ICFY

CYRUS R. VANCE

CORRESPONDENCE WITH GOVERNMENTS

28 SEPT 1992 - 1 JULY 1993

[1 CONFIDENTIAL]

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Permanent Mission of the Federal Republic
of Yugoslavia to the United Nations Office
5, ch. Thury, 1206 G e n e v a
Phone: 346.44.33 and 346.68.66
Fax: 346.44.36 Telex: 427-764

5 May 1993

Dear Sirs,

I have the honour to transmit herein the Statement of the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia concerning the initiation of proceedings before the Arbitration Commission of the Conference on Yugoslavia.

Please accept, dear Sirs, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Dr. Vladimir Pavicevic
Deputy Head of Delegation of the
FRY to the ICFY and
Ambassador, Chargé d'Affaires a.i.
of the FRY to the UNO at Geneva

Mr. Thorvald Stoltenberg and
Lord David Owen
Co-Chairmen of the
International Conference
on the Former Yugoslavia
United Nations Office
G e n e v a

international law and not as proceedings before the Arbitration Commission presided by Mr. Badinter.

We recall in its reply to the letter of Mr. Badinter, President of the Commission, of 3 June 1992, that it considers the opinions of the Commission doctrinary in the sense of Art. 38 (D) of the Statute of the International Court of Justice, which do not constitute a legal ground for any valid decision. The FR of Yugoslavia shall consider null and void and non-binding any opinion of the Commission adopted in the procedure to which it has not agreed.

Faxed to New York

PERMANENT MISSION OF THE REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA AT THE UN OFFICE – GENEVA

147, rue de Lausanne, CH – 1202 Geneva
Tel.: 022 / 738 66 60 – Fax: 022 / 738 66 65

No. 0027/93

The Permanent Mission of the Republic of Slovenia to the United Nations Office and other International Organizations at Geneva presents its compliments to Mr. Cyrus Vance, Co-Chairman of the International Conference on Former Yugoslavia, and has the honour to transmit herein the letter of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia Mr. Lojze Peterle, containing the Slovene incentive for resolution of the crisis in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as the Explanatory Memorandum to the letter of 8 April 1993 to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the United Nations Security Council Member States.

The Permanent Mission of the Republic of Slovenia avails itself of this opportunity to renew to Mr. Cyrus Vance the assurances of its highest consideration. AB

REPUBLIKA SLOVENIJA STALNA MISIJA PRI URADU ZN ŽENEVA

Geneva, 16 April 1993

Mr. Cyrus Vance
Co-Chairman of the
International Conference
on Former Yugoslavia
Palais des Nations

REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA
Ministry for Foreign Affairs
Minister

Ljubljana, 16 April 1993

Dear Mr. Vance,

Allow me, to present to you, as Co-Chairman of the International Conference on Former Yugoslavia, the content of the letter which I sent on 8 April 1993, to the President of the United Nations Security Council, to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and to Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Security Council member States.

In this letter, I presented, on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Slovenia, certain ideas on the possible solution of the crisis in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina based on our knowledge of military and political situation in this State, and our perceptions on the possible developments in the spring time. I am convinced that the next few weeks will be of crucial importance for turning the current flow of events into a positive direction.

The Republic of Slovenia has been following the events in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina with great concern. The war in this country, member of the United Nations since 22 May 1992, is still raging. Despite the efforts of the international community, we have been witnessing new casualties and suffering of the civilian population, men, women and children, due to aggression, hunger and cold.

This war is a continuous threat to security, political and economic stability of the immediate area as well as of Europe and of the world at large.

Mr. Cyrus Vance
Co-Chairman of the International
Conference on Former Yugoslavia
G E N E V A

61000 Ljubljana, Gregorčičeva 25, Slovenia
Phone ++38 61 22 45 24, Fax ++38 61 21 33 57

The extremely grave situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its tragic consequences weigh heavily upon the consciousness of humanity. We are once again compelled to put forth, in search for a peaceful and lasting solution, another initiative in order to suspend hostilities, protect the civilian population and make it possible to repatriate the refugees.

The Vance-Owen Peace Plan is a thoroughly studied and wellcome basis for a long-term solution of the crisis. Now that the Vance-Owen Plan has been signed by the two parties, it is indispensable to begin with its implementation wherever the conditions exist. The international community has the means at hand to do it.

Our initiative is entirely compatible with the Vance-Owen Peace Plan and it will contribute to a faster and more efficient implementation of it.

Our aim is to decrease military and ethnic conflicts and give hope for a permanent political solution of the crisis in this country.

Such an action should help to ensure the territorial integrity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina as an independent and sovereign State. It would effectively lower the potential for the spill-over of the war from the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the neighbouring countries.

The Republic of Slovenia has acted responsibly and constructively to bring about peace to the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In conformity with this policy, I should like to submit for your consideration the following four points:

1. The United Nations Security Council should immediately send its peace-keeping forces to those areas that are under the control by the parties who have accepted the Vance-Owen Peace Plan and in which there are no major military activities. It is of special importance to deploy peace-keeping forces on the territories being still under Moslem control.

2. For the protection and defence of these areas, the international community would have to provide the necessary means, including military force. Should all three parties accept the Peace Plan, these areas without military activities would have to be demilitarised.

3. For the maintenance of peace in the protected areas, additional United Nations peace-keeping forces may be required.

4. It may be necessary that the Security Council issue a warning to all parties to the conflict that those who declined to cooperate in this endeavour will be subject to the possible use of all available means stipulated by the United Nations Charter.

The setting up of these areas, free of military activity, would mean a normalization of life, thus providing conditions for a gradual return of refugees on voluntary basis and facilitating safe delivery of humanitarian aid. This areas could also serve as logistical centres.

In order to put into practice these proposals, the decision of the United Nations Security Council on establishing the "no-fly zone" is of crucial importance. Full implementation of our proposal is however possible only provided that all other military activities be suspended and the Vance-Owen Peace Plan be accepted.

In addition to the explanatory memorandum on this subject, enclosed to this letter, we are ready to explain our proposals in detail.

We are convinced that the time is running out. In case the international community does not take firmer action, the consequences may be even more tragic.

Please accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Lojze Peterle

Lojze Peterle

EXPLANATORY MEMORANDUM TO THE LETTER DATED 8 APRIL 1993 FROM THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA ADRESSED TO THE MINISTERS FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBER STATES

Introduction

Military situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

During the autumn of 1992 military activity in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina levelled off, due to the oncoming winter, action by the international community and clear demarcation of the front lines as a consequence of the balance of power reached on the battlefield. This state of affairs became the basis for finding a solution at the peace talks in Geneva and New York. At present the sides in the conflict await the continuation of peace talks and are at the same time preparing for new military action in the spring.

The Serbs control a wide area of Bosanska Krajina with its centre in Banja Luka, a greater part of Bosanska Posavina, Semberija, the flatlands in eastern Bosnia and eastern Herzegovina.

A self-styled Republic of Serbia is functioning in the areas controlled by the ARS ("Army of the Republic of Serbia").

The Croatians control eastern Herzegovina, the Neretva river valley, parts of central Bosnia and a narrow region of Bosanska Posavina.

In the areas under the control of the CDF (Croatian Defence Forces), the Croatians are establishing a "Croatian Community of Herzeg-Bosnia".

The Muslims, the central authorities in Sarajevo, in addition to controlling most of the capital and some of the surrounding mountainous areas, control a large part of the area on the banks of the river Bosna, a wide area around Tuzla and the left bank of the river Drina. The territory of

Cazinska Krajina, including the town of Bihać, lies in isolation.

If the peace talks prove unsuccessful, we believe that the sides in the conflict will attempt to solve the following issues with military means during the first half of 1993: - the ARS will attempt to gain control of parts of the Una river valley and the railway line crossing this region which are now controlled by the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ABH); - the ARS will attempt to hold on to the existing land corridor at the town of Brčko and possibly enlarge it to include the territory running between Doboj and Zvornik along the river Krivaja or the area surrounding the Konjuh mountain in order to make the territory easier to defend; - the ARS will attempt a military and physical destruction of the Muslim enclave located on the banks of the Drina river and especially the area between Goražde and Srebrenica; - the ARS will attempt to push the CDF over to the right bank of the Neretva at its lower end and break through to the Adriatic coast; - the CDF and the ABH will continue, although less intensively, to fight for control of central Bosnia and the Neretva river valley. - the ABH will attempt to capture the town of Brčko, cutting off the Serbian line of supply and thus gaining an important negotiating advantage; - the ABH will attempt to reach its forces in Podrinje (the lower reaches of the river Drina) advancing through the towns of Zvornik and Trnovo, thus cutting off the RS supply lines in eastern Bosnia; from Gradačac it will attempt to capture the towns of Čajniče and Rudo and instigate unrest in the Sandžak region; - the ABH will attempt to impose a permanent threat or even capture the town of Doboj and so gradually wear down the ARS units located on Mt Ozren and cut off the supply lines which run through Doboj.

Military and political boundaries of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

The recognized borders of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina are:

- in the north, northwest and west it borders on the territory of the Republic of Croatia under the supervision of UNPROFOR, namely, from Bosanska Gradiška in the north, over Velika Kladuša to the Dinara mountain range in the south. On the Bosnian side this region, with the exclusion of Cazinska Krajina, is under ARS control;

- in the south it borders on the territory of the Republic of Croatia, the entire length of the section of the Bosnia-Herzegovina side being controlled by the CDF;

- in the east it borders on the FRY where most of its border region, except for small sections along the Drina river which is controlled by the ABH, is in the hands of the VRS. The rest of the northern border between Brčko and Bosanska Gradiška is controlled by the Republic of Croatia and on the Bosnian side by the ARS, except for the area surrounding the town of Orašje which is controlled by the CDF.

Only the ARS and CDF are in direct land contact with their allies.

Refugees from the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

The refugee problem is to be considered from the following points of view:

- The refugees from the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina should be settled on the territory of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (regardless of where they are located at the moment); the return of refugees and the provision of their accommodation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina will only be possible after a political settlement which must contain a provision on ensuring the return and proper accommodation of refugees; an agreement on refugees must be a component part of the peace plan;

- All expenses incurred for the return and the accommodation of refugees in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina should, in the long-term, be lower or equal to the costs of keeping the refugees in refugee camps around the world. In this respect all other direct or indirect expenses incurred in the former or the latter instance must be taken into account (the duration and numbers of the deployed military forces, economic effects of the reconstruction of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, etc.);

- In view of the present division of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina according to nationality it is essential that the refugees of a particular nationality be placed in those regions where their compatriots are in the majority (Muslim refugees in "Muslim cantons"...). or in such a way that their placement would not break down the very sensitive nationality ratios or confirm the process of ethnic cleansing;

- During the process of settling the refugee problem in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina the mutual obligations of the international community and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina must be defined. In this respect the obligations of the opposing sides and those of international bodies participating in the process of providing accommodation,

military and other types of protection of refugees and their reintegration into society must be separately defined.

Potential areas, free of military activity:

Relevant points that should be taken into account:

a. the current number of refugees in an area;

b. capacity of an area for the construction of refugee camps;

c. existing infrastructure (transport routes, drinking water, electricity);

d. possible threat of armed conflicts in the area; security forces requirement;

e. other aspects.

1. CAZINSKA KRAJINA: Pećigrad - Cazin (the vicinity of Bihać) (under the control of the ABH)

a. it is estimated that 30,000 to 50,000 people have taken refuge in this area;

b. 10,000 to 20,000 people; capacity could be at least doubled if the threat of armed conflicts in the vicinity of Bihać is minimised;

c. There are road links with Karlovac, Sisak, Banja Luka and Split. Railway links with Split, Zagreb and Banja Luka. Airport at Ćoralići. Additional investments are needed to ensure good quality drinking water and electricity supply. Infrastructure supported by that of the town of Bihać;

d. The area is entirely surrounded by Serbian forces. There has so far been little loss of life or material destruction in the area. The security forces needed for securing the area would include two armoured battalions of the international peace-keeping forces, a larger number of Muslim civilian police and an anti-terrorist unit;

e. The area should be used to accommodate Muslim refugees particularly those from Bosanska Krajina. The refugee camps could serve as a transitory stage for the gradual return of the Muslims to the currently occupied regions of the Bihać province.

2. WIDER VICINITY OF BANJA LUKA (controlled by the VRS)

a. It is estimated that 15,000 to 25,000 people have taken refuge in this area;

b. 100,000 to 150,000 people;

c. Road links with Zagreb, Belgrade and the port of Ploče. Railway links with Zagreb and Belgrade. Airports: at Zalužani and Mahovljani. Supported by the existing water and electricity power infrastructure (electricity is in short supply);

d. The area is not under military threat, therefore it does not require deployment of a large number of international peace-keeping units (one armoured battalion, Serbian civilian police);

e. Political agreement on the return of Croats and Muslims to the areas around Prijedor, Banja Luka, Bosanska Gradiška and Kotor-Varoš should be reached. If the refugees are predominantly of Serbian nationality the already shattered relations between the nationalities will eventually develop to the advantage of Serbs;

3. The area between Bosanski Petrovec - Drvar - Bosansko Grahovo - Glamoč - Šipovo and Ključ (under control of the ARS)

a. in our estimation between 15,000 and 20,000 people have taken refuge in this area;

b. up to 50,000 people;

c. Road connections with Bihać, Knin, Split, Travnik, Banja Luka, Prijedor. These road connections are difficult to pass in the winter. There are no rail connections. There are airports in Glamoč and Bosanski Petrovac. Water: karst area, therefore the possibility of providing water must be additionally studied;

d. The area is not under military threat. It should not be necessary to deploy a large number of international peace-keeping units (one armoured company, Serbian civilian police);

e. Refugees would be predominantly of Serbian nationality, since the area, with exception of Ključ, was mainly Serb-populated before the war.

4. WESTERN HERZEGOVINA; Tomislavgrad - Široki Brijeg - Ljubuški (controlled by the CDF)

a. it is estimated that between 40,000 and 50,000 people have taken refuge in this area;

b. up to 30,000 people. Including the valley of the lower reaches of the Neretva river, the capacity would increase to approximately 60,000 people;

c. Road connections with Split, Sarajevo, Ploče. Railway in the Neretva river valley. Airport at Mostar. We understand that water and electricity supplies are not critical;

d. The Neretva river valley is under military threat. One or two armoured battalions of international peace-keeping units should be deployed, a large number of Croatian civilian police and anti-commando squads;

e. This area (narrower) would be populated mainly be refugees of Croatian nationality, who were in a majority before the war. Settling the Neretva river valley would require a political accord between the Croatian and Muslim sides;

5. SARAJEVO (controlled by all warring factions and UNPROFOR)

a. Communication lines with Sarajevo are very good;

b. Area under military threat. Units of international peace-keeping forces deployed to protect the area should be one armoured brigade and a large number of international police units. The Sarajevo area must be completely demilitarised;

c. Because of the large number of refugees who have fled the city, a cease-fire agreement must be reached which will enable the return of the refugees who have left.

CENTRAL BOSNIA: Zenica - Kakanj (controlled by the ABH)

a. in our estimation 60,000 to 70,000 people have taken refuge in this area;

b. up to 50,000 people;

c. Road connections with Doboj, Sarajevo, Mostar, Banja Luka, Tuzla. Railway connections with Doboj, Belgrade, Sarajevo and Ploče;

d. So far the area has not been under military threat. International peace-keeping force in this area should be composed of two armoured battalions together with the UNPROFOR units already located there plus members of the Muslim civilian police and anti-terrorist squads;

e. In this area refugees would be mainly of Muslim and partly of Croatian nationality, which would require an accord between the Croatian and Muslim sides (power

struggles in Central Bosnia). This accord bears particular importance for the unobstructed delivery of supplies to the area, which at the moment run through the area controlled by the HVO.

7. THE TUZLA AREA

a. in our estimation 90,000 to 100,000 people have taken refuge in this area;

b. up to 50,000 people;

c. Road connections with Zenica, Sarajevo, Doboj and Brčko. Railway connections with Brčko and Doboj. Airport at Dubrava. We understand that there are no problems with water and electricity;

d. Absolute respect for a cease-fire should be achieved before the refugees can be settled in the area, otherwise they would be threatened not only by the continuation of the clashes but also by a possible ecological catastrophe if industrial plants in Tuzla were hit;

e. In this area refugees of mainly Muslim nationality would be settled. For them this would be an intermediate stop on their return to eastern Bosnia (Tuzla province).

8. EASTERN BOSNIA: Pale - Sokolac - Han-Pijesak (controlled by the VRS)

a. in our estimation 10,000 to 15,000 people have taken refuge in this area;

b. up to 10,000 people;

c. Road connections with Zvornik, Sarajevo and Goražde. In winter hard to pass through. There are no railway connections. No airports. There is enough water, electricity is insufficient. An agreement on use of the hydroelectric power stations on the Drina would have to be reached with the Muslims to provide sufficient supplies of electricity;

d. Supply lines are under military threat. The international peace-keeping forces required to protect this area would be approximately one armoured battalion, members of Serbian civilian police and anti-terrorist squads;

e. Refugees of Serbian nationality would be settled in this area, probably from the Drina valley.

9. EASTERN HERZEGOVINA: Nevesinje - Bileća - Gacko (controlled by the VRS)

a. in our estimation 10,000 to 20,000 people have taken refuge in this area;

b. up to 10,000 people;

c. Road connections with Mostar, Dubrovnik, Nikšić. In winter these roads are difficult to pass. There are no railway connections. No airport. Sufficient electricity (Gacko thermal power plant), sufficient water;

d. Supply routes are under military threat, with the exception of the one towards Nikšić. International peace-keeping force of one armoured battalion required to protect the area, members of Serbian civilian police and anti-terrorist squads;

e. The refugees in this area would be mainly of Serbian nationality. An agreement would have to be reached on the return of Muslims to this area.

Conclusion

Regardless of the proposal on the possibility of areas, free of military activity, in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina we believe that solving this complex question requires the following:

1. Complete and lasting agreement with the side that controls the territory;

2. Effective control of the heavy weaponry in possession of all sides;

3. In the continuation of the peace talks at least partial return of the refugees to areas that are at the moment under Serbian occupation should be granted, even if these areas go to provinces with a Serbian majority, and their effective protection should be provided;

4. If areas, free of military activity, are established and begin operating, then the possibility of terrorist groups in the camps should to be anticipated;

5. Air support (transport helicopters) which could deliver aid unobstructed should be permanently prepared for the event that the provision of humanitarian aid by land should cease. This also highlights the need for protection of helicopter transport.

Ljubljana, 8 April 1993

To President Mitterand

Dear Mr President

I am increasingly worried by the apparent misunderstanding and misrepresentation by President Izetbegovic of the proposed settlement put forward on 4 January. These have included allegations that the proposals represent an acceptance or endorsement of ethnic cleansing, that they consolidate Serb military gains and that the Muslims are losing out.

Cyrus Vance and I have gone to great lengths to ensure that we have not presented proposals focussed on ethnicity. Because of the history of Bosnia-Herzegovina it is inevitable that this a feature of any provincial map, but each province also has to be economically viable. The map has been combined with an absolute insistence that a Bosnian Serb state within a state is not acceptable. We feel that it is of utmost importance that the following information concerning the territorial implications of the proposals is made clear to Member Governments of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia. Because of the stark message this sends to the Bosnian Serbs, we have up till now been reluctant to use this information with the press.

The following figures show that according to the proposed provincial map, provinces with a clear Serb majority represent only 43% of the total land area of BiH. Whereas their military action had given them control of some 70% of the territory. Before the war the predominantly rural Serbian population lived on over 60%.

EACH PROVINCE'S PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL BIH TERRITORY

PROVINCE	%	COMBINATIONS		
1	6	PROVINCES 2 + 4 + 6	=	43%
2	26	(SERB MAJORITY)		
3	4	PROVINCES 3 + 8	=	15%
4	3	(CROAT MAJORITY)		
5	14	PROVINCES 1 + 5 +9	=	27%
6	14	(MUSLIM MAJORITY)		
7	4	PROVINCE 10	=	11%
8	11	(CROAT/MUSLIM)		
9	7	PROVINCE 7	=	4%
10	11	(SARAJEVO-JOINT ADMINISTRATION)		

Another crucial fact is the percentage of territory of individual provinces from which the forces are expected to withdraw

PROVINCE	SERB PULL-BACK %	BIH ARMY/CROAT PULL-BACK %
1	62	-

2	-	1
3	79	-
4	-	24
5	69	-
6	-	1
7	67	33
8	10	-
9	5	-
10	28	-

If the Bosnian Serbs were to accept our map or be forced to withdraw they would be retreating from about 24% of the territory of BiH that they occupy. The Bosnian Croat and Government (largely Muslim) forces would be expected to withdraw from about 2.5%

We have insisted all along that the aim of our constitutional proposals is to stop and reverse ethnic cleansing, and the proposed constitutional arrangements contain a range of very tough provisions designed to ensure the highest level of internationally recognised human and minority rights. These constitutional proposals have been on the table for some time and have [~~so far not~~] ~~have~~ **only now** been challenged [~~in any respect~~] by the Bosnian Serbs **but we intend to stand firm.** They include the establishment of **a Human Rights Court, the majority of whose members would be appointed by the Council of Europe;** an International Commission of Human Rights for Bosnia and Herzegovina; the appointment of ombudsmen with special responsibility to reverse ethnic cleansing.[~~; and the establishment of a human rights court.~~] Provision is also made to ensure ethnic balance in governmental decision making bodies and to prevent discrimination in the various central and provincial civil, police and other services.

At the close of our meeting on 4 January the Bosnian Croats accepted our package in full. President Izetbegovic said he accepted the ten constitutional principles and also the detailed proposals for a cessation of hostilities within 72 hours of the agreement being signed, UN control, in locations decided by the UN, of heavy weapons in Sarajevo in 5 days and in 15 days throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina. Also the withdrawal from the front line of all armed forces within 45 days to the provincial borders of the provinces they currently control.

It was only on the map that President Izetbegovic had reservations. I understand his reservations, which concern 5 specific areas, to be as follows, and I thought it might help in advance of your meeting if I was to explain why these boundaries were chosen. Of course, in an ideal world a case can be made for some of his wishes but in the mess that is BiH at present they represent [~~special pleading and in combination~~] a totally non-negotiable position.

a) extension of province 1 (Bihac pocket) to include Sanski Most opstina, most of Prijedor opstina, and the north of Kljuc opstina, including the city of Kljuc.

We are intent on seeing ethnic cleansing reversed as much as possible, and for this reason have insisted that the city of Prijedor and the city of Sanski Most should be included in province 1. However to push the boundaries of this province even closer to Banja Luka would be even more vigorously opposed by the serbs. We are not trying to establish ethnically homogenous areas, and for this reason, while agreeing that Kljuc is predominantly muslim in the north, and in the city itself, the area between Kljuc and the city of Bosanska Krupa is predominantly Serb. We **also** regard it of [~~more~~] importance that Jajce is not under Serb control.

B) a northward extension of province 5 toward Brcko.

This is one area where the three parties may be able to reach agreement. However, the muslim aim is to be in a position to cut the "northern corridor" which links Banja Luka to Serbia itself. The Serbs may see this as too much of a threat to the proposed "through route" which would be under UN control. They are very likely to want to see this area remain under Croat influence because they are already worried that a road corridor does not give them the same guarantee as a territorial corridor.

C) integration of province 6 enclave of Sekovici into province 5.

While this is a relatively large land area, it is sparsely populated with only 9600 inhabitants of whom 94% are Serb. We felt that the Serbs would have been insistent on including Sekovici, with some justification, in a province with a Serb majority, and did not want to have to be seen to make a concession at the expense of the muslims. The Serbs may be able to be persuaded on this one.

D) inclusion of parts of Sokolac and Han Pijesak opstinas in provinces with a muslim majority (5 or 9).

While muslims comprise 30% of the population of the former and 40% of the latter, their communities are scattered over the territory and it is not possible to draw a line that includes them, even if one wanted to do so. Again it must be remembered that the objective is to create provinces that are viable with respect to communications links, and other factors - economic, geographical etc.

E) extension of province 5 to include the opstinas bordering Serbia and Montenegro - Rudo, Cajnice and the east of Foca.

These areas are predominantly Serb, and this a muslim attempt to severely limit Serb access to Serbia and Montenegro. The dividing of Serb territory into three separate areas has been in the face of intense Serb opposition, and to restrict their access even further is

almost certain to be a failure, and would only serve to harden their position elsewhere.

On Sarajevo the we are absolutely against any attempt to divide the city and establish "green lines" and we have put forward detailed proposals for its demilitarisation. We believe the only viable solution for governing this province is on the basis of equal participation of all three parties, as is envisaged for the **Presidency** [~~government~~] of the country as a whole.

I hope very much that you will feel able to persuade President Izetbegovic to accept the package as a whole, "warts and all", and then we can turn the world's frustration and anger on to the Bosnian Serbs and pressurise them to accept the package as well **and give up their claim for a state within a state.**

If it would help at any time I am at your disposal to come to Paris to explain our position. We intend to stick firmly to our **package** [~~proposal~~] but of course are ready to accept any changes that can be agreed between all three parties.

CONFERENCE INTERNATIONALE SUR L'ANCIENNE YOUGOSLAVIE

Palais des Nations, 1211 Genève 10

Bureau des Co-Présidents

Le 8 janvier 1993

Monsieur le Président,

Je suis de plus en plus inquiet du malentendu apparent dont fait l'objet la proposition de règlement présentée le 4 janvier et de l'interprétation qu'en donne le Président Izetbegovic. Selon cette interprétation, ces propositions reviendraient à accepter ou avaliser la purification ethnique, consoliderait les acquis militaires serbes et consacrerait la défaite des Musulmans.

Cyrus Vance et moi n'avons ménagé aucun effort pour être bien sûrs que nous ne présentions aucune proposition fondée sur des critères ethniques. L'histoire de la Bosnie-Herzégovine fait qu'un découpage cartographique par provinces présente inévitablement un caractère ethnique, mais il importe aussi que chaque province soit économiquement viable. En établissant la carte, on a bien insisté sur le fait qu'il était absolument inacceptable que se constitue un Etat bosniaco-serbe à l'intérieur d'un autre Etat. Il est, estimons-nous, de la plus haute importance de communiquer très clairement aux gouvernements membres de la Conférence internationale sur l'ex-Yougoslavie les renseignements suivants concernant les implications territoriales de ces propositions. La fermeté du message que nous envoyons par là aux Serbes de Bosnie explique que nous ayons été jusque-là réticents à communiquer ces renseignements à la presse.

Des chiffres qui suivent, il ressort que, conformément au découpage des provinces proposé, les provinces où la population serbe est nettement majoritaire ne représentent que 43 % de la totalité du territoire de la Bosnie-Herzégovine. Par suite de leur intervention militaire, les Serbes contrôlent actuellement environ 70 % du territoire, mais avant la guerre on trouvait une population serbe à caractère essentiellement rural dans plus de 60 % de ce territoire.

Son Excellence
Monsieur François Mitterrand
Président de la République française
Paris, France

Répartition de la population totale du territoire de Bosnie-Herzegovine par province

Province	Pourcentage	Combinaisons de Provinces	
1	6	Provinces 2 + 4 + 6 =	43 %
2	26	(Majorité Serbe)	
3	4	Provinces 3 + 8 =	15 %
4	3	(Majorité Croate)	
5	14	Provinces 1 + 5 + 9 =	27 %
6	14	(Majorité Musulmane)	
7	4	Province 10 =	11 %
8	11	(Croates/Musulmans)	
9	7	Province 7 =	14 %
10	11	(Sarajevo-Administration Conjointe)	

Autre élément crucial, le pourcentage de territoire duquel les forces devront se retirer dans chacune des provinces.

Province	Retrait Serbe	Retrait Forces Armées BH-Forces Croates
	%	%
1	62	-
2	-	1
3	79	-
4	-	24
5	69	-
6	-	1
7	67	33
8	10	-
9	5	-
10	28	-

Si les Serbes de Bosnie acceptaient notre carte ou étaient contraints de se retirer, ils se retireraient d'environ 24 % du territoire qu'ils occupent en Bosnie-Herzégovine. Les forces gouvernementales (en majorité mulsulmanes) et les forces croates de Bosnie se retireraient d'environ 2,5 % du territoire qu'elles occupent. Je ne sais pas que l'histoire ait jamais connu d'épisode dans lequel une armée qui n'ait pas été battue sur le champ de bataille se soit vue contrainte de battre en retraite à la suite de négociations.

Nous n'avons cessé de souligner que les propositions constitutionnelles que nous présentons n'avaient d'autre objet que de mettre un terme à la purification ethnique et d'inverser le processus engagé et les arrangements constitutionnels que nous proposons comportent toute une série de dispositions très strictes visant à garantir que les droits de l'homme et les droits des minorités internationalement reconnus soient rigoureusement respectés. Ces propositions ont été officiellement présentées depuis un certain temps et c'est maintenant seulement que les Serbes de Bosnie y opposent des objections; nous entendons toutefois maintenir fermement notre position. Ces propositions prévoient la création d'un tribunal des droits de l'homme dont la majorité des membres seraient nommés par le Conseil de l'Europe, d'une Commission internationale des droits de l'homme pour la Bosnie-Herzégovine et la nomination d'ombudsmen qui auraient pour mission d'inverser le processus de purification ethnique.

Des dispositions sont également prévues pour assurer un équilibre ethnique dans les organes du gouvernement au niveau desquels se prennent les décisions et pour prévenir la discrimination dans les différents services de l'administration civile, de la police et autres services, aux niveaux central et provincial.

A l'issue de notre réunion du 4 janvier, les Croates de Bosnie ont accepté la totalité de ce que nous proposions. Le président Izetbegovic a dit accepter les dix principes constitutionnels ainsi que les propositions détaillées concernant la cessation des hostilités, dans un délai de 72 heures, le contrôle par l'ONU aux lieux et places décidés par elle, des armes lourdes, dans un délai de cinq jours à Sarajevo et dans un délai de 15 jours pour l'ensemble du territoire de la Bosnie-Herzégovine; ainsi que le retrait de la ligne du front de toutes les forces armées, dans un délai de 45 jours, jusqu'aux frontières des provinces dans les provinces dont elles ont actuellement le contrôle.

C'est uniquement la carte qui a suscité des réserves de la part du président Izetbegovic. Je crois comprendre que ces réserves portent sur les cinq points suivants et il me semble que cela pourrait faciliter nos discussions si je vous expliquais avant notre réunion les raisons pour lesquelles nous avons ainsi déterminé ces frontières. Bien sûr, dans des conditions idéales, certains des désirs du président Izetbegovic pourraient être pris en considération mais dans la pagaille dans laquelle se trouve présentement la Bosnie-Herzégovine, sa position n'est absolument pas négociable.

A. Elargissement de la province 1 (poche de Bihac), qui engloberait la commune de Sanski Most, la plus grande partie de la commune de Prijedor et le nord de la commune de Kljuc, y compris la ville de Kljuc.

Nous cherchons à inverser dans la mesure du possible le processus de purification ethnique et c'est pourquoi nous avons insisté pour que la ville de Prijedor et la ville de Sanski Most soient englobées dans la province 1. Mais toute tentative pour repousser les limites de cette province encore plus loin vers Banja Luka se heurterait à une opposition encore plus vigoureuse de la part des Serbes. Nous ne cherchons pas à établir une zone ethniquement homogène; en effet, si au nord de Kljuc et dans la ville elle-même la population est en majorité musulmane, la région comprise entre Kljuc et la ville de Bosanska Kurpa est essentiellement serbe. Il nous paraît également important que Jajce ne soit pas sous contrôle serbe.

B. Elargissement de la province 5 vers le nord dans la direction de Brcko

C'est une des seules régions au sujet desquelles les trois parties pourront peut-être parvenir à un accord. Mais les Musulmans voudraient être en mesure de couper le "corridor nord" qui relie Banja Luka à la Serbie proprement dite. Les Serbes pourraient voir là un danger pour l'axe routier qu'il est proposé d'établir et qui serait sous le contrôle de l'ONU. Ils voudront probablement que cette zone reste sous l'influence croate car ils craignent déjà qu'un corridor routier ne leur offre pas les mêmes garanties qu'un corridor territorial.

C. Intégration à la province 5 de l'enclave de Sekovici située dans la province 6

Il s'agit d'une zone relativement étendue mais peu peuplée, qui ne compte que 9 600 habitants, dont 94 % sont des Serbes. Nous avons pensé que les Serbes auraient insisté, non sans raison, pour inclure Sekovici dans une province à majorité serbe, et nous n'avons pas voulu donner l'impression de faire une concession aux dépens des Musulmans. Les Serbes se laisseront peut-être persuader sur ce point.

D. Inclusion de certaines parties des communes de Sokolac et de Han Pijesak dans des provinces à majorité musulmane (5 ou 9)

Bien que les Musulmans représentent 30 % de la population de Sokolac et 40 % de celle de Han Pijesak, leurs communautés sont dispersées et il ne serait pas possible, même si on le voulait, de délimiter un territoire les incluant toutes. Il faut rappeler encore une fois que l'objectif est de créer des provinces qui soient viables sur le plan des communications et sur les plans économiques, géographiques et autres.

E. Elargissement de la province 5, qui comprendrait les communes situées à la frontière de la Serbie et du Monténégro - Rudo, Cajnice et l'est de Foca

La population de ces régions est en majorité serbe, et il s'agit d'une tentative de la part des Musulmans pour barrer aux Serbes l'accès à la Serbie et au Monténégro. La division du territoire serbe en trois zones séparées a provoqué une violente opposition de la part des Serbes, et toute tentative pour limiter encore leur liberté d'accès serait vouée à l'échec et ne servirait qu'à durcir leur position par ailleurs.

En ce qui concerne Sarajevo, nous sommes absolument opposés à toute tentative pour diviser la ville et établir des "lignes vertes", et nous avons présenté des propositions détaillées en vue de sa démilitarisation. Nous sommes convaincus que la seule solution viable pour le gouvernement de cette province est une participation des trois parties sur un pied d'égalité, comme celle qui est envisagée pour la présidence de l'ensemble du pays.

J'espère vivement que vous serez en mesure de persuader le président Izetbegovic d'accepter l'ensemble de nos propositions, même si elles ne sont pas parfaites, et que nous pourrons alors faire peser sur les Serbes de Bosnie la colère et l'indignation du monde pour les amener à accepter, eux aussi, la solution que nous proposons et à abandonner leur prétention à former un Etat dans l'Etat.

Je me tiens prêt, si vous y voyiez quelque utilité, à venir à Paris vous expliquer notre position. Nous entendons nous en tenir à notre solution globale, mais nous sommes, évidemment, tout disposés à accepter tout changement qui pourrait être convenu entre les trois parties.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur le Président, les assurances de ma considération distinguée.

David Owen

PERMANENT MISSION OF THE
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA
5, chemin Thury
1206 Genève
tel.: 346.44.33 & 346.68.66
fax: 346.44.36

BY FAX
VERY URGENT

Date: 1 July 1993

TO: Mr. Thorvald STOLTENBERG and
Lord David OWEN
Co-Chairmen of the International Conference
on the Former Yugoslavia
G e n e v a

FROM: Dr. Vladimir Pavicevic
Deputy Head of Delegation of the
F.R. of Yugoslavia to the I.C.F.Y. and
Ambassador, Chargé d'Affaires a.i.

No. of pages (cover included): 3 (THREE)

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No. 649 1 July 1993

Dear Sirs,

Upon instruction of the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, I would wish to inform you on the following:

With regard to the proposal we informally learnt of that, within the restructuring of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, a Working Group on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia be formed, we would like to put forward our objection that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as a sovereign and independent state and as a member of the United Nations Organization, has not been consulted to this effect and hence the proposal is deemed unacceptable. The proposal to have a Working Group on the F.R. of Yugoslavia formed is totally unacceptable also due to the very essence of the proposal there not being any reason for the setting up of such a working group. The F.R. of Yugoslavia did not secede from the former S.F.R. of Yugoslavia but is its continuity. If a working group had to be formed then it should have been on the republics that seceded from the former Yugoslavia or on issues that had arisen as a result of acts of secession.

./...

Mr. Thorvald STOLTENBERG and
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These are the first comments of the Government of the F.R. of Yugoslavia with regard to the proposal on the creation of a Working Group on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia within the framework of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia.

Please accept, dear Sirs, the assurances of my highest consideration.

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РЕПУБЛИКА МАКЕДОНИЈА
Министерство за односи со странство
REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA
Ministry of Foreign Relations
Бр./No. 1201-2390/2
01.07 199 3

91000 Skopje

Address: 4, Dame Gruev St.
Tel. (091) 115 832, 115 271
Fax. 38 91 115 790

VERY URGENT

ТЕЛЕФАКС ПОРАКА
FAX MESSAGE

ТЕЛЕФАКС БР.
FAX NO.

ДО:
TO: Co-Chairmen of the International Conference on Former SFRY

ОД:
FROM: Government of Macedonia

БРОЈ НА СТРАНИЦИ (ВКЛУЧУВАЈЌИ ЈА И ОВАА):
NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUDING COVER SHEET): 2

Due to some printing errors we repeat the letter No. 2390/1 dated June 30, 1993.

Please accept our apologies.

REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA
Ministry of Foreign Relations
No. 2390/1

Skopje
June 30, 1993
U R G E N T

Dear Sirs,

I avail myself of this opportunity to inform you that the Republic of Macedonia is closely following your extraordinary efforts for the peaceful resolving of the crises in the regions of the former SFRY. Efforts in the same direction have been taken by the Republic of Macedonia, which, as you well know, has succeeded in becoming an independent and sovereign state in a peaceful manner, without conflicts. The Republic of Macedonia has constructively contributed to the work of the Peace Conference on the former SFRY, and, in accordance with its standpoints, is showing great interest in the succession related issues.

Recently, we have received information from unofficial sources, about the idea of new working groups being formed within the framework of the Conference on former SFRY, where a „Group on the Republic of Macedonia„ had also been mentioned.

If this information is proved to be correct, please allow me to convey our disapproval of the idea of a special „Group on the Republic of Macedonia„ within the framework of the International Conference on Former SFRY. There is no justified basis for the formation of a special group for the Republic of Macedonia, and moreover, such steps can lead to negative political implications. You are well aware that the Republic of Macedonia neither is in conflict with any of the former republics of SFRY, nor has other problems suggesting such a need.

Allow me once again to emphasize our great interest in the successful work of the International Conference on Former SFRY, where you can expect our full cooperation, especially in domain of the succession issues, where we expect solutions to be found as soon as possible.

Please accept assurances of my highest consideration.

Respectfully,

Stevo Crvenkovski
Deputy Prime Minister
of the Government of Macedonia
Acting Minister
for Foreign Relations

H.E. David Owen
H.E. Thornvald Stoltenberg
Co-Chairmen of the International
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Доколку приемот е нецелосен или со пречки, молиме јавете.
In case of any obstacles in reception, please call the phone number listed above.

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No. 649/1 1 July 1993

Dear Sirs,

Further to my letter of 1 July 1993 (ref. no. 649), I would like to inform you that the Government of the F.R. of Yugoslavia will not accept the decision of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia to form a Working Group on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or on its sub-groups as this would be contrary to the basic principles of the United Nations Charter on the inviolability of the sovereignty and respect for the national interests of states.

My Government, of course, remains ready to cooperate within the I.C.F.Y. on the present basis.

Please consider this an integral part of my letter of 1 July 1993 (ref. no. 649).

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Co-Chairmen of the International Conference
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G e n e v a

REPUBLIKA BOSNA I HERCEGOVINA
HRVATSKA ZAJEDNICA HERCEG-BOSNA

Ured Predsjednika

Ref.: 0050/93
UNPROFOR BiH
Zapovjednik
Gen. Phillipe Morillon
Sarajevo

Mostar, 22. lipnja 1993.

Štovani gospodine,

hrvatski je narod Središnje Bosne na ivici uništenja i izgona sa prostora na kojima obitava već trinaest stoljeća. Vi i Vaši vojnici ste svjedocima barbarske muslimanske devastacije i oskrnavljenja najstarijih katoličkih svetinja našega naroda. Kraljeva Sutjeska, Guča Gora i mnoga druga slična mjesta jesu duh one Bosne i Hercegovine koju smo mi Hrvati branili i pokušali stvoriti na novim temeljima. Više od sto tisuća ljudi, žena, djece, nemoćnih, su u najizravnijoj životnoj opasnosti. Tragične sudbine Travnika, Kaknja, Kraljeve Sutjeske, Kreševa, Fojnice, Busovače, Viteza, Kiseljaka, Novog Travnika, Vama čini se ne znače ništa. Trebaju li sutra Sarajevo, Vareš, Bugojno, Zenica, Žepče, Tuzla, doživjeti isto, a da Vi i nadalje ne prepoznajete uzrok zla.

Gospodine Generale, tražim od Vas da, sukladno Vašem obećanju sa sastanka održanog dne 10.lipnja 1993. u Medjugorju, omogućite slobodan izlazak i prolaz do slobodnih područja Bosne i Hercegovine, svim Hrvatima iz ugroženih područja koji to žele, a pod kontrolom i zaštitom Vaših postrojbi. Pored toga, tražim da, sukladno mandatu Vaših snaga, osigurate hitan prolaz humanitarnih konvoja UNHCR za gradove Središnje Bosne preplavljene izbjeglicama i prognanicima. Vareš, Kiseljak, Kreševo, Busovača, Vitez, Novi Travnik i druga mjesta, neće moći izdržati pritisak prouzročen muslimanskom agresijom, ako ne postupite po našem zahtjevu.

Gospodine, Hrvati Bosne i Hercegovine dosada su pružili sve potrebito UNPROFOR-u, UNHCR-u i svima drugim organizacijama i ljudima dobre volje, a da nam niste bili potrebni niti smo tražili bilo kakovu Vašu pomoć. Stoga, sada prvi i posljednji put tražim ili da Ujedinjeni Narodi osiguraju učinkovitu zaštitu naših ljudi, ili ćemo biti prisiljeni pozvati se na neotudjivo pravo na pojedinačnu ili kolektivnu samoobranu, kako je garantirano Poveljom Ujedinjenih Naroda, odnosno svim pozitivnim medjunarodnim pravilima i propisima.

Tražim da odmah poduzmete sve potrebito i da me u roku od 24 sata izvijestite o rezultatima Vašega napora.

S štovanjem

Predsjednik

Mate Boban

cc:
UNHCR BiH
Posebni izaslanik Visokog Komesara Ujedinjenih Naroda
za Izbjeglice za bivšu Jugoslaviju
g. Nicholas Morris

Ured Predsjednika

Ref No: 0050 /93

General Philippe Morillion
UNPROFOR Commander for Bosnia & Herzegovina
Sarajevo

Mostar, June 22nd, 1993

Dear Sir,

The Croatian people of central Bosnia are on the verge of extinction and being expelled from areas where they have lived for over 13 centuries. UNPROFOR and yourself have witnessed the barbaric Muslim devastation and desecration of sacred Catholic objects of our people. The Kraljeva Sutjeska, Guca Gora monastaries and many other similar places are the soul of the Bosnia & Herzegovina which we Croats have defended and attempted to recreate on a new basis. More than 100,000 people, women, children and the helpless are in extreme danger of losing their lives. It seems the tragic destiny of Travnik, Kakanj, Kraljeva Sutjeske, Kresevo, Fojnica Busovac, Vitez, Kiseljak and Novi Travnik means nothing to you. Do Sarajevo, Vares, Bugojno, Zenica, Zepce and Tuzla have to experience the same fate tomorrow, as you further ignore the cause of the evil.

Dear General, I am requesting from you in accord to your promises made on the meeting held on June, 10th in Međugorje, to enable the exit and safe movement to free areas of Bosnia & Herzegovina, Croats who are imperiled and wish to do so. This must be done under the control and protection of UNPROFOR. I also ask that in accordance to the UNPROFOR mandate, that you ensure the immediate safe passage of UNHCR humanitarian aid convoys to the following cities in central Bosnia which are flooded with refugees and exiled people i.e Vareš, Kiseljak, Kreševo, Busovač, Vitez, Novi Travnik and elsewhere. These places will soon be unable withstand the pressure caused by Muslim aggression if you do not meet our requirements.

Dear General, the Croats of Bosnia & Herzegovina to date, have extended all necessary assistance to UNPROFOR, UNHCR and other international organisations and people of good faith, even though we have not needed your assistance and have never asked for your help. However, for the first and last time I ask you that the UN either effectively protect our people or we will be forced to invoke our inalienable right to individual and collective self-defence which is guaranteed by the UN Charter, and other international rules and regulations.

We request that you immediately undertake all necessary steps to fulfill our requirements and I expect a reply within 24 hours on the results of your efforts.

Yours Sincerely

Mate Boban

cc:
UNHCR for Bosnia & Herzegovina
Special Envoy of the UNHCR for the former Yugoslavia
Mr. Nicholas Morris

REPUBLIKA BOSNA I HERCEGOVINA
HRVATSKA ZAJEDNICA HERCEG-BOSNA

Ured Predsjednika

Ref.: 0050/93
UNHCR BiH
Posebni izaslanik Visokog Komesara Ujedinjenih Naroda
za Izbjeglice za bivšu Jugoslaviju
Medjugorje
g. Nicholas Morris

Mostar, 22. lipnja 1993.

Štovani gospodine,

hrvatski je narod Središnje Bosne na ivici uništenja i izgona sa prostora na kojima obitava već trinaest stoljeća. Vi i Vaši vojnici ste svjedocima barbarske muslimanske devastacije i oskrnavljenja najstarijih katoličkih svetinja našega naroda. Kraljeva Sutjeska, Guča Gora i mnoga druga slična mjesta jesu duh one Bosne i Hercegovine koju smo mi Hrvati branili i pokušali stvoriti na novim temeljima. Više od sto tisuća ljudi, žena, djece, nemoćnih, su u najizravnijoj životnoj opasnosti. Tragične sudbine Travnika, Kaknja, Kraljeve Sutjeske, Kreševa, Fojnice, Busovače, Viteza, Kiseljaka, Novog Travnika, Vama čini se ne znače ništa. Trebaju li sutra Sarajevo, Vareš, Bugojno, Zenica, Žepče, Tuzla, doživjeti isto, a da Vi i nadalje ne prepoznajete uzrok zla.

Štovani gospodine, tražim od Vas da, sukladno Vašem obećanju sa sastanka održanog dne 10.lipnja 1993. u Medjugorju, omogućite slobodan izlazak i prolaz do slobodnih područja Bosne i Hercegovine, svim Hrvatima iz ugroženih područja koji to žele, a pod kontrolom i zaštitom Vaših postrojbi. Pored toga, tražim da, sukladno mandatu Vaših snaga, osigurate hitan prolaz humanitarnih konvoja UNHCR za gradove Središnje Bosne preplavljene izbjeglicama i prognanicima. Vareš, Kiseljak, Kreševo, Busovača, Vitez, Novi Travnik i druga mjesta, neće moći izdržati pritisak prouzročen muslimanskom agresijom, ako ne postupite po našem zahtjevu.

Ured Predsjednika

Ref No: 0050 /93

Mr. Nicholas Morris
Special Envoy of the UNHCR to the former Yugoslavia
Zagreb

Mostar, June 22nd, 1993

Dear Sir,

The Croatian people of central Bosnia are on the verge of extinction and being expelled from areas where they have lived for over 13 centuries. UNPROFOR and yourself have witnessed the barbaric Muslim devastation and desecration of sacred Catholic objects of our people. The Kraljeva Sutjeska, Guca Gora monastaries and many other similar places are the soul of the Bosnia & Herzegovina which we Croats have defended and attempted to recreate on a new basis. More than 100,000 people, women, children and the helpless are in extreme danger of losing their lives. It seems the tragic destiny of Travnik, Kakanj, Kraljeva Sutjeske, Kresevo, Fojnica Busovac, Vitez, Kiseljak and Novi Travnik means nothing to you. Do Sarajevo, Vares, Bugojno, Zenica, Zepce and Tuzla have to experience the same fate tomorrow, as you further ignore the cause of the evil.

Dear Sir, I am requesting your assistance in accord to the promises made by General Philippe Morillion on the meeting held on June, 10th in Međugorje, to enable the exit and safe movement to free areas of Bosnia & Herzegovina, Croats who are imperiled and wish to do so. This must be done under the control and protection of UNPROFOR. I also ask that in accordance to the UNPROFOR mandate, that UNPROFOR ensure the immediate safe passage of UNHCR humanitarian aid convoys to the following cities in central Bosnia which are flooded with refugees and exiled people i.e Vareš, Kiseljak, Kreševo, Busovač, Vitez, Novi Travnik and elsewhere. These places will soon be unable withstand the pressure caused by Muslim aggression if you do not meet our requirements.

Gospodine, Hrvati Bosne i Hercegovine dosada su pružili sve potrebito UNPROFOR-u, UNHCR-u i svima drugim organizacijama i ljudima dobre volje, a da nam niste bili potrebni niti smo tražili bilo kakovu Vašu pomoć. Stoga, sada prvi i posljednji put tražim ili da Ujedinjeni Narodi osiguraju učinkovitu zaštitu naših ljudi, ili ćemo biti prisiljeni pozvati se na neotudjivo pravo na pojedinačnu ili kolektivnu samoobranu, kako je garantirano Poveljom Ujedinjenih Naroda, odnosno svim pozitivnim medjunarodnim pravilima i propisima.

Tražim da odmah poduzmete sve potrebito i da me u roku od 24 sata izvijestite o rezultatima Vašega napora.

S štovanjem

Predsjednik

Mate Boban

cc:
UNPROFOR BiH
Zapovjednik
Gen. Phillipe Morillon

Dear Sir, the Croats of Bosnia & Herzegovina to date, have extended all necessary assistance to UNPROFOR, UNHCR and other international organisations and people of good faith, even though we have not needed your assistance and have never asked for your help. However, for the first and last time I ask you that the UN either effectively protect our people or we will be forced to invoke our inalienable right to individual and collective self-defence which is guaranteed by the UN Charter, and other international rules and regulations.

We request that you immediately undertake all necessary steps to fulfill our requirements and I expect a reply within 24 hours on the results of your efforts.

Yours Sincerely

Mate Boban

cc:
General Philippe Morillion
UNPROFOR Commander for Bosnia & Herzegovina

PERMANENT MISSION OF THE
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA
5, chemin Thury
1206 Genève
tel.: 346.44.33 & 346.68.66
fax: 346.44.36

BY FAX

Date: 2 July 1993

TO: Mr. Thorvald STOLTENBERG and
Lord David OWEN
Co-Chairmen of the International Conference
on the Former Yugoslavia
G e n e v a

FROM: Dr. Vladimir Pavicevic
Deputy Head of Delegation of the
F.R. of Yugoslavia to the I.C.F.Y. and
Ambassador, Chargé d'Affaires a.i.

No. of pages (cover included): 5 (FIVE)

MESSAGE:

Please find attached an urgent message addressed to Mr. Thorvald Stoltenberg and Lord David Owen, Co-Chairmen of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia by the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the F.R. of Yugoslavia, Mr. Vladislav Jovanovic.

PERMANENT MISSION OF THE
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA
5, chemin Thury
1206 Genève
tel.: 346.44.33 & 346.68.66
fax: 346.44.36

No. 660/1 2 July 1993

Dear Sirs,

I have the honour to transmit herein the letter of 2 July 1993 of the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the F.R. of Yugoslavia, Mr. Vladisalv Jovanovic, concerning the working Group on Succession Issues within the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia.

Please accept, dear Sirs, the assurances of my highest consideration.

per Dr. Vladimir Pavicevic
Deputy Head of Delegation of the
F.R. of Yugoslavia to the I.C.F.Y. and
Ambassador, Chargé d'Affaires a.i.

Mr. Thorvald STOLTENBERG and
Lord David OWEN
Co-Chairmen of the International Conference
on the Former Yugoslavia
G e n e v a

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Belgrade, 2 July 1993

Excellencies,

I wish, first of all, to express my satisfaction at our recent meeting in Geneva within the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia and its successful outcome to which you made a significant contribution.

According to the practice of an open and sincere exchange of views, I take this opportunity to bring to your attention the serious problem we are facing concerning the Working Group on Succession Issues, due to the renewed activity of the so-called Badinter Commission.

In this connection, I wish to inform you about the decision of the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to withdraw its representatives from and to discontinue, on a temporary basis, its participation in the Working Group on Succession Issues of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia pending discontinuation of the work of the so-called Badinter Commission for the reasons which we have indicated on several occasions.

The substantiated reasons underlying the decision of the FR of Yugoslavia not to accept the competence of the so-called Badinter Commission, as a body for settlement of disputes through arbitration, have been presented in the statement by the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in my letter addressed to you as well as in our direct talks. First of all, it is a fact that the Commission has not been established in compliance with international law. Furthermore, in its Opinions No. 1-10 the Commission has essentially violated the legal norms of international law, both in respect of procedure as well as the

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Mr. Thorvald STOLTENBERG and
Lord David OWEN
Co-Chairmen of the International Conference
on the Former Yugoslavia
G e n e v a

implementation of material law. In practice the opinions of the Commission, as an advisory body of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, on the basis of which the Yugoslav participants at the Conference were to adopt relevant decisions by consensus taking also into account the Commission's opinion, were taken as judgements and served as a basis for making concrete decisions on relevant issues concerning the Yugoslav crisis.

Our side has particularly underlined the fact that the Government of the FR of Yugoslavia considers unjustifiable and unacceptable resort to any court mechanism, prior to substantiated and comprehensive discussion on the principles on the basis of which the property of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia should be ceded to successor States.

I would like also to recall that the Government of the FR of Yugoslavia and its representative have underlined on several occasions that outstanding and pending question which may arise in the work of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, could be solved, following a substantiated and comprehensive discussion, within a court procedure in accordance with international law.

For all the above reasons, the Government of the FR of Yugoslavia considers the opinions of the so-called Badinter Commission and the decisions and acts of other subjects based thereupon, null and unbinding for the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Confident that, this time again, you will show understanding, please accept, Excellencies, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Vladislav Jovanovic (Signed)
Deputy Prime Minister and
Minister of Foreign Affairs of the
Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

Encl.:
Statement by the Government
of the FR of Yugoslavia of
30 April 1993

STATEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA

AS STATED BY THE DELEGATION OF THE FR OF YUGOSLAVIA AT THE BRUSSELS MEETING OF THE CONFERENCE ON YUGOSLAVIA AND AT THE LONDON CONFERENCE ON YUGOSLAVIA, THE FR OF YUGOSLAVIA DOES NOT RECOGNIZE THE JURISDICTION OF THE ARBITRATION COMMISSION, KNOWN AS THE BADINTER COMMISSION, IN THE ASSETS AND LIABILITIES DIVISION PROCEDURE AND IS NOT AGREED THAT THE COMMISSION ISSUE ADVISORY OPINIONS ON THE PRINCIPLES ON THE BASIS OF WHICH SUCCESSION OF STATES WOULD BE EFFECTED BETWEEN THE SOCIALIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA - AS THE PREDECESSOR STATE, ON THE ONE HAND, AND THE SECESSIONIST FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLICS - AS SUCCESSOR STATES, ON THE OTHER.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE FR OF YUGOSLAVIA ALSO DEEMS UNACCEPTABLE THAT THE QUESTION OF PRINCIPLES RELEVANT FOR THE SUCCESSION PROCEDURE BE DISCUSSED BEFORE ANY BODY, PRIOR TO SUBSTANTIAL DISCUSSION OF THESE PRINCIPLES WITHIN THE SUCCESSION GROUP OF THE CONFERENCE ON YUGOSLAVIA.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE FR OF YUGOSLAVIA WISHES TO RECALL THAT IN THE SENSE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW THE ARBITRATION COMMISSION WAS NOT ESTABLISHED OR COMPOSED FOR ARBITRATION PURPOSES, WHILE IN ITS WORK WITHIN THE CONFERENCE ON YUGOSLAVIA SO FAR IT HAS BEEN SERIOUSLY IN BREACH BOTH THE LAW OF PROCEDURE AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF MATERIAL LAW.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT REITERATES THE POSITION OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA PRESENTED AT THE MEETING OF THE CONFERENCE ON YUGOSLAVIA IN BRUSSELS AND AT THE LONDON CONFERENCE THAT ALL DISPUTES THAT MAY ARISE VIS-A-VIS THE DIVISION OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES, SHOULD BE REFERRED BY AGREEMENT EITHER TO THE PERMANENT INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION COURT IN THE HAGUE OR TO AN AD HOC ARBITRATION COURT.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE FR OF YUGOSLAVIA CONSIDERS ARBITRATION PROCEEDINGS IN THE SETTLEMENT OF THE CONTENTIOUS ISSUES THAT MAY ARISE IN THE WORK OF THE CONFERENCE ON YUGOSLAVIA AS PROCEEDINGS BEFORE A COURT OF LAW IN THE SENSE OF GENERAL INTERNATIONAL LAW AND NOT AS PROCEEDINGS BEFORE THE ARBITRATION COMMISSION PRESIDED BY MR. BADINTER.

WE RECALL IN ITS REPLY TO THE LETTER OF MR. BADINTER, PRESIDENT OF THE COMMISSION, OF 3 JUNE 1992, THAT IT CONSIDERS THE OPINIONS OF THE COMMISSION DOCTRINARY IN THE SENSE OF ART. 38 (D) OF THE STATUTE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE, WHICH DO NOT CONSTITUTE A LEGAL GROUND FOR ANY VALID DECISION. THE FR OF YUGOSLAVIA SHALL CONSIDER NULL AND VOID AND NON-BINDING ANY OPINION OF THE COMMISSION ADOPTED IN THE PROCEDURE TO WHICH IT HAS NOT AGREED.

30.04.1993

PERMANENT MISSION OF THE
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA
5, chemin Thury
1206 Genève
tel.: 346.44.33 & 346.68.66
fax: 346.44.36

BY FAX

Date: 2 July 1993

TO: Mr. Thorvald STOLTENBERG and
Lord David OWEN
Co-Chairmen of the International Conference
on the Former Yugoslavia
G e n e v a

FROM: Dr. Vladimir Pavicevic
Deputy Head of Delegation of the
F.R. of Yugoslavia to the I.C.F.Y. and
Ambassador, Chargé d'Affaires a.i.

No. of pages (cover included): 5 (FIVE)

MESSAGE:

Please find attached an urgent message addressed to Mr. Thorvald Stoltenberg and Lord David Owen, Co-Chairmen of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia by the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the F.R. of Yugoslavia, Mr. Vladislav Jovanovic.

PERMANENT MISSION OF THE
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA
5, chemin Thury
1206 Genève
tel.: 346.44.33 & 346.68.66
fax: 346.44.36

No. 660/1

2 July 1993

Dear Sirs,

I have the honour to transmit herein the letter of 2 July 1993 of the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the F.R. of Yugoslavia, Mr. Vladisalv Jovanovic, concerning the working Group on Succession Issues within the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia.

Please accept, dear Sirs, the assurances of my highest consideration.

per Dr. Vladimir Pavicevic
Deputy Head of Delegation of the
F.R. of Yugoslavia to the I.C.F.Y. and
Ambassador, Chargé d'Affaires a.i.

Mr. Thorvald STOLTENBERG and
Lord David OWEN
Co-Chairmen of the International Conference
on the Former Yugoslavia
G e n e v a

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Belgrade, 2 July 1993

Excellencies,

I wish, first of all, to express my satisfaction at our recent meeting in Geneva within the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia and its successful outcome to which you made a significant contribution.

According to the practice of an open and sincere exchange of views, I take this opportunity to bring to your attention the serious problem we are facing concerning the Working Group on Succession Issues, due to the renewed activity of the so-called Badinter Commission.

In this connection, I wish to inform you about the decision of the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to withdraw its representatives from and to discontinue, on a temporary basis, its participation in the Working Group on Succession Issues of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia pending discontinuation of the work of the so-called Badinter Commission for the reasons which we have indicated on several occasions.

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Mr. Thorvald STOLTENBERG and
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Confident that, this time again, you will show understanding, please accept, Excellencies, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Vladislav Jovanovic (Signed)
Deputy Prime Minister and
Minister of Foreign Affairs of the
Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

Encl.:
Statement by the Government
of the FR of Yugoslavia of
30 April 1993

STATEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA

AS STATED BY THE DELEGATION OF THE FR OF YUGOSLAVIA AT THE BRUSSELS MEETING OF THE CONFERENCE ON YUGOSLAVIA AND AT THE LONDON CONFERENCE ON YUGOSLAVIA, THE FR OF YUGOSLAVIA DOES NOT RECOGNIZE THE JURISDICTION OF THE ARBITRATION COMMISSION, KNOWN AS THE BADINTER COMMISSION, IN THE ASSETS AND LIABILITIES DIVISION PROCEDURE AND IS NOT AGREED THAT THE COMMISSION ISSUE ADVISORY OPINIONS ON THE PRINCIPLES ON THE BASIS OF WHICH SUCCESSION OF STATES WOULD BE EFFECTED BETWEEN THE SOCIALIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA - AS THE PREDECESSOR STATE, ON THE ONE HAND, AND THE SECESSIONIST FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLICS - AS SUCCESSOR STATES, ON THE OTHER.

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30.04.1993

РЕПУБЛИКА СРПСКА КРАЈИНА
The Republic of Serbian Krajina
Министарство за иностране послове
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

KNIN, KRALJA PETRA I OSLOBODIOCA 2
TEL: 011-235-16-72
0780-80-120 / 079-714-931
FAX: (011) 235-1007
REPUBLIC OF SERBIAN KRAJINA

OFFICE IN BELGRADE
TERAZIJE No 31
TEL (011) 321 325, 320 776, 327 346
FAX (011) 334-573
YUGOSLAVIA

2/6

014

534\93

30 JUNE 1993

HIS EXCELLENCY
MR. BOUTROS BOUTROS GHALI
SECRETARY GENERAL
UNITED NATIONS
NEW YORK

Your Excellency,

On behalf of the Government of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, permit me to draw your attention to the abuses which the Government of the Republic of Croatia instigates through its membership of the United Nations, specifically the transmission of false information and historic plagiates, all in the name of official documentation.

As an example of such conduct is the letter of the Croatian Premier, Mr. Nikica Valentic, No. A\48\215 of June 21st, 1993, addressed to your Office. The discrepancies and contradictions can easily be summised.

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#014

1) The Croatian Premier states that his Government advocates a peaceful settlement of the conflict with the Republic of Serbian Krajina, omitting the fact that the Croatian Army committed an act of aggression against my country on January 22, 1993, and totally omitting its obligation to withdraw from the occupied regions, as stipulated by resolution 802 (1993).

2) Mr. Valentic states that an act of '' aggression'' had been instigated against the Republic of Croatia, even though this ex-federal unit of the former Yugoslavia committed an act of secession from the federation in 1991, and in the process attempted the appropriation of Serbian territories. At the same time, the Croatian army attacked the Yugoslav Federal Army, and through a shameful media onslaught, deceived the world to the opposite conclusion.

3) The Croatian Premier dares to state that the Republic of Serbia committed an act of aggression against the Republic of Croatia, even though the truth of the matter is that during 1991-92 the Republic of Serbia did not have its own military, relying on the Yugoslav Federal Army, which contained less than 50% of Serbs, the chief commands being in the hands of Croatian, Slovenian and Macedonian generals. The most important state posts in the Yugoslav federation were at the same time in the hands of Croats, the Office of President, Premier, High Command and Foreign

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#014

Affairs being some examples. When the Croatian military attacked the Federal Army, it did not come into conflict with a Serbian institution, which was non existant.

4) The Premier of Croatia shows utmost dishonor in stating that during 1991 and 1993 Croatia suffered greater destruction than during the course of the Second World War. In both periods, 1941 - 1945 and 1991 - 1993 respectively, the only settlements that were destroyed were Serbian, and the only people who experienced genocide were Serbs.

The independant State of Croatia was responsible for the extermination of approximately 1.200.000 Serbs between 1941 - 1945, of whom at least 700.000 perished in the death camp of Jasenovac.

The Republic of Croatia in 1991 ethnically cleansed Western Slavonia of the Serbian ethnic presence, while not a single Croat left the Republic of Serbian Krajina. Of the 183 Serbian settlements in Western Slavonija which were ethnically cleansed, dozens were destroyed, their sites being delegated the role of radio-active refuge centers. I must reiterate once more that my Government requested from your Office expert assistance, both for aerial annalysis of instigated destruction, and for the ascertainment of the volume of radiation from radio-active waste, but has not as yet received any response.

5/6

I am availing myself of this opportunity to warn you once again that UNPROFOR contingents, stationed in this region, are in danger of being contaminated by radiation.

#014

5) The Croatian Premier gives a figure of 250,000 Croatians who were forced into exile from the Republic of Serbian Krajina, drastically increasing not only the number of those who actually had residence in the Republic, but also totally negating the fact that 300,000 Serbs were expelled from the Republic of Croatia, their realestate and movable effects being appropriated. This fact is confirmed by your Report of May 15, 1993 before the Security Council, when you stated that 251,000 Serbs found refuge in Yugoslavia and the Republic of Serbian Krajina.

6) Mr. Valentic reports that 12 % of dwellings in Croatia were destroyed, and in the figure includes such cities as Pakrac and Vukovar from the Republic of Serbian Krajina, as well as those in Croatia which expelled the Serbian element, and in the process destroying their realestate. Such an example is the city of Zadar in Dalmatia, which expelled 28,000 Serbs.

Your Excellency,

The implementation of such methods by the representatives of the Republic of Croatia in the United Nations is not only a procedure which should be condemned, but also a policy whose negative consequences should be redressed, particulary in view of

РЕПУБЛИКА СРПСКА КРАЈИНА
The Republic of Serbian Krajina
Министарство за иностране послове
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

NIN, KRALJA PETRA I VIŠEGRADSKA 29
TEL: 011-235-16-72
0780-60-120 / 079-714-023
FAX: (011) 235-160-71
REPUBLIC OF SERBIAN KRAJINA

OFFICE IN BELGRADE
TERAZIJE br. 11
TEL (011) 321 325, 320 276, 327-046
FAX (011) 324-573
YUGOSLAVIA

2/6

014

34\93

30 JUNE 1993

S EXCELLENCY
. BOUTROS BOUTROS GHALI
ECRETARY GENERAL
NITED NATIONS
EW YORK

Sur Excellency,

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KU

#014

he Croatian Premier states that his Government advocates aceful settlement of the conflict with the Republic of ian Krajina, omitting the fact that the Croatian Army mitted an act of aggression against my country on uary 22, 1993, and totally omitting its obligation to withdraw n the occupied regions, as stipulated by resolution 802 (1993).

Mr. Valentic states that an act of '' aggression'' had been tigated against the Republic of Croatia, even though this federal unit of the former Yugoslavia committed an act of ession from the federation in 1991, and in the process empted the appropriation of Serbian territories. At the ne time, the Croatian army attacked the Yugoslav Federal Army, d through a shameful media onslaught, deceived the world to the posite conclusion.

The Croatian Premier dares to state that the Republic of rbia committed an act of aggression against the Republic of oatia, even though the truth of the matter is that during 91\92 the Republic of Serbia did not have its own military, lying on the Yugoslav Federal Army, which contained less than % of Serbs, the chief commands being in the hands of Croatian, ovenian and Macedonian generals. The most important state posts the Yugoslav federation were at the same time in the hands of roats, the Office of President, Premier, High Command and Foreign

Croats being some examples. When the Croatian military attacked the Federal Army, it did not come into conflict with a Serbian institution, which was non existant.

5 The Premier of Croatia shows utmost dishonor in stating that during 1991 and 1993 Croatia suffered greater destruction than during the course of the Second World War. In both periods, 1941 - 1945 and 1991 - 1993 respectively, the only settlements that were destroyed were Serbian, and the only people who experienced genocide were Serbs.

The independant State of Croatia was responsible for the extermination of approximately 1.200.000 Serbs between 1941 - 1945, of whom at least 700.000 perished in the death camp of Jasenovac.

The Republic of Croatia in 1991 ethnically cleansed Western Slavonia of the Serbian ethnic presence, while not a single Croat left the Republic of Serbian Krajina. Of the 183 Serbian settlements in Western Slavonija which were ethnically cleansed, dozens were destroyed, their sites being delegated the role of radio-active refuge centers. I must reiterate once more that my Government requested from your Office expert assistance, both for aerial annalysis of instigated destruction, and for the ascertainment of the volume of radiation from radio-active waste, but has not as yet received any response.

5/6

#014

, availing myself of this opportunity to warn you once
.n that UNPROFOR contingents, stationed in this
ion, are in danger of being contaminated by radiation.

The Croatian Premier gives a figure of 250,000 Croatians
> were forced into exile from the Republic of Serbian Krajina,
astically increasing not only the number of those who actually
d residence in the Republic, but also totally negating the fact
at 300,000 Serbs were expelled from the Republic of Croatia,
heir realestate and movable effects being appropriated.
his fact is confirmed by your Report of May 13, 1993
efore the Security Council, when you stated that 251,000 Serbs
found refuge in Yugoslavia and the Republic of Serbian Krajina.

> Mr. Valentic reports that 12 % of dwellings in Croatia were
destroyed, and in the figure includes such cities as Pakrac and
Vukovar from the Republic of Serbian Krajina, as well as those in
Croatia which expelled the Serbian element, and in the process
destroying their realestate. Such an example is the city of
Zadar in Dalmatia, which expelled 28,000 Serbs.

Your Excellency,

The implementation of such methods by the representatives of
the Republic of Croatia in the United Nations is not only
a procedure which should be condemned, but also a policy whose
negative consequences should be redressed, particulary in view of

Republic of Srpska Krajina
The Government
State Committee of the RSK
for relations with UNPROFOR

No: 25-02-64/93.
Knin, 21.06.1993

To: Thorvald Stoltenberg

Dear Sir,

In accordance with the conclusions of the meeting held in Geneva on 16th June 1993 between the Croatian and the Serbian sides, we submit you the proposal for the establishing of the permanent mechanism for the solving of contentious issues between the two sides. At the meeting in Geneva, chaired by Mr Cedric Thornbury, our proposal for the establishing of permanent negotiating mechanism on equal footing between the Croatian and the Serbian side was accepted. This mechanism would discuss, and not decide upon, all contentious issues including Serbo-Croatian relations, i.e. political status of the Republic of Srpska Krajina, on the basis of the right to self-determination according to international regulations. This permanent negotiating mechanism should be set up as a permanent separate working body of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia.

Such mechanism implies the forming of a joint working group with the equal representation from the Governments of the Croatian and Serbian side formed by experts on economic, military, legal, communication (railroads, roads, airports, etc.), energy supply and other fields of common interest.

The expert groups for solving particular issues from various fields would represent a special part of this working group. This means that the joint working group would discuss the matters of interest to both sides, while the expert groups would concretely implement the conclusions made by the joint working group. Thus the joint working group would not have to discuss the professional matters, whereas the whole mechanism would gain in flexibility by being able to move forward while the expert groups will see to the implementation on the previously solved issues.

We suggest that you chair as a mediator the joint working group, or else a person that you would authorise and both sides accept. We propose this because the Republic of Srpska Krajina is composed of UNPAs, i.e. the areas under UN protection, and you, sir, besides being the Co-Chairman, have also got the hat of the Special Representative of the Secretary General of UN, Mr Boutros Ghali.

We suggest that the following expert working groups be formed for the following fields, on behalf of the concerned Ministeries:

- defence
- economy end economic relations
- communications
- electricity end water supply

- legal issues and legal relations
- financial and customs issues

As our representatives in the above mentioned expert groups, we propose:

- Col. Kosta Novakovic - matters regarding the cessation of hostilities
- Milivoj Kricka - Minister for energy supplies; Milan Jaksic for water supply
- Rade Ceprnja, and if necessary some other experts
- Dusan Starevic, Vojin Susa and Boris Martinovic, members of the Commission for legal issues and legal relations whose terms of reference will be defined through the agreements with the Croatian side at the meeting of the Commission for organising the above-mentioned groups
- financial and customs issues will be discussed by the members of the above-mentioned working groups. Its terms of reference will be agreed upon with the Croatian side.

As the Serbian side has under its control the area protected by UNPROFOR, the export-import matters (Resolution 820 SC UN) will be directly discussed with UNPROFOR representatives.

We firmly believe that this would lead to a normalisation of life, especially of economy, which is the main objective of both sides.

Military talks would be held at the same time, so as to ensure the achievement of the economic objectives in a peaceful atmosphere.

The Joint Commission would thus be in the position to prepare everything that is necessary to establish finally Serbo-Croatian dialogue between Zagreb and Knin. The problems would be clearly defined and solved which would enable the highest officials of both sides to solve on an equal footing only the key issues and take legal decision related to those issues.

Dear sir, we think that in this way many important results could be achieved quickly, especially for preserving peace.

We hope that this short explanation will be accepted as a constructive contribution to the activities of the ICFY in Geneva and by which the ICFY would get out of its present neutral position.

We kindly ask you to inform us on the reception of this suggestion that is submitted to you by Mr Dusan Starevic, member of our negotiating team.

Yours faithfully,

For the State Committee for the Relations with UNPROFOR
DUSAN STAREVIC

THE AMBASSADOR
PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF AUSTRIA

Geneva, December 1, 1992

Dear Mr. Vance,
Dear Lord Owen,

I have the honour to convey to you a communication addressed to you by the Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs of Austria, Mr. Alois Mock.

With kind regards,

W. Lang

Prof. Winfried LANG

Mr. Vance and Lord Owen

Co-Chairmen of the International Conference on Former Yugoslavia
G e n e v a

The Federal Minister
for Foreign Affairs

Dear Mr. Vance,
Dear Lord Owen,

Vienna, 27 November 1992

First of all I would like to thank you for receiving Ambassador Lang at such short notice. I appreciate your kind assistance in connection with my talks in Washington and New York on behalf of the Foreign Ministers of the Central European Initiative. When we recently met in Graz unanimous support was expressed for the Geneva negotiating process and indeed for your own endeavours as Co-Chairmen. My mission to the United States will be undertaken in the same spirit.

With regard to a possible visit to Sarajevo your guidance is most helpful and I wish to assure you that we shall proceed with great caution. I have made it clear that such a project should only be carried out if something concrete could be achieved and if the people of Sarajevo would enjoy greater safety after the visit than before. Otherwise the result would only be disappointment and an increased feeling of despair.

Mr. Cyrus Vance
Lord Owen
Co-Chairmen of the International
Conference on Former Yugoslavia
G e n e v a

In view of the most difficult situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the many sensibilities involved I would be pleased to remain in close contact with you. Two of my collaborators, Ambassadors Sucharipa and Rohan will be in Geneva on December 8th for talks with the chairmen of the working groups and - your busy schedule permitting - I would appreciate your receiving them.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely

Embassy of Austria

3524 International Court, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20008-3035

Telefax
(202) 895-6750

(202) 895-6700

Consular Section
(202) 895-6767

The Honorable
Cyrus Vance
Simpson, Thatcher & Bartlett
425 Lexington Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10017

November 16, 1992

11/20 acknowledged

Dear Mr. Vance:

Please find enclosed a letter from the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs Dr. Alois MOCK, addressed to you.

With my very best wishes and kind personal regards,

Yours Sincerely,

Friedrich Hoess
Ambassador

Enclosure

Regretted to Mr GKHR of Austrian mission.
(per H.S.O.)
8 Jan 93

The Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs

Vienna, 31.X.1992

Excellency,

The rising demands on the community of nations and to the United Nations itself to contribute to the solution of conflicts has made more transparent the need to develop new concepts with regard to preventive conflict management. The "Agenda for Peace" also explicitely addressed the need for an enhanced emphasis on preventive diplomacy.

In order to promote a better understanding of the different phases of crisis development and of the measures available to the community of nations to prevent further conflict escalation, the Austrian Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs together with the Federal Ministry of Defense would like to contribute to the ongoing discussions by organizing an "International Round-table Conference on Preventive Conflict Management" in Vienna from 25 to 27 January 1993. Please find enclosed a programme outline for this meeting.

Enclosure

His Excellency
Mr. Cyrus Vance

W A S H I N G T O N D. C.

I would be grateful to you if you could accept our invitation and participate in this round-table conference. In addition, I would appreciate it if you could give a short presentation on "Elements for possible preventive response mixes" (item 2 of the draft programme).

Since we plan to publish the proceedings of the Conference, a written version of your contribution, if possible, would be highly welcome. The expenses for travel and hotel accomodation are being met by the organizers.

Looking forward to seeing you again in Vienna and to benefitting from your great experience and thoughtful consideration of these topics, I remain with highest regards,

Yours sincerely,

FEDERAL MINISTRY
FOR
FOREIGN AFFAIRS

FEDERAL MINISTRY
FOR
DEFENSE

International Round-table Conference on Preventive Conflict Management

Vienna, 25-27 January 1993

Programme Outline

I Background

Recent experience in the response of the international community to international conflicts has revealed that response strategies by the international community often suffer from lack of coherent political will, undue time-lags and are often characterized by the "too little too late". The escalation of costs of response strategies is usually directly related to the escalation of the conflict. Often only the exhaustion of the parties to a conflict allow for peace-making and peace-keeping efforts by the international community.

The rise in conflict situations in Central and Eastern Europe, Central Asia but also on the African continent could, if left unattended, eventually strain the conflict resolution capacities of the community of nations, in particular of those countries which have traditionally carried major responsibilities in this regard. There is, therefore, an urgent need to develop new concepts with regard to preventive conflict management, in order to allow for a lowering of overall costs of conflicts on the one hand and of conflict prevention and settlement on the other.

The "Agenda for Peace" addressed explicitely the need for enhanced emphasis on preventive diplomacy, including preventive deployment of peace-keeping forces. The spectrum of possible preventive responses needs however further analysis, including with regard to peace-building efforts in the early phase of conflict escalation as well as concerning non-military and military enforcement measures. Furthermore, the possibilities of shortening decision-making processes of the international community and the usefulness of a clearer concept (doctrine ?) of preventive diplomacy and preventive peace-keeping need to be studied.

The approach to be taken in this Round-table Conference would depart from a clearer unterstanding of the different phases of crisis development, i.e. escalation, stabilization and de-escalation, and of the possible strategies available to the international community.

In this context the institutional framework for preventive conflict management also requires further analysis keeping in mind the recent revitalization of Chapter VIII of the Charter and the increased cooperation between the UN and different regional arrangements.

II Draft Programme

1. Characteristics of crisis escalation, stabilization and de-escalation: Possible points for intervention by the international community

2. Elements for possible preventive response mixes

   - preventive diplomacy
   - preventive peace-building
   - preventive peace-making
   - preventive deployment (peace-keeping)
   - peace-enforcement (non-military, military))

3. Time and cost implications of response mixes - Financing of preventive conflict management

4. Institutional choices/mixes

- Individual states
- Regional military/political/economic organizations
- United Nations
- Financial and development institutions
- Structures for policy and operational coordination/cooperation

III Objectives

The Round-table Conference should contribute to the ongoing international debate on further developments in international peace-making, peace-keeping and peace-building in the light of the "Agenda for Peace".

The conclusions of the Conference will be published and brought to the attention of the respective international fora.

IV Participants

The Round-table Conference will bring together diplomats, representatives of international organizations, military experts, as well as experts with responsibilities in peace-making, in peace-keeping, in national and collective security and defense, in international economic and financial cooperation and in conflict research.

THE AMBASSADOR
PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF AUSTRIA

No. 115.005/314-92 Geneva, 24 November 1992

Sir,

I have the honour to bring to your attention the Political Document approved by the Foreign Ministers of the Central European Initiative (CEI) in Graz (Austria) on 21 November 1992.

In this context I wish to inform you that the CEI-Foreign Ministers have expressed their wish to hold, as soon as possible, a meeting in Sarajewo in order to demonstrate their solidarity with the suffering population of Bosnia-Hercegovina. It is understood that such a meeting can only be realized in close cooperation with the International Conference on Former Yugoslavia.

It would therefore be highly appreciated if the feasibility of holding such a meeting in Sarajewo could be examined.

Accept, Sir, the assurance of my highest consideration.

W. Lang

Prof. Winfried Lang
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

The Honorable Cyrus VANCE
Co-Chairman of the
ICFY Steering Committee

G e n e v a

cc: Lord David OWEN

CENTRAL EUROPEAN INITIATIVE;
Meeting of Foreign Ministers
November 21st, 1992, in Graz approved text

POLITICAL DOCUMENT

The Foreign Ministers of Austria, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, Hungary, Italy, Poland and Slovenia met on November 21st, 1992 in Graz for the autumn ministerial meeting of the Central European Initiative.*)

The Foreign Ministers expressed their utmost dismay that, despite intensive efforts by the international community, aggression is still continuing in Bosnia-Herzegovina. They particularly contemned the continued systematic violations of international humanitarian law and basic human rights. They are convinced that respect of the rules of the international humanitarian law, human rights, the effective protection of minorities and the inviolability of borders are essential elements for progress in the peace process.

The Foreign Ministers expressed their firm support for all international actions taken by the international community and renewed the call upon Serbia and Montenegro to cease all forms of interference in Croatia. They reiterated that they will not tolerate aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina. They especially stressed the importance in this context of the efforts within the framework of the negotiating process initiated at the

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*)In view of the prevailing situation in Sarajevo the Foreign Minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina informed that he was not in position to arrange for his travel from Sarajevo to Graz in order to be present at the Conference.

London Conference on former Yugoslavia as well as of all efforts deployed within the framework of the United Nations, the CSCE and the European Community. They welcomed the recent meetings in Geneva between the leaders of the various parties involved and urged them to continue on the road of negotiations leading in the end to general, just and durable solution of the problems of former Yugoslavia. They particularly urged all parties concerned to formally accept as a basis for negotiations the constitutional proposals for Bosnia-Herzegovina presented by Lord Owen and Cyrus Vance.

The Ministers expressed their deep concern about the greatest human tragedy since the Second World War in Europe which has already produced nearly three million refugees and displaced persons who are the primary victims of a policy which does not respect basic principles of humanitarian law.

The siege of Sarajevo by Serbian units has created a situation that this important European capital and its population face conditions which resemble a concentration camp. Similar situations prevail in other areas of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Foreign Ministers expressed their serious preoccupation with the constantly growing danger of a spreading of the conflict to other parts of former Yugoslavia. They urged all parties to intensify their efforts to prevent such a tragedy, bearing in mind that the main causes of this danger are the continuing policy of ethnic discrimination and oppression as well as the increasing attempts to change the ethnic composition of the population in various parts of former Yugoslavia, including Kosovo, Sandjak and Vojvodina.

The Ministers welcomed Security Council Resolution 787 which provides for strengthening the arms embargo against former Yugoslavia and of sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro and

invites the Secretary General in consulatation with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other relevant international humanitarian agencies to study the possibility of and the requirements for the promotion of safe areas for humanitarian purposes.

The Ministers reemphasized the importance of regional cooperation in strengthening the solidarity and unity of all European nations. They also stressed its special role in supporting new democracies in their continuing efforts towards the goal of internal reform, economic growth and full participation in the European integration process. They underlined the importance of the achievement of the successful realization of these goals for peace and stability in the Central European region and in Europe.

They expressed their serious concern over the manifestation of xenophobia and intolerance in many parts of Europe and agreed that the coninuation of the European integration process, as well as full commitment to implementing all the aims and values underpinning European structures and institutions may have a decisive role in facilitating the solution of problems common to our societies.

The Foreign Minister of the CSFR informed the meeting about the forth- coming division of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic into the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic.

In order to ensure continuity of cooperation efforts in Central Europe, Foreign Ministers recommended to the Heads of Government to consider favourably eventual requests of the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic for membership after they have become subjects of international law. They proposed that upon receipt of formal requests the necessary consensus of Heads of Government should be achieved by written notification addressed to the Chairman, without calling for an extraordinary Summit.

The Permanent Mission of Canada
to the United Nations

La Mission Permanente du Canada
auprès des Nations Unies

1, rue du Pré-de-la-Bichette
1202 Geneva

January 8, 1993

Mr. Cyrus Vance
Co-Chairman of the
International Conference on
former Yugoslavia
Palais des Nations
Geneva

Dear Mr. Vance:

You will find attached the original of a letter dated December 11, 1992 addressed to you by the Honourable Barbara McDougall, of which you have already received an advance copy. You will recall that the matter of deployment of Canadian troups in former Yugoslavia has been discussed at the dinner she hosted in your honour on December 15.

Yours sincerely,

Gerald E. Shannon
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

The Secretary of State for External Affairs
Canada
Secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures

December 11, 1992

Mr. Cyrus Vance
International Conference
on the Former Yugoslavia
Geneva

Dear Cy,

I have recently discussed with the UN Secretary General the situation whereby the Canadian battalion which is assigned to UNPROFOR to escort humanitarian supplies in Bosnia is being prevented from deploying to Banja Luka by the Bosnian Serb leadership. The Secretary General suggested that I raise the matter with you. I have subsequently written to Marrack Goulding to urge him to continue to deal with this issue on a priority basis.

The troops have been in Croatia, ready to deploy to Banja Luka for some five weeks now. It appears that the issue will not be easily resolved and that the battalion can anticipate further harassment and restrictions on its operations if and when they are allowed to deploy. The Bosnian Serbs appear determined to use this issue to demonstrate their control, if not "sovereignty", over the Banja Luka area.

I consider this matter to be primarily the purview of the UN to address. I have suggested to Mr. Goulding that, should current efforts to deploy into Banja Luka fail, the Secretary General should bring this to the Security Council. I have also noted that if this impasse looks as if it is likely to last indefinitely, I would welcome suggestions as to how the Canadian contingent could contribute to urgent humanitarian relief elsewhere in the territory of the Former Republic of Yugoslavia. I believe, however, that it would be wrong to allow the Bosnian Serbs to succeed in preventing the planned deployment to Banja Luka. We are prepared, therefore, to have the Canadian battalion continue to maintain its ready status for a while longer if that is considered useful and if there is hope that determined pressure will yield results, but I need to be assured that both in New York and Geneva this issue is being given the urgent attention required.

.../2

I would appreciate your efforts, together with those of Lord Owen to whom I am also writing, to address the concerns I have identified. We will have the opportunity to discuss this over dinner in Geneva next week.

Yours sincerely,

Barbara McDougall

The Permanent Mission of Canada
to the United Nations

La Mission Permanente du Canada
auprès des Nations Unies

1, rue du Pré-de-la-Bichette
1202 Geneva

September 28, 1992

The Honourable Cyrus Vance
Co-Chairman, Steering Committee
The London Conference on former Yugoslavia
United Nations Headquarters
Geneva, Switzerland

Dear Mr. Vance,

As requested, by the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Barbara McDougall, it is with pleasure that I transmit to you, the enclosed correspondence. I had given you an advance copy when we met on September 8.

I would like to thank you and your staff for your efforts in keeping my Government informed of the work of the London Conference follow-up. May I reiterate our full support for your endeavours.

Yours sincerely,

G.E. Shannon
Ambassador and
Permanent Representative

The Secretary of State for External Affairs

Canada

Secretaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures

September 4, 1992

The Honourable Cyrus Vance
Co-Chairman, Steering Committee
The London Conference on former Yugoslavia
United Nations Headquarters
Geneva, Switzerland

Dear Cy:

It was a pleasure to see you again in London last week and I am delighted to know that you will continue your commendable work on the Yugoslav crisis as co-chairman of the Steering Committee. I wish you all the best in your mission.

Before the London meeting, I had given some thought to requesting a place for Canada on the Steering Committee. Given our involvement in peacekeeping, humanitarian assistance and in the diplomatic process, we had a good case for membership. However, as I did not want to open the door to a possible unwieldy expansion of the Committee, I did not pursue this further at the Conference.

Nonetheless, it is important for us to be kept well informed about, and involved in, the follow-up process of the London Conference in Geneva and the situation on the ground. Consequently, I have asked my Ambassador to the United Nations in Geneva, Mr. Gerald Shannon, to establish early contact with you and your colleagues and staff of the Steering Committee. I would appreciate your assisting him in all ways possible as this will allow Canada to remain well aware of the negotiation process and to contribute to its success. Your personal assurances to that effect would be most appreciated.

...2/

Ottawa, Canada K1A 0G2

I also propose that we keep in touch personally whenever the need arises.

Finally, I want to re-confirm to you Canada's firm commitment to helping, by every means at our disposal, to bring an early end to the tragedy in the former Yugoslavia.

Yours sincerely, Good wishes

Barbara McDougall.

Barbara McDougall