

[3 confidential]

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93 JUN 14 15:37

93 JUN 14 16:24 RESTRICTED - MOST IMMEDIATE

ZAGREB MR

UNPROFOR		PAGE 1 OF 5'S INITIALS	
OUTGOING FAX NO.:		DATE: 14 June 1993	
TO : OFFICE OF MR STOLTENBERG ICFY GENEVA		FROM: OFFICE OF THE FC UNPROFOR ZAGREB <i>Wa</i>	
FAX NO:		FAX NO:	
ATTN: MAJOR KARONEN		FILE NO.: <i>Ballar O'Neil</i> DRAFTER: CAPT C O'NEILL ADC TO FC	
INFO: FAX NO.:			
SUBJECT: <u>CROATIAN AND KNIN DELEGATIONS</u> <u>MEETINGS IN GENEVA ON WEDNESDAY, 16 JUNE 1993</u> A. <u>ON MILITARY MATTERS</u> B. <u>ON ECONOMIC AND PRACTICAL MATTERS.</u>			
INTERNAL DISTRIBUTION: SRSG/FC/DCM/DFC/COS/CMO/CAO/ACOS O+I.			

1. Reference our phone conversation this morning. I list below the details and requirements we discussed.

(a) Time of meetings

Both the military and economic/political meetings will begin at 1200 hours. A provisional list of those attending is attached.

(b) Flight timings

Depart Zagreb 0700 - 0815 arrive Belgrade [pick up Knin delegation].
Depart Belgrade 0830 - 1100 arrive Geneva.
Depart Geneva 1900 - 2130 arrive Belgrade [earliest departure].
Depart Belgrade 2145 - 2300 arrive Zagreb.

The delegation from Croatia will arrive by separate travel arrangements.

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(c) Passports/visas

The Croatian delegation should be okay! But the majority of the Knin delegation do not have passports. We have recommended that they should work on this immediately in Belgrade. It may prove necessary, on Wednesday, to try to have some issued with temporary Swiss visas. I don't know the procedure for this but it should be borne in mind.

(d) Dress

All sides will be instructed that the dress for travel and meetings is civilian.

(e) Transport

Will be required for all to/from Palais de Nations.

(a) Administration

A number of rooms will be required as follows:

- Two meeting rooms - military and political/economic;
- A number of retirement rooms to cater for breaks and bilateral meetings.
- Rooms for the FC and for the UN delegation.

Lunch - should be of the "working" type, with appropriate drinks/refreshments.

Typing/photocopying - facilities should be readily available.

(g) Accommodation; (Night)

It is anticipated that the meetings will finish on the same day. However, in the event of a delay, the requirement for accommodation should be anticipated.

(h) Security

There are certain concerns regarding security. The Knin delegation have been told that weapons

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will not be permitted aboard the UN aircraft. Both sides (military) will probably bring two bodyguards.

(i) Interpreters - Four will be transported.

2. Ambassador Ahrens has been asked, I believe, to attend the military meeting - could you please confirm this?

3. There are likely to be changes in details, particularly as regards attendees and timings. I will keep you fully informed. I will not be at the office this p.m. or tomorrow but Colonel Ahlqvist will be able to help you.

4. The lists of participants as of today, 1700 hours, are attached.

RESTRICTED

FROM PS/LORD OWEN

BOSNIA: COORDINATION BODY

SUMMARY

1. CO-CHAIRMEN ATTEMPT TO BRING TOGETHER THE THREE PARTIES IN THE COORDINATION BODY. MILOSEVIC SAYS SERBS READY TO PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE. BOSNIAN PRESIDENCY MEETS IN GENEVA ON 13/14 JUNE, BUT AFTER LONG DEBATE UNABLE TO AGREE ON SERB PARTICIPATION IN COORDINATION BODY. IZETBEGOVIC STRONGLY AGAINST. MEETING WITH IZETBEGOVIC, TUDJMAN AND MILOSEVIC WILL GO AHEAD IN GENEVA ON 16 JUNE.

DETAIL

2. WHEN IZETBEGOVIC AND BOBAN AGREED TO ESTABLISH A COORDINATING BODY (WITH THREE REPRESENTATIVES FROM EACH SIDE) TO "WORK ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE VANCE-OWEN PLAN TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE, CONSIDERING THE CHARACTER OF THE PROVISIONS AND PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES" (ZAGREB, 25 APRIL), THE CO-CHAIRMEN MADE IT CLEAR THAT AT AN APPROPRIATE MOMENT, AND WHEN THERE WAS A CLEAR INDICATION THAT THEY WERE READY TO MAKE A CONSTRUCTIVE CONTRIBUTION, THE SERBS SHOULD JOIN THIS BODY.

3. THE FIRST MEETING WAS HELD AT MEDJUGORJE WITHOUT SERB PARTICIPATION, AND A SECOND PLANNED FOR SARAJEVO ON 4 JUNE. THE CO-CHAIRMEN HAD INDICATIONS THAT KARADZIC MIGHT BE WILLING TO NOMINATE THREE MEMBERS TO THE BODY. HOWEVER, WHEN THEY MET HIM IN PALE ON 3 JUNE, THEY DECIDED HE WAS NOT YET READY TO BE CONSTRUCTIVE, AND DID NOT RAISE THE ISSUE WITH HIM. THE MEETING IN SARAJEVO DID NOT TAKE PLACE (ALTHOUGH THERE WERE INTENSIVE BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS) BECAUSE BOBAN'S HELICOPTER WAS HIT ON THE WAY TO SARAJEVO AND FORCED TO RETURN TO SPLIT. IT WAS RESCHEDULED FOR GENEVA. THE CO-CHAIRMEN ALSO SUGGESTED TO IZETBEGOVIC THAT IN THE MARGINS A MEETING COULD BE HELD BETWEEN THE THREE PARTIES ON A 1-1-1 BASIS, WITH KRAJISNIK REPRESENTING THE SERBS. IZETBEGOVIC PROPOSED GANIC, BUT GANIC WAS NOT PREPARED TO MEET.

3. SUBSEQUENTLY THE SERBS UNILATERALLY ANNOUNCED THAT KARADZIC, KRAJISNIK AND KOLJEVIC WOULD REPRESENT THEM IN THE COORDINATION BODY. THE CO-CHAIRMEN FOLLOWED THIS UP WHEN THEY MET MILOSEVIC IN BELGRADE ON 9 AND 11 JUNE. AT THEIR FIRST MEETING THEY TOLD MILOSEVIC THAT THEY WOULD ONLY ACCEPT KARADZIC'S PARTICIPATION IF HE WAS READY TO TALK SERIOUSLY ON THE BASIS OF THE PLAN. WHEN THEY MET AGAIN ON 11 JUNE, MILOSEVIC INFORMED THEM THAT KARADZIC WAS READY TO PARTICIPATE AND WORK "WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE VANCE OWEN PEACE PROCESS". HE WOULD WANT TO DISCUSS CERTAIN QUESTIONS ABOUT THE MAP, AND THE INTERIM ARRANGEMENTS.

4. WITH THE SITUATION RAPIDLY DETERIORATING BETWEEN THE MUSLIMS AND CROATS, AND BOBAN'S CLEAR INDICATION TO THE CO-CHAIRMEN THAT HE WAS UNWILLING TO MEET IZETBEGOVIC UNLESS THE SERBS WERE ALSO PRESENT, THE CO-CHAIRMEN DECIDED TO TRY TO

ORGANISE A TRILATERAL MEETING, IN GENEVA. IN ORDER TO ENSURE THAT THE COORDINATION BODY WAS ESTABLISHED LEGALLY, THEY SUGGESTED THAT THE FULL PRESIDENCY SHOULD MEET BEFOREHAND TO ESTABLISH IT BY DECREE. THEY MADE IT CLEAR AT ALL TIMES THAT THIS BODY WOULD NOT REPLACE THE PRESIDENCY, BUT WOULD ONLY HAVE RESPONSIBILITIES FOR CARRYING FORWARD THE PEACE PROCESS. BOBAN AGREED TO THIS WHEN THE CO-CHAIRMEN MET HIM IN ZAGREB ON 12 JUNE.

5. ON 13 JUNE THE WAR-TIME PRESIDENCY MET WITH ALL MEMBERS PRESENT, EXCEPT FOR THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE BIH ARMY. (THIS WAS THE FIRST TIME THEY HAD ALL MET SINCE APRIL OF LAST YEAR). THE CO-CHAIRMEN ATTENDED THE OPENING AND CLOSING OF THE SESSION WHICH LASTED SOME 8-9 HOURS, THE BULK OF IT ON THE QUESTION OF THE COORDINATION BODY. THEY SET OUT THE STARK FUTURE FACING BOSNIA IF TOUGH DECISIONS WERE NOT TAKEN IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS. THE INTENSE FIGHTING BETWEEN CROATS AND MUSLIMS MADE IT UNREALISTIC TO CONTINUE ON THE AGENDA SET AT MEDJUGORJE. WHAT WAS NEEDED NOW WAS A PEACE SETTLEMENT, AND FOR THIS, THERE HAD TO BE TALKS WITH THE SERBS WHO WERE RUNNING THE WAR. THERE WAS A LOT OF COMMON GROUND TO BUILD ON, INCLUDING THE CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES AND THE MILITARY PAPER, BUT CHANGES WOULD BE REQUIRED IN THE MAP, AND IN PARTS OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT. IF THERE WERE NO FURTHER TALKS, THE WAR WOULD JUST CONTINUE. THEY SHOULD GIVE THE COORDINATION BODY A CHANCE. IF IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE SERBS WERE NOT SERIOUS IT COULD BE ENDED. THE PRESIDENCY WOULD REMAIN. THERE WAS NO QUESTION OF IT BEING ABOLISHED.

6. STOLTENBERG WARNED THAT IT WAS BECOMING INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT FOR UNHCR TO CARRY OUT ITS ACTIVITIES. THERE WAS ALSO GROWING RELUCTANCE OF TROOP CONTRIBUTORS TO PARTICIPATE IN UNPROFOR. HE REMINDED THEM THAT ITS MANDATE WAS UP FOR RENEWAL AT THE END OF THE MONTH. PROGRESS HAD TO BE MADE URGENTLY. GENERAL WAHLGREN WAS DOING HIS BEST TO GET UNMOS INTO GORAZDE AND WATER RESTORED TO SREBRENICA, AND WOULD CONTINUE TO DO SO, AND ALSO TO IMPLEMENT UNSCR 836.

7. AFTER CIRCULATING A DRAFT DECREE SETTING OUT THE POSSIBLE ROLE OF THE COORDINATION BODY, THE CO-CHAIRMEN LEFT THE MEETING TO ALLOW DEBATE TO TAKE PLACE, BUT LEFT OBSERVERS (MYSELF AND STOLTENBERG'S POLITICAL ADVISER). THE 6 HOURS OF DEBATE ON THIS QUESTION BOILED DOWN TO TWO ISSUES - SHOULD THE COORDINATION BODY HAVE DECREE ISSUING POWERS; AND THE TERMS ON WHICH THE SERBS COULD PARTICIPATE. ON THE FORMER, IT WAS EVENTUALLY DECIDED THAT THE BODY SHOULD NOT HAVE DECREE MAKING POWERS. THE DEBATE ON THE LATTER WAS MUCH FIERCER.

8. IZETBEGOVIC WAS ADAMANT THAT HE WOULD NOT TALK TO KARADZIC UNTIL HE HAD AGREED TO THE VOPP IN ITS ENTIRETY AND REVERSED THE REFERENDUM DECISION. IF KARADZIC OBJECTED TO PARTS OF THE VOPP, HE SHOULD PUT HIS OBJECTIONS TO THE CO-CHAIRMEN IN WRITING. IF THEY ACCEPTED KARADZIC ON THE COORDINATING BODY HE WOULD UNDERMINE ITS WORK, AND CONTINUE FIGHTING IN ANY CASE. IT WOULD SEND THE WRONG SIGNAL TO THE CITIZENS OF BOSNIA IF HE SPOKE TO KARADZIC WHILE GORAZDE WAS BEING ATTACKED. GANIC BACKED HIM. THE THIRD MUSLIM, ABDIC, SPOKE STRONGLY IN FAVOUR OF DEALING WITH THE SERBS. THE CO-

CHAIRMEN HAD TO BE BACKED UP. THEY WERE GETTING FRUSTRATED WITH THE FAILURE OF IZETBEGOVIC TO ENTER DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS. THIS COULD BE THE LAST CHANCE. IF IT DID NOT SUCCEED, NOTHING WOULD HAVE BEEN LOST.

9. THE CROAT MEMBERS SPOKE FIRMLY IN FAVOUR OF GOING AHEAD WITH TALKS WITH THE SERBS. AT ONE STAGE BORAS SAID THE CROATS WOULD WITHDRAW FROM ALL GOVERNMENT AND PRESIDENCY BODIES IF THE PRESIDENCY FAILED TO TAKE THE RIGHT DECISIONS. THE SERBS DID NOT MAKE A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION, THOUGH AT ONE STAGE MRS LJUJIC-MIJATOVIC SAID THAT IF THE EXISTING PRESIDENCY HAD FAILED TO ACHIEVE ANYTHING FOR THE PEOPLE, PERHAPS IT SHOULD STAND DOWN, BUT THE ISSUE WAS NOT PURSUED (ON THE PREVIOUS DAY, THE CORE, 7 MEMBER PRESIDENCY, HAD VOTED 6-1 (BORAS, CROAT) AGAINST DISCUSSING THE LEGITIMACY OF IZETBEGOVIC'S MANDATE AS PRESIDENT, WHICH TECHNICALLY EXPIRED IN DECEMBER OF LAST YEAR).

10. IZETBEGOVIC EVENTUALLY INVITED THE CO-CHAIRMEN TO RETURN TO TRY TO BREAK THE LOG JAM. THEY AGAIN WARNED OF THE DANGERS OF NOT FACING UP TO THE NEED TO DEAL WITH KARADZIC FACE TO FACE. A REVISED DRAFT (ATTACHED) WAS PREPARED WHICH ADDED A CLAUSE ALLOWING THE DECREE TO BE REVOKED IF THE CO-CHAIRMEN THOUGHT THAT ANY OF THE PARTIES WERE NOT GENUINE IN THEIR DESIRE TO NEGOTIATE. IZETBEGOVIC REMAINED ADAMANT THAT HE COULD NOT MEET KARADZIC UNTIL HOSTILITIES HAD ENDED. HE NEEDED TIME TO REFLECT. IF A VOTE WAS TAKEN AT THAT MOMENT, HE WOULD VOTE AGAINST. IT WAS THEREFORE AGREED TO RECONVENE IN THE MORNING.

11. DURING A FURTHER HOUR AND HALF LONG DEBATE ON 14 JUNE, IZETBEGOVIC SAID HE COULD ONLY MEET KARADZIC IF HE MADE A PUBLIC STATEMENT SAYING HE RECOGNISED BIH. HIS PEOPLE WOULD NOT ACCEPT THE PROPOSAL UNDER DISCUSSION (HE SAID THAT IF THEY HAD A REFERENDUM IT WOULD BE 500 FOR, 2 MILLION AGAINST). IF IT OFFERED A CHANCE FOR PEACE HE WOULD SUPPORT IT BUT IT DID NOT. ABDIC MADE AN IMPASSIONED PLEA FOR THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE DRAFT. THEY WERE HIS PEOPLE AS WELL AS IZETBEGOVIC'S, AND HE WANTED TO HELP THEM. THIS WAS THE WAY TO DO IT. IT WOULD BE AN HISTORIC MISTAKE TO REJECT IT. EVERY AVENUE HAD TO BE EXPLORED.

12. THE ISSUE WAS FINALLY PUT TO THE VOTE. THE THREE CROATS WERE IN FAVOUR, IZETBEGOVIC, GANIC AND LAZOVIC (SERB) WERE AGAINST, WITH THREE ABSTENTIONS, ABDIC AND THE OTHER TWO SERBS. IZETBEGOVIC SAID THAT HE STILL WANTED TO MEET BOBAN IN THE COORDINATION BODY, BUT AKMADZIC SAID BOBAN'S POSITION REMAINED THE SAME (OUR CONTACTS WITH BOBAN'S OFFICE CONFIRM THIS). IZETBEGOVIC THEN DEPARTED FOR LONDON, MADRID AND BONN. HE WILL RETURN TO GENEVA FOR THE MEETING WITH TUDJMAN AND MILOSEVIC ON WEDNESDAY. BOBAN AND KARADZIC'S TEAM HAVE BEEN INVITED TO COME TO GENEVA AT THAT TIME AS WELL, THOUGH IZETBEGOVIC HAS NOT REPEAT NOT BEEN INFORMED OF THIS. THERE MAY BE A CHANCE TO ARRANGE A DISCRETE TRILATERAL, SINCE IZETBEGOVIC HAS SAID THAT HE WOULD BE READY TO HAVE SECRET TALKS. IN ANY CASE THE CO-CHAIRMEN WILL HAVE BILATERALS WITH THEM.

TEXT OF DRAFT DECREE CONSIDERED BY BOSNIAN PRESIDENCY

THE PRESIDENCY OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

HAVING CONVENED IN GENEVA AT THE INVITATION OF THE CO CHAIRMEN OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA (ICFY)

RECOGNISING THE MARKED DETERIORATION IN THE MILITARY, ECONOMIC AND HUMANITARIAN SITUATION IN B-H AND DETERMINED TO ACHIEVE PEACE AT THE EARLIEST MOMENT

DETERMINED TO DO ITS UTMOST TO BRING THE CONFLICT IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA TO AN END AND TO WORK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND FULL RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE VANCE/OWEN PEACE PROCESS AND THE CONTINUING WORK OF THE ICFY

RECALLING THE PRINCIPLES OF THE ICFY AS WELL AS THOSE DECLARED BY THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL

RECALLING THE JOINT STATEMENT CONCLUDED ON 25 APRIL 1993 WHICH ESTABLISHED A COORDINATING BODY CONSISTING OF ALIJA IZETBEGOVIC, EJUP GANIC, FIKRET ABDIC, MATE BOBAN, MILE AKMADZIC AND FRANJO BORAS TO PROMOTE THE PEACE PROCESS

NOTING THAT THE COORDINATION BODY WILL NOW BE EXTENDED TO INCLUDE RADOVAN KARADZIC, MOMCILO KRAJISNIK AND NIKOLA KOLJEVIC AND ASKING THAT THE COORDINATION BODY WILL BE CHAIRED BY THE CO-CHAIRMEN

1. MANDATES THE COORDINATION BODY, WITH EFFECT FROM THE ADOPTION OF THIS DECREE, TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO TAKE FORWARD THE PEACE PROCESS, HAVING REGARD TO THE WORK BEING CARRIED OUT WITHIN THE ICFY AND THE PRONOUNCEMENTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL

2. EMPOWERS THE COORDINATION BODY WITH FULL AND SOLE AUTHORITY TO TAKE DECISIONS BY CONSENSUS RELATING TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ICFY PEACE PROCESS AND REBUILDING OF BOSNIA HERZEGOVINA

3. THIS DECREE TAKES EFFECT IMMEDIATELY WITH A VIEW TO CONVENING THE COORDINATION BODY ON TUESDAY OR NO LATER THAN THURSDAY OF THIS WEEK, AND ASK THE CO-CHAIRMEN TO REPORT TO THE PRESIDENCY ON A WEEKLY BASIS AS TO WHETHER THEY BELIEVE THIS DECREE SHOULD CONTINUE IN EFFECT.



INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
ON THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

UNOG Telecomm. Unit Palais des Nations, 1211 Geneva 10

Palais des Nations

Office of the Co-Chairmen

'93 JUN 15 18:48

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CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM

BY FAX

TO: The Secretary-General, Vienna
FAX NO: 43-1-515186736

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TO: The Secretary-General, New York
FAX NO: 1-212-963 2155

COPY: Annan, Unations, New York
FAX NO: 1-212-963 4879

COPY: Goulding, Unations, New York
FAX NO: 1-212-963 5065

COPY: Eliasson, Unations, New York
FAX NO: 1-212-963 9489

FROM: Thorvald Stoltenberg

DATE: 15 June 1993

SUBJECT: Highlights of Meetings in Geneva and Bonn, 13-14 June

I. GENEVA - 13-14 June

With the situation on the ground deteriorating militarily, politically and on the humanitarian front, Lord Owen and I have been probing every possible avenue in search of an opening that could lead to an easing of the situation and contribute to a cessation of hostilities. In earlier contacts with the Bosnian parties - in Medugorje, in Sarajevo and in Split - we sought to promote the progressive implementation of the Vance-Owen Peace Plan to the extent possible in the circumstances. It will be recalled that an agreement was reached between the Bosnian Presidency and the Bosnian Croats on 25 April to establish a Coordination Body, of six members, to be responsible for the progressive implementation of the Peace Plan.

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Thorvald Stoltenberg

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**INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
ON THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA**



UNOG Telecomm. Unit
Palais des Nations, 1211 Geneva 10
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FAX

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**TO: DR BOUTROS BOUTROS-GHALI
SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS
C/O MARRIOTT HOTEL, VIENNA**

FAX NO: 43-1-515186736

FROM: THORVALD STOLTENBERG *TS*

DATE: 15 JUNE 1993

I would be grateful if the attached could be passed to Dr Boutros-Ghali.