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TAB E

29 Sept 1995 DC Meeting

Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense  
International Security Affairs  
**BALKAN TASK FORCE**

**Date:** September 28, 1995

**Note For:** Assistant Secretary Holbrooke

**Subject:** Next Steps

After our experience this weekend, recommend the following outline and adjustments for our trip departing today:

- Objectives of the trip in priority order:
  - Cease-fire throughout B-H
  - Opening of the Gorazde road and normalization measures in Sarajevo.
  - Begin serious territorial negotiations
  - International conference.

-Let's make one swing through capitals, then hold proximity talks below the presidential level in the region, maybe Italy. This will save time and clean up territorial and constitutional issues before a conference. This is a "unanimous recommendation" of your team.

-Spend more time in Sarajevo and less in Belgrade.

These long meetings in Belgrade have been productive but give a one-sided image and cost us dearly last weekend. Compared to Sarajevo, Belgrade will be easy the rest of the way.

-A cease-fire agreement in Bosnia, coupled with a commitment for no more ethnic cleansing or population dislocation, is possible. Demilitarized zones along the confrontation line will be extremely hard to negotiate and impossible to monitor.

-Let me define the Sarajevo position on territory. I need a specific task and an identity on the team. I have maps from the hands of Milosevic, Karadzic and Krajisnik, and I understand the Serb bargaining strategy and soft spots. What we need now is to get the realistic position of Sarajevo.

-As Sarajevo becomes more erratic in the negotiations, I am convinced that we must have an alternative to Sacerbey as the primary government interlocutor. My first nomination is Vice President Ganic, who I understand is back in Bosnia. If Ganic is not available, Haris Salajdzic is my recommendation.

--Sacerbey has a long-standing friendly relationship with the Administration, but his flaws make dealing with him as a primary figure counter-productive in the future. He is inconsistent, free-lances without the authority of his government, is seized with the public limelight for its own sake, and is immature. In Sarajevo, Sacerbey is an outsider.

--Silajdzic, on the other hand, while tied to Congressional Republicans, is a hard-line voice in the government, but he is also a realist, consistent and by far the brighter of the two. Bob and Chris have proved that we can work with him. If we convince Silajdzic and stay with him in dealing with Izetbegovic, our troubles with the fractious Sarajevo Government will be reduced.

See you this afternoon.

Jim Pardew