

cern. When Christopher was appointed head of the transition task force for the President-elect, the press printed rumors of friction and rivalry between us. When I raised these stories with him, he dismissed them. Whatever the truth about the past, it was extremely unusual for a Secretary of State to give a subordinate the kind of support and backing Christopher had given us during the shuttle. Now, with identical interests, fate had made us an inseparable team.

That evening, after Christopher left, we handed each Balkan delegation the draft annexes on the constitution, elections, and IFOR. Amazed at the detail and length of the documents, the three Presidents began to realize that when we said we wanted a comprehensive agreement, we meant it.

DAY TWO: THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 2

Trying to create a little order out of chaos, we divided our efforts into six areas:

- First, Michael Steiner and Dan Serwer, assisted by their diligent German colleague Christian Clages and Chris Hill, would negotiate a new and tougher Federation agreement between the Croats and the Muslims;
- Second, Bildt, Owen, and I would negotiate constitutional and electoral issues with Milosevic and the Bosnians;
- Third, Clark and Pardew would begin discussions on the military annex with the parties, which I would join later;
- Fourth, we would conduct a two-track negotiation on eastern Slavonia, led by Hill and me in Dayton and Galbraith and Stoltenberg in the region;
- Fifth, we would try to complete unfinished business internal to the Contact Group, with Robert Gallucci taking the lead on two issues that we had not resolved on that last pre-Dayton weekend, the role of the international police task force and the mandate of the senior civilian implementation official, who would be Carl Bildt;
- Finally, we would continue to defer most discussion on the territorial issues ("the map") until we had made progress on other matters.

What Is the Federation? The distinction between the two levels of government—the central government and the entities—was still confusing, even to many people at Dayton. This was understandable: the designations had changed several times during the war, and were poorly defined. The Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina had been at war since the moment it declared in-