1CFY

CYRUS R. VANCE

CORRESPONDENCE WITH GOVERNMENTS

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[3 CONFIDENTIAL]

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Mission permanente de la République Fédérative Tchèque et Slovaque auprès de l'Office des Nations Unies et des autres organisations internationales à Genève

9, chemin de l'Ancienne Route, 1218 Grand Saconnex - Genève
tel.: 798 91 81
FAX: 788 09 19

No.: 4656/92

Geneva, December 10, 1992

The Permanent Mission of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic to the United Nations Office and other International Organizations at Geneva presents its compliments to the Office of the Co-Chairmen - the Secretariat of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia - and has the honour to bring to your attention the letter send by the Chairman of the CSCE Council of Ministers and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic Mr. Jozef Moravčík reffering to the second report forwarded by the CSCE sanctions assistance missions in Romania, Hungary and Bulgaria on implementation and enforcement of sanctions measures imposed on Serbia and Montonegro.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic Mr. Moravčík, on behalf of the CSCE, expresses the Conference willingness to do its utmost for bringing about a peaceful solution to the conflict in former Yugoslavia.

The Permanent Mission of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the ICFY Office of the Co-Chairmen the assurances of its highest consideration.

Zdeněk V E N E R A
Chargé d'Affaires

Stálá misia Českej a Slovenskej Federatívnej Republiky pri Organizácie Spojených Národov
2
Ženeva

Office of the Co-Chairmen
Secretariat of the International Conference
on the Former Yugoslavia
Palais des Nations
1211 GENEVA 10

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2
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Office of the Co-Chairmen
Secretariat of the International Conference
on the Former Yugoslavia
Palais des Nations
1211 GENEVA 10

CHAIRMAN OF THE CSCE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
OF THE CZECH AND SLOVAK FEDERAL REPUBLIC
Jozef Moravčík

Prague, 3 December 1992

Your Excellency,

It is my pleasure to bring to your attention the second report forwarded by the team leaders of the CSCE sanctions assistance missions in Romania, Hungary and Bulgaria regarding their activities and recommendations for enhancing the implementation and enforcement of sanctions measures imposed on Serbia and Montenegro.

On behalf of the CSCE, I should once again express the CSCE willingness to do its utmost for achieving our common aim - to bring about a peaceful solution to the conflict in former Yugoslavia.

Please accept the assurances of my highest consideration.

Moravčík

His Excellency
Cyrus V a n c e
Co-Chairman of the International
Conference on Former Yugoslavia
G e n e v a

To: Mr. Vance

From: Peter Beshar

Re: Declaration of the Council of Europe

Date: November 6, 1992

The Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs faxed the attached declaration of the Council of Europe to Martti Ahtisaari. As you recall, you met with Madame Lalumiere, the Secretary General of the Council, on October 26, 1992.

Particularly through things loop holes such

Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe

5 November 1992

APPENDIX

DECLARATION ON THE SITUATION IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

1. The Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe expresses its deep concern about the impending human tragedy which threatens to engulf the former Yugoslavia as winter approaches.

2. It considers that the scale of the ever-increasing suffering calls for immediate and resolute action by the international community, and underlines the urgent need to ensure safe areas and to provide emergency relief and shelter for the refugees.

3. The Committee of Ministers condemns the generalised and persistent recourse to violence and the brutal violations of human rights and international humanitarian law which are the cause of untold human suffering and constitute at present the main obstacle to the provision of indispensable aid.

4. The Committee of Ministers recalls its Declaration on the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, adopted on 11 September 1992 in Istanbul, and in which it

- condemned "ethnic cleansing";

- declared that it would not recognise any situation created by a policy of "faits accomplis";

- expressed its grave concern over the growing danger that hostilities may spread to other Republics and territories;

- insisted that forced expulsion, deportation, attempts to change by force the ethnic composition of regions, as well as illegal detention cease immediately and that the previous situation be re-established.

5. The Committee of Ministers

- supports the efforts of the United Nations Secretary General and the Security Council to take the necessary measures with a view to enforcing compliance with the latter's decisions;

- recalls the absolute necessity for all the Parties to honour the totality of the commitments they accepted at the London Conference of last August;

- expresses its firm support for the action of the Geneva Conference. It recalls its support for the maintenance of the Bosnian State and of its present frontiers, the need for the agreement of the three Parties (Serbs, Croats and Muslims), as well as its support for the draft Constitution for Bosnia-Herzegovina, based on democratic principles including the protection of human rights and of minorities.

6. In the framework of work in progress, the Committee of Ministers, in the light of a report by the Secretary General on her talks with the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the Geneva Conference, Lord Owen and Mr. Cyrus Vance, and after contacts with the Presidents of the European Court and Commission of Human Rights, welcomes the idea of creating, within the framework of the Constitution of Bosnia-Herzegovina, a judicial control of human rights with the participation of the Council of Europe.

The Committee of Ministers instructs its Deputies to consider, as a matter of urgency, the political and legal aspects of the implementation of such a proposal within the framework of the Geneva Conference.

7. Finally, the Committee of Ministers reiterates its support for the efforts being made in the area of humanitarian aid, to protect displaced persons and refugees by member States and by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), and requests the Social Development Fund of the Council of Europe to examine all possibilities for action in this field.

MISSION PERMANENTE DE LA FRANCE
AUPRÈS DE
L'OFFICE DES NATIONS UNIES
À GENÈVE
36, ROUTE DE PREGNY
1292 CHAMBÉSY

Genève, le 5 janvier 1993

L'Ambassadeur

PB/bm
n°03

Chers Messieurs les Co-Présidents,

J'ai l'honneur de vous faire parvenir ci-joint copie de la lettre que M. Roland DUMAS, Ministre d'Etat, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, adresse à M. Boutros BOUTROS-GHALI, pour le féliciter des progrès accomplis ces derniers jours par la Conférence Internationale sur l'ex-Yousgoslavie.

En y joignant mes remerciements personnels pour les efforts que vous avez consentis, je vous prie de croire, Messieurs les Co-Présidents, à l'assurance de ma très haute considération. et de mes sentiments les meilleurs.

Bernard MIYET

L'Honorable Lord OWEN
M. Cyrus VANCE
Co-Présidents de la Conférence
Internationale sur l'ex-Yougoslavie
Palais des Nations
1211 GENEVE 10

Monsieur le Secrétaire Général,

Les négociations sur l'avenir de la Bosnie-Herzégovine conduites, avec beaucoup de courage et de talent, par M. Cyrus VANCE en votre nom et par Lord OWEN en celui de la Communauté Européenne, viennent d'être ajournées pour quelques jours à la demande des Parties. D'après les informations dont je dispose, ces pourparlers ont enregistré de réels progrès.

Dans ce contexte, je me permets d'insister à nouveau auprès de vous pour qu'un sort particulier soit fait à la ville de Sarajevo, selon les lignes que je vous avais soumises lors de notre rencontre de mercredi dernier. Je sais, d'ailleurs, que les Co-Présidents de la Conférence travaillent au projet de démilitarisation de la capitale bosniaque.

Il est, en effet, essentiel que la ville de Sarajevo, qui a tant souffert au cours de ces derniers mois, puisse, dès la conclusion des pourparlers en cours, être débarrassée de toutes les armes lourdes et déclarée "ville ouverte", au bénéfice de tous ses habitants, selon des modalités que je vous ai exposées dans le détail lors de notre rencontre.

Ce serait le plus beau des symboles et, pour les responsables de la Conférence de Paix, le plus grand des succès, si les populations civiles de la capitale bosniaque, très durement éprouvées, pouvaient dans quelques jours bénéficier, sous l'égide des Nations Unies, d'un statut protecteur qui leur permette de reprendre rapidement une vie plus normale.

Les Présidents IZETBEGOVIC, COSIC et TUDJMAN, auprès desquels je me suis ouvert, le week-end dernier, de ce projet, seraient prêts à lui apporter leur soutien.

Confiant dans l'appui que vous voudrez bien apporter aussi à mes propositions, je vous prie de croire, Monsieur le Secrétaire Général, à l'assurance de ma haute considération.

Roland DUMAS

P.S. : J'adresse copie de ce courrier au Président du Conseil des Ministres de la Communauté Européenne, ainsi naturellement qu'aux deux Co-Présidents de la Conférence.

L'Ambassadeur
Représentant de la France
à la Conférence du Désarmenent

Genève, le 3 octobre 1992

GE/ss
n° 291

Monsieur l'Ambassadeur,

J'ai l'honneur de vous faire savoir que la France a décidé de reprendre ses vols humanitaires vers Sarajevo, à partir de dimanche 4 octobre.

Cette décision n'ôte rien à la détermination de la France d'obtenir l'exécution intégrale de l'accord du 15 septembre, relatif aux conditions de reprise des vols et en particulier les réponses complètes dont la fourniture est stipulée par cet accord et qui n'auraient pas encore été communiquées par les parties.

La France tient à marquer que ces vols, dont la reprise est dictée par la gravité de la situation humanitaire, seront aussitôt suspendus en cas de non respect des engagements pris par les parties au conflit et notamment en cas de détection de vol militaire dans les couloirs aériens humanitaires.

.../...

S. Exc. Monsieur BERASATEGUI
Ambassadeur
PALAIS DES NATIONS
1211 - GENEVE

Ce point particulier sera réitéré par ma délégation, lors de la réunion du groupe sur les mesures de confiance et de sécurité du mardi 6 octobre.

Je vous prie, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, de croire à l'assurance de ma haute considération.

Gérard ERRERA

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Palais des Nations, 1211 Geneva 10

Office of the Co-Chairmen

Geneva, Tuesday 27 October 1992

Dear Klaus,

Thank you for your letter of 25 October. We both share your horror of the worsening situation facing detainees held in the detention camps in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The issue was discussed in Mrs Ogata's report as Chairman of the Working Group on Humanitarian Issues and specifically raised by both of us at the beginning and end of the Steering Committee.

The most immediate problem is the 3,500 known detainees for whom refuge has still to be found in a third state. We are immensely grateful that Germany has once again been prepared to contribute and we recognise only too well that other member states of the ICFY must be persuaded to do likewise. You will have heard of the welcome decision by the United States to offer refuge to 1,000 detainees. We know that other European countries are about to make a further commitment or the issue is with their Minister for decision. We are using every possible avenue open to us to persuade them to come up with sufficient numbers by the weekend.

If by Monday we are still faced with an inadequate response we will discuss with Mrs Ogata and President Sommaruga what further appeal we should make.

Another matter for deep concern is that all three sides had signed an agreement with the ICRC on 1 October agreeing to provide information on the location of camps by 15 October but only the Bosnian Serbs have complied. Now the Bosnian Serbs are saying that if the Croats and Muslims refuse to identify and open their camps to inspection they will have to reconsider their position. We will raise this matter with Mr Boban on Thursday when he is due to be here in Geneva; with the Bosnia and Herzegovina representatives who will be here tomorrow and we will reinforce our appeal through President Tudjman when we see him on Friday and any contact we have with President Izetbegovic. Any influence you can bring to bear we would greatly welcome.

Yours sincerely

Cyrus Vance

David Owen

His Excellency Herr Klaus Kinkel

Botschaft
der Bundesrepublik Deutschland

Embassy
of the Federal Republic of Germany

Dublin, 25 October 1992

Message of the German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel to Lord Owen and Mr. Cyrus Vance

Courtesy Translation

Dear Lord Owen, dear Mr. Vance,

I am deeply shocked by the latest report on the situation in the internment camps in former Jugoslavia by the special envoy of the United Nations, Mr. Tadeusz Mazowiecki. The international community now have to take the appropriate steps immediately. If they are not in a position to stop the war, they cannot tolerate the continuation of the horrible development in the internment camps.

I should, therefore, ask you to use all your influence in order to get closed down the camps immediately. The prisoners who cannot be sheltered and looked after in the region have to find refuge in third states. Germany is prepared to contribute, in future too, to such a solution.

Regarding the catastrophic situation in the interment camps I should like to ask you to take the necessary steps immediately. You will find me at your side in this matter and can count on my unreserved support.

Sincerely yours,

Klaus Kinkel

DR. KLAUS KINKEL
BUNDESMINISTER DES AUSWÄRTIGEN

Bonn, den 1. Sept. 1992

Seiner Exzellenz
Herrn Cyrus Vance
Simpson Thacher & Bartlitt
425 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York
10017-3909

Lieber Herr Vance!

Soeben hatte ich ein Gespräch mit Lord Owen, in dem wir das weitere Vorgehen in der Jugoslawien-Krise eingehend erörtert haben. Dabei ergab sich eine erfreuliche Übereinstimmung mit dem Gespräch, das wir beide miteinander in London geführt haben. Lord Owen sprach bei dieser Gelegenheit eine Überlegung an, die Special Group "Kosovo" der Leitung des französischen Staatssekretärs Thierry de Baucé zu unterstellen. Dies würde darauf hinauslaufen, daß der wichtigste Bereich aus der von Herrn Botschafter Ahrens geleiteten Task Group herausgenommen würde.

Ich halte dies nicht für eine sachdienliche Überlegung. Botschafter Ahrens hat bisher eine allseits anerkannte verdienstvolle Arbeit geleistet, die fortgesetzt werden sollte. Er hat sich seit Oktober 1991 intensiv mit der Kosovo-Frage beschäftigt und hat bei den Konferenzparteien ein großes Maß an Vertrauen erworben. Überdies würde die Herausnahme des wichtigsten Einzelbereichs aus der Task Group auch die deutsche Beteiligung an der Konferenz unangemessen beeinträchtigen. Deutschland ist nur kurzfristig über

die KSZE-Troika beteiligt, während z.B. Frankreich als Ständiges Sicherheitsratsmitglied, durch Präsident Badinter und durch den stellvertretenden Kommandeur von "Unprofor" präsent ist.

Ich würde Sie sehr herzlich bitten, diesem Gesichtspunkt Rechnung zu tragen. Roland Dumas habe ich heute auf diesen Sachverhalt hingewiesen.

Mit freundlichen Grüßen und mit den besten Wünsche für die vor Ihnen liegende schwierige Aufgabe, bei der Sie voll auf mich zählen können,

Ihr

Translation

THE FEDERAL MINISTER
FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Bonn, 1 September 1992

Dear Mr Vance,

I have just had a conversation with Lord Owen in which we discussed at length what further action should now be taken in the Yugoslav crisis. This talk coincided to a pleasing extent with the conversation I had with you in London. Lord Owen mentioned in this context the possibility of placing Thierry de Baucé, the French State Secretary, in charge of the special group "Kosovo". This would result in the most important area of activity being removed from the task group headed by Ambassador Ahrens.

I do not regard this as a useful consideration. Ambassador Ahrens' commendable work until now, which has gained recognition from all sides, should be continued. Since October 1991, he has devoted his energies to the Kosovo issue and has earned a high degree of confidence from the participants in the conference. Furthermore, the removal of the task group's most important area of activity would unreasonably reduce Germany's participation in the Conference. Germany is only temporarily playing a part through the CSCE troika, while France for example is involved as a permanent member of the Security Council, through President Badinter and through the deputy commander of "UNPROFOR".

His Excellency
Mr Cyrus Vance
Simpson Thacher & Bartlitt
425 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York
10017-3909

I would kindly ask you to take this aspect into consideration. I pointed out these facts to Roland Dumas today.

Allow me to convey to you my best wishes for the difficult task facing you and to assure you of my full support.

Yours sincerely,
(sgd) Klaus Kinkel

MISSION PERMANENTE DE LA GRÈCE
GENÈVE

Ref.2230/122/AS 177

Geneva, 22 January 1993

Dear Lord Owen and Mr. Vance,

I have the honour to inform you that, on the eve of the 19th of January, the Speaker of the House of the Hellenic Republic Mr. Athanassios TSALDARIS addressed a message to the Serbs of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In this message, Mr. TSALDARIS, launched a strong appeal to them to adopt a positive attitude towards the plan presented by Your Excellencies, Co-Chairmen of the Conference, in the name of peace and stability in the area.

with highest consideration

Emmanuel I. Ghikas
Ambassador
Permanent Representative of Greece

Lord Owen and Mr. C.Vance
Co-Chairmen of the Steering
Committee of the International
Conference on former Yugoslavia
Palais des Nations

G e n e v a

MISSION PERMANENTE DE LA GRÈCE
GENÈVE

No 2230/35/AS 560

Geneva, 26 February 1993

Dear Lord Owen and Mr. Vance,

I have the honour to inform you that H.E. Ambassador Eleftherios KARAYANNIS has been appointed delegate of Greece to the Steering Committee of the International Conference on Former Yugoslavia, as from March 1, 1993.

Please accept the assurances of my highest consideration.

Emmanuel I. Ghikas
Permanent Representative

Lord Owen and Mr.C.Vance
Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee
of the International Conference
on former Yugoslavia
Palais des Nations
G e n e v a

THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Geneva, 16th December 1992

Dear Mr Vance,

As you will recall, at the London Conference the term "Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia" was used to refer to the southernmost constituent Republic of the Former Yugoslavia. This term has also been used consistently in the European Community and in U.N. documents and deliberations.

It would seem most appropriate that the same language be used in the workings of the Conference, when making reference to this Republic both in written and oral form.

Sincerely Yours

Michael Papaconstantinou

Mr. C. Vance
Co-chairman of the Steering Committee of the
International Conference on Former Yugoslavia
G e n e v a

MISSION PERMANENTE DE LA GRÈCE
GENÈVE

No.2230/395/AS 2933

The Permanent Mission of Greece to the United Nations Office in Geneva present their compliments to the Office of the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the former Yugoslavia, and have the honour to inform that Ambassador Eleftherios Karayannis has been appointed as "personal representative" to supervise, on behalf of Greece the implementation of the agreements on the humanitarian aid to the former Yugoslav Republics, as set out in the Declaration of Birmingham of 16 October 1992.

The Permanent Mission of Greece avail themselves of this opportunity to renew to the Office of the Co-Chairmen the assurances of their highest consideration.

Geneva, 4 November 1992

REPUBLIQUE HELLENIQUE - MISSION PERMANENTE DE LA GRECE - GENEVE

-Office of the Co-Chairmen
of the Steering Committee
of the International Conference
on the former Yugoslavia
Palais des Nations

c/c -Permanent Mission of the United Kingdom
of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Geneva

MISSION PERMANENTE DE LA GRÈCE
GENÈVE

Geneva 25 Septeber 1992

Mr Co-Chairman,

I think that you will be interested to know that the heads of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Patriarch Pavle, and the Roman Catholic Archibishop of Zagreb, Cardinal Kuharic, met at the Ecumenical Institute in Bossey with a view to contributing to the cessation of the hostilities in ex-Yougoslavia and bringing about reconciliation of its peoples and ethnic groups.

The two religious leaders ended their meetings by addressing a common message to all the parties involved in the crisis of ex-Yougoslavia including the various International Organizations.

For your convenience, I attach herewith a copy of the message, as well as a message addressed to the leadership of the Islamic Community in Sarajevo.

Please, accept Mr.Chairman the assurances of my highest consideration.

Emmanuel Ghikas
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

Mr.Cyrus Vance
Co-Chairman of the Steering Committee
International Conference on the
Former Yougoslavia

CEC News 27, efg
Genève, le 23 septembre 1992

M E S S A G E

DU PATRIARCHE PAVLE ET DU CARDINAL KUHARIC

de la Rencontre de Genève du 23 septembre 1992

Après nos rencontres de Sremski Karlovci et de Slavonski Brod, en mai et août de l'année dernière, nous nous sommes réunis, par la grâce de Dieu, une troisième fois, aujourd'hui, 23 septembre 1992, à l'Institut oecuménique, Château de Bossey près de Genève, où nous avons été les hôtes, nous et les membres de nos délégations, de la Conférence des Eglises européennes (KEK) et du Conseil des Conférences épiscopales européennes (CCEE). Pour cette hospitalité et pour l'aide cordiale que nous avons reçue au cours de cette Rencontre, nous exprimons notre sincère reconnaissance. Nous remercions tous ceux qui nous ont adressé leurs salutations, apporté leur soutien par la prière et envoyé leurs meilleurs voeux.

Nous regrettons profondément que le responsable de la Communauté islamique, Ra'is ul Ulama', Monsieur Jakub Selimoski, et sa délégation, qui avaient annoncé leur venue et leur participation aux entretiens, n'aient pu quitter Sarajevo. Nous espérons que la situation tragique en Bosnie et en Herzégovine s'améliorera et que dans un proche avenir il leur sera possible de prendre part à nos rencontres et entretiens.

Ici en Suisse, un pays où règnent la paix et la prospérité, nous nous sommes rencontrés au nom de notre Seigneur commun qui est notre paix, pour nous mettre au service de la paix et de la réconciliation entre nos peuples, qui sont profondément touchés, chacun à sa manière, par la tragédie de cette guerre, et en particulier au service de la paix et de réconciliation entre les parties en guerre en Bosnie et Herzégovine. Nous avons tout d'abord adressé ensemble notre prière à notre Sauveur et au Sauveur de tous les êtres humains, notre Seigneur Jésus Christ, le prince éternel de la paix et le pacificateur éternel, pour qu'il accorde sa paix à nos peuples et à toute l'humanité, cette paix qui seule est durable et indestructible. Nous avons ensuite essayé, après une introduction cernant les problèmes, d'entrer dans un dialogue franc et fidèle à la vérité sur toutes les dimensions de la situation actuelle, à commencer par les problèmes d'ordre spirituel et pastoral et autres, jusqu'à ceux des hommes et des femmes de toutes les communautés ethniques en Bosnie-Herzégovine et dans d'autres régions, menacés par cette situation.

Conference of European Churches
Conférence des Eglises européennes
Konferenz Europäischer Kirchen
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Après ces prières et ces entretiens, nous nous adressons, dans un même esprit et d'un commun accord, aux croyants de nos Eglises, aux instances d'Etat responsables, aux commandements militaires et aux troupes, à tous les peuples et à tous les hommes et femmes de notre espace géographique et spirituel commun, ainsi qu'à toutes les instances et institutions internationales qui se sont engagées, dans notre région et dans nos différents Etats, pour rechercher une solution ou pour apporter leur secours; et nous ne leur lançons pas seulement un appel mais nous leur faisons part des exigences que nous dictent notre position spirituelle et de notre responsabilité pastorale et morale. Nous exigeons :

1. que soient arrêtées, immédiatement et sans condition, toutes les hostilités, toute effusion de sang et toute destruction, en particulier que soit mis fin à la destruction sacrilège et insensée des lieux de prière et des sanctuaires, qu'ils soient chrétiens ou islamiques, et que soient engagées sans délai des négociations entre les partis en guerre;

2. que soient libérés, immédiatement et sans condition, tous les prisonniers de guerre et tous les otages, que soient fermés tous les camps de prisonniers et que soient relâchés des prisons tous ceux qui y ont été enfermés par cette guerre néfaste;

3. que soit arrêtée, immédiatement et sans condition, la pratique inhumaine de l'assainissement ethnique, de quelque côté qu'elle ait été déclenchée ou mise en oeuvre;

4. qu'il soit permis à tous les réfugiés et expulsés de rentrer dans leur foyer, et que soit accordé à tous les évêques et prêtres de nos Eglises, comme aussi au clergé musulman, libre accès à leur communauté et qu'ils puissent y accomplir leur ministère sans entrave;

5. que soient rétablies les communications normales telles que la libre circulation, le déplacement sans entrave et l'établissement pour tous les hommes et femmes quelle que soit leur appartenance politique ou nationale; et

6. que soit assurée à tous ceux qui souffrent l'aide humanitaire sur un plan d'égalité et sans entrave.

Dans un même esprit et d'une même voix, nous condamnons aussi tous les crimes commis et nous nous désolidarisons de tous les criminels, quel que soit le peuple, ou l'armée, ou l'Eglise, ou la religion, dont ils prétendent être membres. En particulier, nous exprimons notre répulsion devant la pratique de méfaits hautement immoraux, devant les abus perpétrés envers des femmes jeunes et âgées et envers des filles mineures, que seuls des monstres peuvent commettre, quel que soit le nom qu'ils se donnent.

Devant Dieu, devant les hommes et les femmes et devant notre propre conscience, nous nous engageons à utiliser tous les moyens évangéliques et toute l'influence de nos fonctions et de nos responsabilités dans l'Eglise et dans la société, pour oeuvrer, dans nos Etats et nos peuples, ouvertement et d'une manière décidée, en faveur de la paix, de la justice et du salut de tout un chacun, en faveur de la dignité et des droits inaliénables de toute personne et de tout peuple, en faveur de comportements qui soient humains, de la tolérance, du pardon et de l'amour.

Nous nous appelons nous, les uns les autres et tous, à la repentance devant le Dieu de l'amour, à la conversion et à son service, pour que nous puissions à nouveau vivre comme voisins, amis, frères et soeurs.

Que la paix soit avec vous tous !

Archevêque de Pec, Métropolite de Belgrade et Karlovci
Patriarche Pavle de Serbie

Franjo Cardinal Kuharic
Archevêque et métropolite de Zagreb

Genève, le 23 septembre 1992

A la Rijaset (Direction)
de la Communauté islamique, Sarajevo

Nous regrettons profondément qu'il ne vous ait pas été possible de venir à cette rencontre si importante que nous avions convenue à Genève, car, par nos entretiens, nous voulons contribuer à la paix tant désirée pour tous les peuples.

Notre message et les exigences qu'il contient sont l'expression de la prise de position sur laquelle nous nous sommes mis d'accord au cours de cette rencontre, mais il manque vos réflexions et vos propositions. Nous sommes convaincus que les principes exprimés et les positions adoptées, qui visent à l'égalité des droits de tous, à la justice et à la paix auront votre assentiment. Nous espérons que l'occasion d'une autre rencontre se présentera, à laquelle les trois parties pourront participer et au cours de laquelle nous pourrons échanger nos pensées et en tirer des conclusions constructives pour notre cohabitation en Bosnie-Herzégovine.

De notre rencontre ici, nous vous adressons nos meilleurs voeux et nous prions le Dieu tout-puissant qu'il mette fin aux conflits et que la paix règne entre tous les êtres humains.

Les participants à la Rencontre

Archevêque de Pec,
Métropolite de Belgrade et
Karlovci

Archevêque et métropolite de Zagreb

Patriarche Pavle de Serbie

Franjo Cardinal Kuharic

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
ON THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Palais des Nations, 1211 Geneva 10

Office of the Co-Chairmen

October 31, 1992

Dear Ambassador,

I am writing to express, on behalf of Lord Owen and myself, our deep appreciation for the use of the aircraft generously provided by the Italian Government during our recent visits.

As you are aware, from 28 to 30 October the aircraft was made available to us in our visits to Belgrade, Pristina, Skopje, Tirana, Podgorica and Zagreb. The schedule was very demanding and the visits would not have been possible without the availability of a special aircraft.

The aircraft provided by your Government was invaluable and the service by the aircrew was highly professional. I would be most grateful if you would relay to the appropriate authorities, to the aircrew - T.Col. Andrea Zipoli, Ten. Antimo De Rosa, M.Llo Fabrizio Coppola and M.Llo Teodoro Colavita - and to Mr. Alberto Balboni of your staff, our most heartfelt thanks for the excellent support extended to us.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Cyrus Vance

Cyrus Vance

H.E. Mr. Guilio di Lorenzo Badia,
Ambassador,
Permanent Representative of Italy
to the Office of the United Nations,
Geneva.

OUTGOING TELEX

Cable Office:

Please transmit the attached to the Italian Foreign Ministry, telex no.043.62.33.60 maerm.

B. Ramcharan

His Excellency

Senor Emilio Colombo

Minister for Foreign Affairs

Palazzo della Farnesina

Rome

Italy

We wish to extend our deepest condolences to the families of the four airmen who died yesterday in the tragic loss of your humanitarian aircraft. We also extend our condolences to the Government of Italy. We are deeply aware of the devotion and the commitment of your brave humanitarian volunteers, endeavouring to provide relief and assistance to the people in need. We immediately requested the Chairman of our Working Group on Confidence and Security-building and Verification Measures to initiate an enquiry into the circumstances surrounding the loss of the aircraft and to advise us urgently about its findings and recommendations.

Cyrus Vance Lord Owen

Co-Chairmen
Steering Committee
of the
International Conference on the
Former Yugoslavia

File

ראש הממשלה
THE PRIME MINISTER

Jerusalem, August 17, 1992.
136-2

Dear Mr. Vance,

Many thanks for your letter of July 20, 1992, and for your kind congratulations and good wishes. I share your view that the period ahead of us may present an opportunity for progress in the peace making efforts.

We shall do our best to try to make use of chances.

I was briefed by Ely Rubinstein on the work of Gidon Gottlieb and John Temple Swing. I look forward to learn more about it in the future.

Let me conclude by reciprocating your wishes, sending you my own very best regards, and hoping for success in your own peace efforts.

Sincerely,

Y. Rabin
Yitzhak Rabin

Mr. Vance: I send a copy to John Swing. Edna

The Honorable Cyrus Vance
425 Lexington Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10017-3909

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

HAMID ALGABID
Secretary General
Organisation of the Islamic Conference

No.IS/SG/PROT/93

Jeddah, 27 DEC 1992

His Excellency
Mr. Cyrus Vance,
Co-chairman of
International Conference
on Former Yugoslavia,
Geneva

Excellency,

It gives me great pleasure to convey to Your Excellency my best wishes for a very happy and prosperous New Year.

It is my fervent hope that the New Year will see the crowning of our joint efforts for peace and harmony among nations and peoples with success.

The OIC reiterates its pledge to redouble its efforts in the coming months for the alleviation of sufferings of millions of victims of conflicts and strife which are raging so intensely in various parts of the world and particularly in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

With my high regards,

(Dr. Hamid ALGABID)

NY-GRETNG
DC3-92

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

ON THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Palais des Nations, 1211 Geneva 10

Office of the Co-Chairmen

16 September 1992

Sir,

Thank you for your letter of 9 September about possible participation in Working Groups of the International Conference on the former Yugoslavia.

The practice of the EC Conference was to include in the Working Groups only representatives coming from the Republics of former Yugoslavia. This made it possible to establish good personal relations within the Groups. An enlargement of the Groups to accommodate all who expressed interest would make them too large and formal for effective work, and would thus endanger a negotiating process which is already difficult.

The Co-Chairmen recognise that the states outside Yugoslavia which are members of the Steering Committee are interested in being kept informed about the course of discussions in the Working Groups. We are therefore in the process of establishing a system so that you will receive regularly brief reports on work in the Working Groups, which you would be at liberty to pass on to your group of non-Community neighbouring states. We hope to send you the first of these shortly.

.../2

His Excellency
Mr. Romulus Neague
Ambassador
Permanent Representative of Romania
to the United Nations Office at Geneva
6 Chemin de la Perrière
Villa "La Perrière"
1223 Cologny
Geneva

If there are specific points on which you would like clarification, I am sure the Chairman of the appropriate Group would be glad to let you have additional information.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of our highest consideration.

Cyrus Vance
Co-Chairman

David Owen
Co-Chairman

The Permanent Representative of
Romania
to the European Office of the United Nations and
International Organizations in Switzerland
Geneva

Romulus Neagu
Ambassador

Please prepare a reply for the signature of Lord Owen + myself. Thank you.

Mr.Cyrus Vance
Lord David Owen
Co-Chairmen of the
International Conference
on the former Yugoslavia
Palais des Nations
Genève

September 9, 1992

Your Excellencies,

In accordance with the decisions taken at the London Conference with regard to the activity and the structure of the Steering Committee, Romania took part in the first session of the Committee as representative of the non-Community neighbouring States group and afterwards convened a meeting of the representatives of the above mentioned group (Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary), in Geneva, on the 7th September 1992, to inform them about the work of the first session of the Steering Committee, so as to ensure complete collaboration and the best hand-over of responsibilities to the next appointee of the Group on the Steering Committee.

All the participants in the meeting highly appreciated the endeavours of the Co-Chairmen to establish a firm basis for the peace negotiations including the way they conducted the proceedings of the Steering Committee and the manner they direct the Working Groups to prepare a general settlement and associated measures.

During this meeting the fellow-members of the non-Community neighbouring States Group uttered their determination to fully support the efforts of the Co-Chairmen and the Steering Committee to reach a negotiated solution of the Yugoslav crisis.

In this respect, the five non-Community neighbouring States expressed their wish to be kept informed in the future too about the development of negotiations and asked the Romanian delegation to apply, on their behalf, to be admitted to the proceedings of the Working Groups.

Having in view the request of these countries as well as the interest of Romania to fully contribute to the work of the Steering Committee, I kindly ask you to take into consideration this issue when examining the possibility for the interested States to join the forthcoming meetings of the Working Groups.

Please, accept, Excellencies the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

Romulus Neagu
Ambassador

The Permanent Representative of
Romania
to the European Office of the United Nations and
International Organizations in Switzerland
Geneva

Romulus Neagu
Ambassador

Mr.Cyrus Vance
Lord David Owen
Co-Chairmen of the
International Conference
on the former Yugoslavia
Palais des Nations
Genève

September 9, 1992

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c/o: Mr. Henry Darwin, Chairman of the
Succession Issues Working Group,
International Conference on the former
Yugoslavia

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Please, accept, Excellencies the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

Romulus Neagu
Ambassador

ПОСТОЯННОЕ ПРЕДСТАВИТЕЛЬСТВО
РОССИЙСКОЙ ФЕДЕРАЦИИ
ПРИ ОТДЕЛЕНИИ ООН И ДРУГИХ МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫХ
ОРГАНИЗАЦИЯХ В ЖЕНЕВЕ

MISSION PERMANENTE DE LA FEDERATION
DE RUSSIE AUPRES DE L'OFFICE DES
NATIONS UNIES ET DES AUTRES
ORGANIZATIONS INTERNATIONALES AYANT
LEUR SIEGE A GENEVE

15, avenue de la Paix, 1202 GENEVE

Telephone: 733 18 70 Telefax: 734 40 44

Save

STATEMENT OF THE RUSSIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY
ON SETTLEMENT IN YUGOSLAVIA

Moscow, January 13.

Russia welcomes the preliminary agreement reached by the three sides at the peace talks in Geneva to settle the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This is the first step towards the success of negotiations initiated by the London conference and carried out by its Coordinating Committee chairmen Cyrus Vance and Lord David Owen.

The Russian Foreign Ministry welcomes the readiness expressed by Serbian leader Radovan Karadzic to accept the principles of constitutional settlement in Bosnia-Herzegovina proposed by Owen and Vance and voices the hope the move will be followed by the whole Serbian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

It is of paramount importance now to restate the reached agreements and move ahead in order to adopt the whole package of documents on Bosnia drawn up by Vance and Owen. The Russian Foreign Ministry hopes all Bosnian sides will continue constructive interaction aimed at attaining a comprehensive settlement and believes the constructive role played by the Presidents of Yugoslavia and Serbia, which was largely contributed to the adoption of the agreements at this stage, will provide for both their successful implementation and further talks.

Only as a result of joint efforts supported by the world community one could finally untie the Bosnian knot with political means and thus exclude the use of other measures.

At the same time, the Russian Foreign Ministry considers a preliminary agreement between the Presidents of Yugoslavia and Croatia on the normalisation of relations between the two countries as an encouraging step towards a conflict settlement in Yugoslavia.

*

DISTRIBUTION:

H.E. Ambassador
H. Okun

14/I

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Palais des Nations, 1211 Geneva 10

Office of the Co-Chairmen

5 January 1993

Dear Mr. Ambassador,

It was so kind of you to send Mrs. Vance and me the lovely Christmas gift and we thank you from the bottom of our hearts. You are so kind, and we appreciate it greatly.

Mrs. Vance and I join in sending you our warmest best wishes for a happy New Year.

Looking forward to seeing you soon,

Sincerely,

Cyrus R. Vance

His Excellency
Mr. Evgeny N. Makeyev
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation
to the United Nations
15 avenue de la Paix
1202 Geneva

Mission Permanente Du Royaume
De L'Arabie Saoudite Auprès
Des Nations Unies
Genève

البعثة الدائمة للمملكة العربية السعودية
لدى المقر الأوروبي للأمم المتحدة
جنيف

Geneva, 11 December 1992

His Excellency
Mr Cyrus VANCE
Co-Chairman of the International
Conference on the former
Yugoslavia

Palais des Nations
Geneva

Your Excellency,

I have the honour to send you here attached a letter along with its translation addressed to Your Excellency by His Royal Highness Prince Saud AL FAYSAL, Minister of Foreign Affairs. The text of the resolution adopted by the sixth extraordinary session of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers held in Jeddah, is enclosed herewith.

Please accept, Your Excellency, my highest consideration.

A. Abdul

Ahmed ABDUL-JABBAR
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

SAUDI ARABIAN PERMANENT MISSION TO UNITED NATIONS
GENEVA

Mission Permanente Du Royaume
De L'Arabie Saoudite Auprès
Des Nations Unies
Genève

البعثة الدائمة للمملكة العربية السعودية
لدى المقر الأوروبي للأمم المتحدة
جنيف

Translation

December 10, 1992

His Excellency
Mr Cyrus VANCE
Co-Chairman of the International
Conference on the former
Yugoslavia

Palais des Nations
Geneva

Your Excellency,

I wish to thank you for your participation in the sixth extraordinary session of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers of the member countries in the Organization of the Islamic Conference regarding the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, held recently in Jeddah.

Your attendance has greatly contributed to emphasize the importance of the conference with regard to the various dimensions of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

We particularly appreciate this opportunity allowed by Your Excellency to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the member countries in the Islamic Conference Organization for in-depth exchange of views on efforts extended by the International Conference on the former Yugoslavia for settling the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

./..

I am pleased to enclose herewith the text of the resolution issued by the Conference on Bosnia-Herzegovina. I am convinced that its tenor will reach your great concern.

I seize this opportunity to renew my profound appreciation for the kind endeavours expended by Your Excellency for solving the problems of the former Yugoslavia through negotiations.

We are very hopeful that the international community and especially the International Conference on the former Yugoslavia will intensify their efforts for the efficient enforcement of the London agreements and the related Security Council resolutions concerning Bosnia-Herzegovina. The international community is unable to permit the persistency of this intolerable situation due to the serbian obstinacy.

I wish to emphasize our full support for your assistance and the obligation of the member countries in the Islamic Conference Organization to act within the international legitimacy framework in favour of peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Please accept, Your Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Saoud AL FAYSAL

Minister of Foreign Affairs
of the
Kingdom of Saudi Arabia
and
Chairman of the sixth extraordinary
session of the Islamic Conference
of Foreign Ministers

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Palais des Nations, 1211 Geneva 10

Office of the Co-Chairmen

Your Royal Highness,

We wish to express our deep thanks and gratitude for your generous hospitality during the recent OIC meeting in Jeddah. We also wish to convey to you our profound appreciation for your kindness in making available an aircraft for our journey.

Both of us found the meeting very useful. It helped us to understand the profound depth of feeling amongst the Islamic community about the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and also, we hope, allowed us to demonstrate that we share these concerns as we continue our pursuit of a negotiated settlement. We would like to congratulate you on the skilful way in which you chaired the meeting, and for giving us the opportunity for extended discussions with the Foreign Ministers on the second day. We were pleased to see that you and the meeting believe the search for peace should be carried forward by the Geneva Conference, and through the UN. We strongly believe that this offers the best way forward.

We look forward very much to seeing you next week at the meeting of the extended Steering Committee of the International Conference here in Geneva.

With warmest best wishes,

Sincerely,

Cyrus Vance

Cyrus Vance

David Owen

His Royal Highness Prince Saud al Faisal
Minister of Foreign Affairs
of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia
Riyadh

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Palais des Nations, 1211 Geneva 10

Office of the Co-Chairmen

FAX TRANSMITTAL

TO:	H.R.H. Saoud Al Saisal Foreign Minister of Saudi Arabia	DATE: 27 November 1992
FAX:	00 9661 40 25 797	FAX-OUT NO:ICFY/115/92
		PAGE: 1 OF 1
FROM:	Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen Co-Chairmen	FAX NOS: (41-22)-917-00-79 (41-22)-917-00-80
INFO:		
FAX:		

We shall be attending the Sixth Extraordinary Session of the Organization of Islamic Conference's Foreign Ministers meeting in Jeddah from 1 to 2 December. We hope very much to be able to have an exchange of views with you during this period. Upon arrival we shall contact you to arrange a mutually convenient time.

Assurances of our highest consideration.

BGR.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Palais des Nations, 1211 Geneva 10

Office of the Co-Chairmen

FAX TRANSMITTAL

TO:	H.E. Hikmet Çetin Foreign Minister of Turkey	DATE: 27 November 1992
FAX:	00 90 42 87 38 69	FAX-OUT NO:ICFY/116/92
		PAGE: 1 OF 1
FROM:	Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen Co-Chairmen	FAX NOS: (41-22)-917-00-79 (41-22)-917-00-80
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Assurances of our highest consideration.

BGR

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Palais des Nations, 1211 Geneva 10

Office of the Co-Chairmen

FAX TRANSMITTAL

TO:	H.E. Muhammad Siddique Khan Kanju Foreign Minister of Pakistan	DATE: 27 November 1992
FAX:	00 92 51 82 02 21	FAX-OUT NO:ICFY/117/92
		PAGE: 1 OF 1
FROM:	Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen Co-Chairmen	FAX NOS: (41-22)-917-00-79 (41-22)-917-00-80
INFO:		
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Assurances of our highest consideration. BGR

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Palais des Nations, 1211 Geneva 10

Office of the Co-Chairmen

FAX TRANSMITTAL

TO:	H.E. Amre Moussa Foreign Minister of Egypt	DATE: 27 November 1992
FAX:	00202 354 65 89	FAX-OUT NO:ICFY/118/92
		PAGE: 1 OF 1
FROM:	Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen Co-Chairmen	FAX NOS: (41-22)-917-00-79 (41-22)-917-00-80
INFO:		
FAX:		

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Assurances of our highest consideration. BGR

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Palais des Nations, 1211 Geneva 10

Office of the Co-Chairmen

FAX TRANSMITTAL

TO:	S.E. Djido Laity Ka Ministre des Affaires Etrangères Senegal	DATE: 27 November 1992
FAX:	00221 23 84 88	FAX-OUT NO: ICFY/119/92
		PAGE: 1 OF 1
FROM:	Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen Co-Chairmen	FAX NOS: (41-22)-917-00-79 (41-22)-917-00-80
INFO:		
FAX:		

Nous assisterons à la Sixième Session Extraordinaire de la Conference des Ministres des Affaires Etrangères, de l'Organisation de la Conférence Islamique qui se tiendra à Jeddah les 1er et 2 Decembre. Nous souhaitons avoir un échange de vues avec vous pendant cette periode. Dès notre arrivée nous nous mettrons en rapport avec vous, afin de décidez d'un rendez-vous.

Avec notre plus haute consideration. RGR.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Palais des Nations, 1211 Geneva 10

Office of the Co-Chairmen

FAX TRANSMITTAL

TO:	H.E. Ali Akbar Velayati Foreign Minister of Iran	DATE: 27 November 1992
FAX:	0098 21 67 47 63	FAX-OUT NO:ICFY/120/92
		PAGE: 1 OF 1
FROM:	Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen Co-Chairmen	FAX NOS: (41-22)-917-00-79 (41-22)-917-00-80
INFO:		
FAX:		

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Assurances of our highest consideration. BGL.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Palais des Nations, 1211 Geneva 10

Office of the Co-Chairmen

FAX TRANSMITTAL

TO:	S.E. Abdellatif Filali Ministre des Affaires Etrangères Maroc	DATE: 27 November 1992
FAX:	00212 77 64 679	FAX-OUT NO: ICFY/121/92
		PAGE: 1 OF 1
FROM:	Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen Co-Chairmen	FAX NOS: (41-22)-917-00-79 (41-22)-917-00-80
INFO:		
FAX:		

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Avec notre plus haute consideration. BGR.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Palais des Nations, 1211 Geneva 10

Office of the Co-Chairmen

FAX TRANSMITTAL

TO:	H.E. Ali Alatas Foreign Minister of Indonesia	DATE: 27 November 1992
FAX:	00 6221 380 55 11	FAX-OUT NO:ICFY/122/92
		PAGE: 1 OF 1
FROM:	Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen Co-Chairmen	FAX NOS: (41-22)-917-00-79 (41-22)-917-00-80
INFO:		
FAX:		

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Assurances of our highest consideration. RGL.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
ON THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Palais des Nations, 1211 Geneva 10

Office of the Co-Chairmen

November 25, 1992

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

Lord Owen and I would like to thank the Swiss Government for its kind invitation to attend the Conference of the Religious Leaders of Former Yugoslavia coordinated by the Appeal of Conscience Foundation. We deeply regret that we will not be able to attend tonight's reception in Zurich as we are scheduled to meet starting at 6:00 p.m. with the Prime Minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia here in Geneva.

I would be most grateful if you would convey to Rabbi Arthur Schneier our deep thanks and very best wishes. We welcome this important initiative and hope and pray that together we will be able to achieve a peaceful resolution of the conflict.

With warmest best wishes,

Sincerely,

Cyrus Vance

Cyrus R. Vance

H.E. Mr. Jenö Staehelin

Amb. Okun:

Mr. WOKER called again. On Wednesday this week there will be a major meeting in Zurich of religious leaders from the former Yugoslavia. Swiss Govt. is host but the meeting is sponsored by an American foundation - Appeal of Conscience Foundation - which is apparently known to you. Mr. Woker would like to have your opinion as to whether the presence of one or other of the Co-Chairmen would be desirable, at least for part of the time. (I did mention to Mr. Woker that they already have a meeting scheduled for late afternoon.)

The following would like to speak with you:

Amb. Jakovich - Tel. 749.46.00

Amb. Salomon - Tel. (718)499 4499

Mr. Baier - Tel. 733 77 50 (Austrian Mission)

Amb. Moore - Tel. (202) 862 7952

Margaret
23 Nov 92

EIDGENÖSSISCHES DEPARTEMENT
FÜR AUSWÄRTIGE ANGELEGENHEITEN

DER STAATSSEKRETÄR

Berne, 11th november 1992

International Conference
on the Former Yugoslavia
Office of the Co-Chairmen
Palais des Nations

1211 Geneva 10

Your Excellencies,

I thank you very much for your letter of 5 November 1992, in which you invite Switzerland to be a participating state of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia.

I am pleased to inform you that Switzerland accepts this invitation. We shall do our best to contribute to a positive course of the conference.

As of now, we shall therefore be pleased to take part in the meetings of the steering committee on a regular basis.

Please accept, your Excellencies, the assurance of my highest consideration.

J. Kellenberger

Jakob Kellenberger

H.E.
Mr Cyrus Vance
Co-Chairman

H.E.
Lord Owen
Co-Chairman

Mission permanente de la Suisse
près les Organisations Internationales

L'AMBASSADEUR

Geneva , 12 November 1992

839.2(1) sd - ALD

International Conference
on the Former Yugoslavia
Office of the Co-Chairmen
Palais des Nations

1211 GENEVE 10

Your Excellencies,

I acknowledge receipt of your letter dated 5 November 1992, in which you invite Switzerland to be a participating State of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia.

While thanking you for this message I would like to inform you that I did not fail to transmit this invitation to my Government.

Please accept, your Excellencies, the assurance of my highest consideration.

The Head
of the Permanent Mission of Switzerland

B. de Riedmatten

H.E.
Mr. Cyrus Vance
Co-Chairman

H.E.
Lord David Owen
Co-Chairman

CONFERENCE INTERNATIONALE
SUR L'ANCIENNE YOUGOSLAVIE

Palais des Nations, 1211 Genève 10

Bureau des Co-Présidents

Le 9 novembre 1992

Cher Monsieur,

Lord Owen et moi-même tenons à vous remercier très chaleureusement et, par vos bons soins, à remercier la République et Canton de Genève de nous avoir permis d'utiliser Le Saugy dans la soirée du vendredi 6 novembre.

Les arrangements faits pour cette occasion étaient tous absolument parfaits. Le repas, qui était délicieux, s'est déroulé dans un cadre et une ambiance tout à fait propices à l'atmosphère discrète que nous souhaitions pour un dîner privé avec notre éminent hôte.

L'attention que vous nous avez témoignée personnellement pour veiller au bon déroulement de cette soirée a été exceptionnelle. Nous vous sommes des plus reconnaissants, à vous et à vos collaborateurs, pour l'amabilité, la générosité et l'efficacité sans faille dont vous avez fait montre à notre égard et nous vous demandons de faire part de nos sincères remerciements à tous.

En vous adressant mes meilleurs voeux, je vous prie de croire, cher Monsieur, à mes sentiments les meilleurs.

Cyrus Vance

M. Dominique Louis
Chef du Protocole adjoint
de la République et Canton de Genève
2, rue de l'Hôtel-de-Ville
1211 Genève 3

DRAFT

9 November 1992

Dear Mr. Louis,

Lord Owen and I wish to thank you most warmly, and through you the Republic and Canton of Geneva, for the use of Le Saugy on the evening of Friday, 6 November.

Without exception, all the arrangements were truly excellent. The meal was delightful and the setting and ambiance provided precisely the discreet atmosphere we wanted for a private dinner with our important guest.

The personal attention that you yourself gave us to ensure that everything went well was of the highest order. We are most grateful for the kindness, the generosity and the superb efficiency extended to us by you and your staff and ask that you relay our deep appreciation to all concerned.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

SWEDISH MISSION
FOR DISARMAMENT
GENEVA

Geneva, 29 January 1993

International Conference on the
Former Yugoslavia

Office of the Co-Chairmen

Dear Sirs,

This is to inform you that as of today the Swedish Mission for Disarmament is responsible for Sweden's contacts in Geneva with the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (ICFY). The Conference has until this date been covered by the Swedish Permanent Mission.

I would be grateful if all communications concerning the Conference henceforth be addressed to the Swedish Mission for Disarmament. The persons directly dealing with the Conference in the Mission are:

Mr. Lars Norberg,	Ambassador, Head of Delegation
Mr. Richard Ekwall,	Counsellor
Mr. Jan-Olov Gezelius,	Brigadier-General (Air force)

Postal Address
Délégation de Suède
pour le Désarmement
Case Postale 97
CH-1211 GENEVE 20

Street Address
62, rue de Vermont

Telephone
022/34 44 00

Telegrams
Suedarm
Genève
Telex: 23526
Telefax: 34 81 64

In my absence, Mr. Bertil Roth, Counsellor, is in charge of the Mission.

I would appreciate it if all Conference documents etc addressed to the Mission will be put in the Mission's pigeon hole at the Palais des Nations to be collected there by our staff.

Yours sincerely,

Lars Norberg

Lars Norberg
Ambassador

PERMANENT MISSION OF TURKEY

GENEVA

3564-561

Geneva, 27 November 1992

Your Excellencies,

I have the pleasure to enclose herewith the Joint Declaration adopted at the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Balkan and Regional Countries, held in Istanbul, 25 November 1992.

Please accept, Your Excellencies, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Gündüz AKTAN
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

H.E. Mr. Cyrus VANCE
H.E. Lord OWEN
Co-Chairmen of the
International Conference
on former Yugoslavia
Center for Human Rights
Palais des Nations

1211 Geneva 10

PERMANENT MISSION OF TURKEY

GENEVA

JOINT DECLARATION
THE CONFERENCE OF FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE BALKAN AND REGIONAL COUNTRIES

25 NOVEMBER 1992

Profoundly concerned about the internecine fighting in the former Yugoslavia which has been causing tragic loss of human life and material damage, and about consequences for the countries of the region, in particular Bosnia-Herzegovina. Croatia, and of potential spill-over effects of the use of force in Kosovo, Vojvodina, Sandjak and the Republic of Macedonia, with the risk of drawing the countries of the region into conflict.

Particularly worried about the extremely tense situation in Kosovo and conscious of the fact that further escalation of the tension is dangerous for peace and stability in the region.

Determined to assume their inherent responsibility in the region, based on the historical ties which link the countries of the region with each other for reasons of common geography, history and culture,

Recalling and reaffirming their commitment to all the relevant U.N Security Council Resolutions,

Reaffirming their full support for the international conference on the former Yugoslavia and in particular for the proposal by the Co-chairmen of the steering committee of the conference on the constitutional structure of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in the context of their commitment to the principles of the CSCE and the charter of Paris for a new Europe.

Noting with grave concern the human drama and tragic events which having started in the Northern part of the former Yugoslavia are now spreading to the South,

Noting in particular the report of the special rapporteur, appointed following the special session of the commission on human rights to investigate the human rights situation in the former Yugoslavia, which makes clear that massive and systematic violations of human rights and grave breaches of international humanitarian law continue in Bosnia-Herzegovina with the Muslims overwhelmingly being the victims,

Fully conscious that delay, hesitation and errors in conveying the resolve of the international community against the ongoing violation of internationally acclaimed principles in the former Yugoslavia set an unfavorable and dangerous precedent for peace and stability in the Balkans and beyond,

1. Resolutely declares that any acquisition of territory by force and any practice of "ethnic cleansing" are unlawful and unacceptable, will not be permitted and will have to be reversed, and that all refugees must be enabled to return in peace to their former homes.

2. Calls on all parties and others concerned to respect strictly the territorial integrity, independence, sovereignty and national identify of all the states of the former Yugoslavia.

3. Condemns refusals in Bosnia-Herzegovina, particularly by the Bosnian Serb paramilitary forces, to comply with the relevant UN Security Council Resolutions, demanding that they fulfill immediately their obligations.

4. Firmly believes that Sarajevo as the symbol of Bosnia-Herzegovina's statehood must be saved at all costs and the shock waves that its fall would send throughout the former Yugoslavia, to the Balkans, indeed to whole Europe must be prevented, and requests the Foreign Ministers of CSCE countries to consider meeting in Sarajevo as soon as possible.

5. Opposes grave discrimination of ethnical or religious grounds especially in the regions noted for their rich heritage of cultural, religious, ethnical and national multiplicity,

6. Demands all necessary steps to be taken jointly for the restoration and repair of historical, religious and cultural heritage in the territory of former Yugoslavia, which embody the common values of the peoples of the world.

7. Calls upon the relevant international organizations to urgently establish militarily protected safe areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

8. Also calls on the relevant international organizations to establish, effectively operate and protect a maximum possible number of corridors for the transport of humanitarian relief goods.

9. Urges the rapid deployment of UN observers on the borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina in accordance with operative paragraph 16 of the UN Security Council Resolution 787 (1992) and further urges the United Nations Security Council to examine the possibility of deploying forces in Kosovo, Vojvodina and Sandak, as well as in the Republic of Macedonia to contain the extremely explosive situation reigning in these areas

taking into consideration the relevant decisions of the CSCE.

10. Strongly urges all parties concerned to exercise the greatest moderation and restraint over Kosovo, and particularly Federal authorities (Serbia-Montenegro) to use their influence to ensure continued involvement of Serbian authorities in the Geneva conference brokered talks on the situation in Kosovo: the Serbian authorities, as well as Kosovan leadership to cooperate with the conference: and all the sides to contain extremist elements under their control.

11. Warns that the spread of the conflict to other areas would lead to unforeseeable consequences and would have to be stopped by most resolute actions of the International Community.

12. Calls upon the International Community to review, the necessity of the recognition of the Republic of Macedoni and the positive effects on peace and cooperation in the Balkans and including the membership of this Republic to the UN and the CSCE.

13. Supports the convening of a special session of the UN commission of human rights to discuss the report of its special rapporteur, Mr. Mazowiecki and the initiative to determine those personally accountable for crimes against humanity.

14. Calls on the International Community to contribute to the promotion of independent and objective information in the former Yugoslavia and requests all parties concerned to cooperate with the UN, in particular with UNPROFOR, in the intensification of their information activities.

15. Urges the Co-chairman of the International conference on the former Yugoslavia to convene in December a ministerial meeting of the conference in order to undertake the necessary steps to implement its statement of principles and enhance the effectiveness of the conference, referring in this context to the recently made French proposal.

16. Calls for an early reactivation of Balkan cooperation revived in 1988 in Belgrade which has been interrupted upon the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia.

17. Decides to hold consultations at Senior Officials level open to all Balkan and neighbouring States to meet periodically or when necessary, to review the developments related to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, to coordinate approaches, to prepare recommendations to their respective governments and to consider the best ways and means to assist the Geneva conference, the CSCE, the UN aimed at a peaceful and speedy resolution of the conflict.

18. Decides to communicate copies of the present declaration to the United Nations, the OIC, the Co-Chairmen of the ICFY, the CSCE and to the European Community."

Foreign &
Commonwealth
Office

London SW1A 2AH

From The Secretary of State

18 December 1992

Dear David,

I know that both you and Cy Vance had reservations in advance about Wednesday's meeting in Geneva. However, I think it was extremely valuable for colleagues to take stock, and to hear in detail what you and Cy, and others like Mrs Ogata, are trying to achieve and how you see us moving forward. I had the impression that quite a few of your audience had no idea before you all spoke of the depth of your effort and plans. The Dane, for example, told the NATO Council the next day how impressed he had been with the energy being shown on the political side. Proper communication between the different bodies involved in this effort will continue to be both difficult and essential.

I am really most grateful for all the trouble which you both took over this.

I am copying this letter to Cy Vance.

Yours,

Douglas

DOUGLAS HURD

The Rt Hon The Lord Owen

February 1, 1993

The Honorable Warren Christopher
Secretary
Department of State
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

We have learned that Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Bosnian Serbs and a suspected war criminal, is seeking a visa to enter the United States. We are writing to urge strongly that Mr. Karadzic's visa request be denied.

According to the Immigration Act of 1990, Mr. Karadzic could be denied entry because of international terrorist activity; membership in a totalitarian organization; or if the Secretary of State believes entry into the United States would have adverse foreign policy consequences.

There is more than enough evidence to justify exclusion. Mr. Karadzic has presided over the greatest systematic violation of basic human rights in more than a generation. Violence in Bosnia-Hercegovina has claimed the lives of more than 200,000 citizens. Tens of thousands of Bosnian women have been raped. Ethnic cleansing has uprooted more than 1.5 million people. There appears to be no limit to the senseless genocide imposed by the forces controlled by Mr. Karadzic. It is for these atrocities that the United States State Department has listed Mr. Karadzic as a potential war criminal.

Now Mr. Karadzic intends to travel to New York to cement the territorial gains of his aggression. Though we support efforts to achieve peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina, we strongly oppose any agreement that legalizes military aggression. Such an agreement cannot last. Just as important, we strongly oppose any attempts to negotiate peace agreements with potential war criminals, such as Mr. Karadzic. Peace is not a substitute for justice.

For these reasons and pursuant to the Immigration Act of 1990, we urge you to deny Mr. Karadzic's visa application. However, should the United Nations insist that Mr. Karadzic be granted a visa, we urge that his entry be conditioned on his being questioned by the United Nations Commission on Experts, recently established to gather evidence on possible war crimes in the former Yugoslavia.

The world must learn the extent of his involvement in the horrific crimes perpetrated by the Serbs against Bosnian Croats and Muslims, and against humanity itself.

Thank you for your prompt attention to this vital issue.

Sincerely,

Larry Pressler
United States Senator

LP/rhg

THE HONORABLE WARREN CHRISTOPHER
SECRETARY OF STATE
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. SECRETARY :

The very dangerous situation in Kosova-Bosnia-Balkan now, is forcing me to write a letter.

The Russian bolsheviks and national-shovinists, once again are active, agrressive and very dangerous. First of all, the Russian bolsheviks with the Slavic orthodox nations wanted again to form a Russian agrressive military block. The Russian fanatics now are present and very active in Serbia and in Macedonia. For hegemonism and domination, the reason and first step is the Kosova-Albania=Balkan-Mediterranian. From some Macedonian tribes the Russians are too active in creating another Slavic orthodox state in the Balkans. The Serbian agrressors, military, paramilitary and police force, are very active in bringing upon the deterioration of Kosova. From Montenegro, Macedonia and especially from Kosova, Serbo-Russian pressure is too high against Albania. The Albanian borders from Kosova to Macedonia are being dangerously pressured-to OVERTHROW the government and democracy of Albania. the name of "Slavic interests" Russian fanatics and bolsheviks have turned the Bulgarian support towards the Serbian agrressors. The Serbo-Russian risks in Kosova and in Albania, will put at risk Greece, Italy and especially Turkey.

The Serbian criminal agrressors accused and attacked other nations, committing savage crimes and OPENING CONCETRATION CAMPS. Why are the Serbian agrressors and criminals being HELPED and REWARDED?! Any alliance and help to the Serbian agrressors now, is the same AS ALLIANCE AND HELP WITH NAZI-FASCISM. But some people have created a very dangerous alliance. They are helping the Serbian agrressors-in Brussels, London, Geneva and United Nations. I'm sorry and excuse me, but this international alliance like the international mafia, has been found offensive in dedicateing Kosova like a present to the Serbian agrressors and criminals. These will be actions with savage crimes to eliminate Albanian people, especially in Kosova and in Macedonia. Also this alliance will

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BOB DOLE
KANSAS

— DRAFT —

United States Senate

OFFICE OF THE REPUBLICAN LEADER
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-7030

February 3, 1993

The Honorable Warren Christopher
Secretary of State
U.S. Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

We are writing to express our grave concerns about the proposed Vance/Owen peace plan for Bosnia-Hercegovina and to urge the administration not to endorse the plan in the U.N. Security Council. We have long respected Mr. Vance and Lord Owen and recognize that they have worked many long hours in Geneva at the Conference on the Former Yugoslavia. Nevertheless, we believe that the plan is seriously misguided and would set a dangerous precedent for other regions of the world, in particular the countries of the former Soviet Union.

With respect to the proposed map of Bosnia-Hercegovina, in our view the division of Bosnia-Hercegovina along ethnic lines into ten autonomous provinces constitutes a de facto acceptance of the rationale behind ethnic cleansing. In practical terms, it means that ethnic cleansing will not be reversed in towns such as Brcko and Prijedor. Tens of thousands of refugees will be unable to return to their homes.

As for the draft plan on Interim Arrangements for Bosnia-Hercegovina, we find profoundly disturbing the proposal to abolish the democratically-elected Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina and replace it with an Interim Council. Quite simply, this provision is fundamentally undemocratic. Moreover, under the Interim Arrangements proposal, Radovan Karadzic will be able to appoint three representatives to the Interim Council; it is therefore possible that the people of Bosnia will be ruled by alleged war criminals.

Putting matters of principle aside, we believe that the Vance Plan is practically unrealizable. First, the plan establishes that decisions will be made by consensus. Having watched the course of the Geneva negotiations, it appears that achieving consensus in the Interim Council will be nearly impossible, leaving the ten autonomous provinces to function on their own in a quasi-feudal fashion. With such a weak governmental system, the United Nations commitment will need to be greatly enhanced, particularly in terms of the number of U.N.

damage authorities and American interests. This group is not without connections with Russian-Sebian fanatics and bolsheviks. To protect international peace and U.S. interests-American officials, especially in the State Department, must not be influenced by this alliance.

Throughout History the Albanian people have never been protected or had agrressors kept from overruning their territories. Unfortunately and shamefully, even today their territories and vital interests are being sold and the Albanian people are flagranttly being stepped on. Why?! It is a wonder that Mr. Boutros Ghali Secretary General of Security Council to the United Nations, is very active from half of the Macedonians in creating another orthodox state in Balkans. Unbelievable, he made some statements against the independence of Kosova, even though the Albanians are four-five times larger than Macedonians. Mr. Ghali obviously is not aware of the Albanian history and criminal events occuring in Kosova and over Albanian people today. To propose or to pressure Kosova and the Albanian people to remain again in Serbia, is a big crime-like telling the Jewish during WW II, not to leave the deadly concentration camps and live with the Nazis. I now can guarantee it Kosova remains again under Serbia, it is against international peace and will affect American interests.

Kosova and the Albanian people never have stepped upon the blood of another people. During the WW II, Kosova, all Albanian territories and the Albanian people, were definite protectors for people whose lives were in danger.

We are pleading with you, please don't allow the shedding of more Albanian blood and trampling of their vital interests to continue any longer-sometimes late action bring damage and high risks. We are enclosing copies or information supporting these statements.

With best wishes.

Respectfully ,

Dr. Ramadan Xhema
58 Old Field Point Road
Greenwich, Conn. 06830

January 29, 1993

1993 Këtë letër ia kam dërguar administratës

— DRAFT —

personnel and troops deployed throughout Bosnia-Hercegovina. So, with no date certain set for new elections, Bosnia-Hercegovina could in effect, become a U.N. protectorate for the foreseeable future.

In sum, Mr. Secretary, we find the Vance/Owen peace plan undemocratic and practically unworkable. It is based on the battlefield realities of Serbian aggression, and not on the Convention. Endorsement by U.N. Charter and the Geneva would be contrary to the principles this country stands for, and would seem to contradict the Clinton administration's stated objective of promoting democracy and human rights in U.S. foreign policy.

We hope that you will give our views your most serious consideration.

Sincerely,

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United States Senate

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U.S. Department of State
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— DRAFT —

personnel and troops deployed throughout Bosnia-Hercegovina. So, with no date certain set for new elections, Bosnia-Hercegovina could in effect, become a U.N. protectorate for the foreseeable future.

In sum, Mr. Secretary, we find the Vance/Owen peace plan undemocratic and practically unworkable. It is based on the battlefield realities of Serbian aggression, and not on the Convention. Endorsement by U.N. Charter and the Geneva would be contrary to the principles this country stands for, and would seem to contradict the Clinton administration's stated objective of promoting democracy and human rights in U.S. foreign policy.

We hope that you will give our views your most serious consideration.

Sincerely,

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

November 26, 1922

To: The Hon. Lawrence Eagleburger
Acting Secretary of State

From: Cyrus R. Vance

Dear Larry,

It was good talking with you yesterday and I will be back to you very soon on the matters we discussed.

In that connection, there follows a Memorandum of a Conversation I had yesterday, November 25, with Johnny Tsounis, the former Greek Ambassador to the United States. As you know, Tsounis is one of the wisest and most experienced observers of Yugoslavia and the Balkans. He does not hew to anybody's party line and is a very good friend of the United States. I believe you will find his analysis very worthwhile, and would be interested in any reaction you might have.

With warmest best wishes for the Thanksgiving holiday,

Sincerely,

Cyrus R. Vance

HSO
11/26/92

BEGIN TEXT

Memorandum of Conversation
November 25, 1992 - 2.30-3.25 p.m.

Participants: Ambassador John Tsounis
Former Ambassador of Greece to the U.S.A.

Cyrus R. Vance
Co-Chairman of the Steering Committee of the Geneva International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia

Herbert S. Okun
Special Advisor and Deputy to Mr. Vance

Place: ICFY Conference Room, Palais des Nations, Geneva

The conversation between Ambassador Tsounis and Mr. Vance covered Kosovo; Macedonia; Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia; Bosnia and Hercegovina; and other issues relating to the Balkans.

Kosovo: Tsounis stated it was essential to give Serbia assurance that neither secession nor independence for Kosovo was on the agenda. It was equally necessary to let Albania know -- publicly and privately -- that the secession of Kosovo was not on. The European Community should make these two points loud and clear. That would then enable them to press Belgrade hard to grant Kosovo genuine autonomy. Tsounis said that the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference should recommend this to the European Community. Mr. Vance noted that he and David Owen shared this view and have so stated publicly on numerous occasions. Both Mr. Vance and Tsounis agreed that the situation in Kosovo was extremely serious and needed urgent, careful handling.

Macedonia: Tsounis said that the problem for Greece was really not the name, but rather the nature of the state. He suggested that a way out of the current impasse could be a "Treaty of Guarantee," along the broad lines of the Cyprus Agreement. Such a treaty would be signed by all of the states bordering on Macedonia: Albania, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece. It could guarantee Macedonia's

frontiers, its constitution, etc. It would also serve to engage Serbia usefully in the political process. Additionally, it would allow Greece to put the issue of Macedonia's name on the back burner; it would calm overheated spirits in Greece; and it would allow Greece to get something in return, since Greece could then use the road and rail facilities through Macedonia's Vardar valley to export its goods.

Mr. Vance said he would want to think about the suggestion but his initial reaction was that it was worth exploring. Ambassador Okun wondered whether President Gligorov and the Macedonians would go along with the idea; might it not smack of interference in their internal affairs? The London Agreement, after all, had given the Guarantor Powers the right to intervene in Cyprus. Tsounis noted that President Gligorov had indeed made such noises, but he thought these issues could be handled. Mr. Vance said he would think the idea over, and noted that under no circumstances would President Gligorov surrender on the issue of Macedonia's name. He outlined the Secretary-General's recent decision to send a United Nations inspection team from UNPROFOR to Macedonia, in order to prepare the way for a preventive deployment of U.N. peace-keeping troops in Macedonia.

Tsounis said he understood Gligorov's position on the issue of the name, and that it was a bad idea for Greece to have raised the issue in the first place. The key word with respect to Macedonia was not the name but "stability." If the country were to break up under pressure from its neighbours, and if Bulgaria were to expand westwards, this would pose a very large problem for both Greece and Serbia.

Serbia: Tsounis said that some Western Europeans were making a mistake by pushing the Serbs into a corner. Whatever happened we needed to negotiate with them, as no lasting solutions could be found without them. In response to a query from Mr. Vance, Tsounis said he did not follow FRY domestic events closely, but he had the impression that Prime Minister Milan Panic was not a major factor on the scene. He noted that after so much blood had been spilt, positions had hardened across the board. Mr. Vance described the current political scene in Belgrade: FRY President Cosic was seeking to influence the course of events from the outside, having decided not to run. Cosic's goal was that the Parliament pass a new constitution which would create a new situation inside the FRY and Serbia, so that a "two Presidents" (i.e. Cosic and Milosevic) state could be done away with. Mr. Vance noted that Cosic had recently given a lengthy interview in Politika which needed to be read carefully, as Cosic worked by nuance and indirection.

Bosnia and Hercegovina: Tsounis noted that the Bosnian Serbs were "getting the best of it." Mr. Vance confirmed that they were doing well militarily. He said that the Bosnian Serb military commander, General Ratko Mladic, was increasingly powerful and that there was some instability within the Bosnian Serb leadership. Tsounis drew attention to the fighting qualities of the Serbs, noting that the Germans occupied all of Yugoslavia in six days in 1941, but it then took 25 German divisions to hold the country down during the next four years. He said the Bosnian situation was not comparable to that of the recent Gulf War -- these are people who know how to fight. Tsounis asked Mr. Vance whether some form of cantonisation was not inevitable where Bosnian Serb areas adjoined Serbia proper. Mr. Vance said he opposed cantonisation on an ethnic basis, and outlined the provisions of the constitutional framework put forward recently by the Geneva Conference. He pointed out that the Geneva proposals called for seven to ten regions, not based on ethnic exclusivity, within a decentralized state. Tsounis drew attention to the transfers of population that had occurred following the First World War under the provisions of the Treaty of Neuilly, when ethnic Greeks had returned to Greece from Asia Minor and from Bulgaria.

Mr. Vance asked for Tsounis's views regarding Turkey's role in Bosnia and Hercegovina. Tsounis said that the Turks could not intervene militarily, as Bulgaria would not be so frivolous as to give them transit rights overland, and Greece would certainly never do so. In his view Turkey was playing to the gallery, as were the Islamic countries. What the latter really want is leverage on Palestine, Tsounis said. He also cautioned about the future role of Russia in the Balkans, averring that the Russians historically have sought to use the Christians and the Slavs, and later the communist parties, as their entry wedge into the Balkans. Having now been dismembered and humiliated, Russia will wish to regain some international influence via the Balkans. They will be back; wait and see.

* * * * *

END TEXT

UNITED STATES MISSION TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

03 October 1992

file

Dear Cy:

It was good to talk to you this morning. As a follow-up to my advance notice of our intention to move forward on a Security Council resolution establishing a no-fly zone over Bosnia-Hercegovina, I want to share with you the enclosed messages I sent today to Foreign Ministers Dumas, Hurd, and Kozyrev.

Sincerely,

Lawrence S. Eagleburger

enclosure: messages to Foreign Ministers Dumas, Hurd, and Kozyrev.

03 October 1992

Dear Roland:

At the London conference, the parties in the former yugoslavia agreed to establish a ban on military flights in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Like you, we saw this as an important step toward ending the humanitarian tragedy in the Balkans. Since then, military air activity has increased, further endangering the lives of innocent civilians.

As you know, the President has concluded that the Security Council must act quickly to formalize the agreed-upon ban on military flights, establish monitoring, and provide for enforcement. Recognizing the risks and dangers, we nevertheless are convinced that in its resolution formalizing the military flight ban, the Security Council should call for enforcement in coordination with the UN. A resolution that is limited to monitoring the flight ban invites the Serbs to test our resolve and miscalculate the consequences of defying the Security Council. By making clear at the outset that we are ready to enforce the ban, we will deter violations and reduce to a minimum the possibility that we will be required to enforce the ban militarily.

I very much hope you will agree that it is imperative to move forward on a flight ban immediately, and that you will join us in promoting the security council resolution we are putting forward. I am also writing Douglas and Andrey.

Sincerely,

Lawrence S. Eagleburger

03 October 1992

Dear Douglas:

At the London conference, the parties in the former yugoslavia agreed to establish a ban on military flights in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Like you, we saw this as an important step toward ending the humanitarian tragedy in the Balkans. Since then, military air activity has increased, further endangering the lives of innocent civilians.

As you know, the President has concluded that the Security Council must act quickly to formalize the agreed-upon ban on military flights, establish monitoring, and provide for enforcement. Recognizing the risks and dangers, we nevertheless are convinced that in its resolution formalizing the military flight ban, the Security Council should call for enforcement in coordination with the UN. A resolution that is limited to monitoring the flight ban invites the Serbs to test our resolve and miscalculate the consequences of defying the Security Council. By making clear at the outset that we are ready to enforce the ban, we will deter violations and reduce to a minimum the possibility that we will be required to enforce the ban militarily.

I very much hope you will agree that it is imperative to move forward on a flight ban immediately, and that you will join us in promoting the security council resolution we are putting forward. I am also writing Roland and Andrey.

Sincerely,

Lawrence S. Eagleburger

03 October 1992

Dear Andrey:

At the London conference, the parties in the former yugoslavia agreed to establish a ban on military flights in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Like you, we saw this as an important step toward ending the humanitarian tragedy in the Balkans. Since then, military air activity has increased, further endangering the lives of innocent civilians.

As you know, the President has concluded that the Security Council must act quickly to formalize the agreed-upon ban on military flights, establish monitoring, and provide for enforcement. Recognizing the risks and dangers, we nevertheless are convinced that in its resolution formalizing the military flight ban, the Security Council should call for enforcement in coordination with the UN. A resolution that is limited to monitoring the flight ban invites the Serbs to test our resolve and miscalculate the consequences of defying the Security Council. By making clear at the outset that we are ready to enforce the ban, we will deter violations and reduce to a minimum the possibility that we will be required to enforce the ban militarily.

Andrey, we have been together every step of the way in the attempt to find a way out of the Balkan tragedy. We recognize that you have particular concerns in this crisis that we have worked together to address. Security Council action banning military flights opens a new and hopeful prospect to alleviate the nightmare in Bosnia and the spread of conflict in the Balkans. I very much hope that you will be with us.

Sincerely,

Lawrence S. Eagleburger

THE REPRESENTATIVE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
TO THE
EUROPEAN OFFICE OF THE UNITED NATIONS
GENEVA

Geneva, October 6, 1992

Dear Mr. Vance and Lord Owen,

I would like to thank you for your prompt response on September 30 to my letter of the previous day concerning our initial financial contribution of $1,300,000 as part of our pledge to ICFY. I am pleased that we were able to effectuate the transfer of funds promptly, which I understand has relieved some of the financial pressures for the start-up of your mandate.

I have noted that your letter indicates your inability to provide the estimated U.S. percentage share of total contributions for the calendar year 1992, as well as your overall budget. It would be appreciated if you could provide the fullest information on these two matters as soon as it is available.

In this regard, I must reiterate my government's position that we expect our contributions will be matched by contributions from others so that the U.S. share will amount to no more than 25 percent. This limitation on our contribution is part of our commitment to the U.S. Congress on the U.S. contribution to the Conference.

Sincerely,

Morris B. Abram
Ambassador

The Honorable Cyrus R. Vance
and His Excellency Lord Owen,
Co-Chairmen of the International
Conference of the Former Yugoslavia,
Palais des Nations,
Geneva