGLING BY PRIVATE VEHICLES) AND TERMINATION OF FUEL TRANSIT TO THE SERB-OCCUPIED AREAS OF CROATIA.

- WE WANT TO ENSURE THAT THE LEVEL OF BORDER CLOSURE ACHIEVED AS A RESULT OF RECENT IMPROVEMENTS IN FRY PERFORMANCE BECOMES THE STANDARD FOR FUTURE PERFORMANCE, AND WE WILL CONTINUE TO PUSH FOR CONSTANT IMPROVEMENT. WE ARE INSISTING AT THE UN ON AN EXTENSION ONLY FOR ANOTHER 100 DAYS, WITH ANOTHER POSITIVE VOTE NEEDED IN THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL TO EXTEND AGAIN AND A TERMINATION OF SANCTIONS IF SERBIAN PERFORMANCE DETERIORATES.

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- WE BELIEVE THAT EXTENSION OF SANCTIONS RELIEF WILL HELP OVERALL PROSPECTS FOR PEACE. WHILE THE BOSNIAN SERBS HAVE NOT YET ACCEPTED THE CONTACT GROUP PLAN, WE HAVE SEEN PROGRESS IN THE PEACE PROCESS WITH THE CEASE-FIRE AND CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES AGREEMENT.

-- EVEN THOUGH WE DO NOT BELIEVE MILOSEVIC'S BORDER CLOSURE ALONE MADE THIS PROGRESS POSSIBLE, WE DO BELIEVE IT CONTRIBUTED TO A HEIGHTENED SENSE OF BOSNIAN SERB ISOLATION WHICH CONTRIBUTED TO THE PROGRESS WE HAVE SEEN.

**CROATIA**

- LET ME ALSO SAY A WORD ABOUT CROATIA.

*imp. element of strat.*

-- THROUGHOUT THIS PROCESS WE WILL NEED TO PAY SPECIAL ATTENTION TO ZAGREB. IF TUDJMAN COMES TO BELIEVE THAT WE ARE HEADING TOWARD A BOSNIA-ONLY SOLUTION -- WITH THE KRAJINA PROBLEM PUSHED ASIDE, CYPRUS-STYLE -- ZAGREB WILL ABORT A<sup>st</sup> DEAL, POSSIBLY BY DISRUPTING THE FEDERATION. TUDJMAN HAS ALREADY INFORMED US THAT HE ~~WANTS~~ <sup>INTENDS</sup> ~~WANTS~~ TO END THE UN PRESENCE IN HIS COUNTRY.

*THIS SPRING, a measure that concerns us.*

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-- WE HAVE BEEN WORKING CLOSELY WITH RUSSIA AND THE EUROPEAN UNION IN THE SO-CALLED "ZAGREB-FOUR" PROCESS TO REACH A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF SERB-OCCUPIED CROATIA.

-- WE BELIEVE A GOOD FOUNDATION FOR SUCH A SOLUTION HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED WITH THE ACCORD ON OPENING THE ZAGREB-BELGRADE HIGHWAY.

*ARE USING*  
-- WE ~~WILL USE~~ THE VISIT TO WASHINGTON THIS WEEK OF CROATIAN INTELLIGENCE CHIEF MIROSLAV TUDJMAN AND AMBASSADOR MIOMIR ZUZUL <sup>personally</sup> TO DRIVE HOME THESE POINTS, AND TO EMPHASIZE THAT UNPROFOR SHOULD STAY IN CROATIA.

## CONCLUSION

-- 2 hrs intro'd  
- taking sending the problem ahead

LET ME MAKE A FEW CONCLUDING POINTS.

- WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD PURSUE OUR PRESENT COURSE AS THE BEST WAY TO SECURE PEACE. IF WE ARE TO USE THE CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES AND RENEWED NEGOTIATIONS TO BEST EFFECT, WE WILL NEED THE SUPPORT OF CONGRESS AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

- IN THIS CONNECTION I WANT TO MAKE A BRIEF COMMENT ON THE ~~PROPOSED~~ <sup>LEGISLATION</sup> ~~DOUGLASS LIEBERMAN~~ BILL WHICH CALLS FOR UNILATERAL LIFT OF THE ARMS EMBARGO.

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- WE HAVE MANY CONCERNS ABOUT A UNILATERAL LIFT OF THE ARMS EMBARGO BY THE UNITED STATES -- SOME OF WHICH WILL BE ELABORATED BY MY COLLEAGUES HERE TODAY. HOWEVER, MY GREATEST CONCERN IS THAT IF UNILATERAL LIFT WERE TO BE IMPLEMENTED -- HOWEVER WELL-INTENTIONED -- IT WOULD LIKELY LEAD TO A WIDER AND BLOODIER WAR THAT WOULD PROBABLY TURN INTO AN AMERICAN WAR.
- FOR THAT REASON, AND GIVEN SOME POSITIVE MOVEMENT IN THE PEACE PROCESS, WE HOPE THIS BILL WILL NOT BE PUT TO A VOTE IN THE COMING WEEKS. IF IT IS, WE WILL OPPOSE IT.
- IT MAY BE, OF COURSE, AS WE HAVE CONSTANTLY MAINTAINED, THAT A MULTILATERAL LIFTING OF THE ARMS EMBARGO WILL BE REQUIRED. WE KNOW THAT SUCH A TIME MAY COME AND WE ARE READY TO CONSULT CLOSELY WITH THE CONGRESS ON HOW TO APPROACH THAT ISSUE.
- AND NOW, MR. CHAIRMAN, I WOULD LIKE TO TURN TO MY COLLEAGUES, UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR POLICY, WALTER SLOCOMBE; AND FROM THE JOINT STAFF, THE DIRECTOR FOR STRATEGIC PLANS AND POLICY, LIEUTENANT GENERAL WESLEY CLARK.

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